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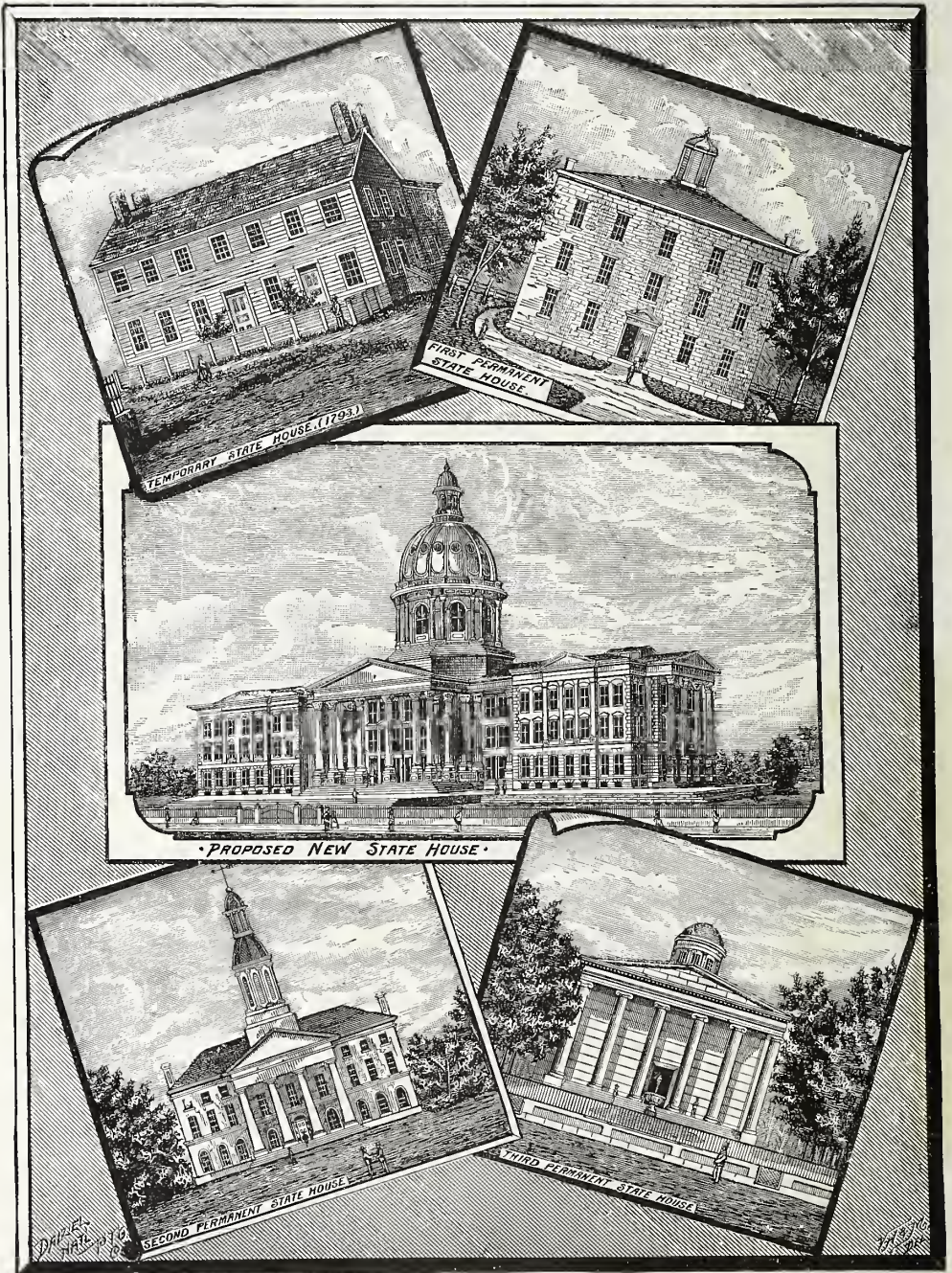
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KENTUCKY STATE HOUSES.



# KENTUCKY.

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## A HISTORY OF THE STATE,

EMBRACING

A CONCISE ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE VIRGINIA COLONY; ITS  
EXPANSION WESTWARD, AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE FRONTIER BEYOND  
THE ALLEGHANIES; THE ERECTION OF KENTUCKY AS AN  
INDEPENDENT STATE, AND ITS SUBSEQUENT  
DEVELOPMENT.

—BY—

W. H. PERRIN.

J. H. BATTLE.

G. C. KNIFFIN

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EIGHTH EDITION.

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## PREFACE.

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THE purpose and design of this volume have been the presentation of the history of Kentucky in narrative form, its adaptation to the tastes and demands of the general reader, and, as far as consistent, to incorporate statistical facts for the benefit of those who would seek in its pages reference matter.

In the preparation of the work, the desire of the publishers has been to give to their patrons a history conscientiously prepared, and a volume faithfully executed in all its aspects. Much of the subject matter incorporated was submitted, before its publication, to those who were deemed critics upon the topics treated, in order to detect if possible any errors of statement that might inadvertently creep in. That perfection has been attained in *all* of our efforts we do not claim, but we do hold that a fair measure of accuracy and completeness has been reached, consistent with a work of this magnitude.

Those who are interested in the very exciting events which transpired in Kentucky during the period of the civil war, and in which her troops took part elsewhere, will find a fund of information between the covers of this book which has not heretofore been accessible to the general public, and much that has never before been published in any form. The difficulties to be overcome in collecting this material were almost insurmountable, owing to the fragmentary and chaotic condition of the documentary sources at command. Especially was this the case with that which had reference to the Confederates and their service.

Appendix B, which is almost wholly made up of statistical matter pertaining to army service, is taken largely from the State Adjutant-General's reports, and though possibly containing some inaccuracies in names and dates, has been corrected in some particulars, and is presented in as nearly a perfect form as possible.

THE PUBLISHERS





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# HISTORY OF KENTUCKY.

## CHAPTER I.

### ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIRST COLONY OF VIRGINIA.

AT the dawn of the fifteenth century, the world groped in intellectual darkness; the despotic policy of the church and State riveted its cruel fetters upon the conscience and sought to smother that spark of immortality granted to mortals—the mind, by the seclusion from the masses, the priceless archives of human knowledge. In 1450 Gutenberg invented typography and the printing press, and the human intellect, set free, emancipated the conscience and rocked the fabric of the church to its foundations. But this did not complete its mission; the enfranchised soul sought larger fields and grander achievements, and, taking up the cry that came echoing down the centuries, made it the watchword of progress: “Give me where I may stand, and I will move the world!”—and God, moving “in a mysterious way His wonders to perform,” granted a new world in answer to the universal prayer.

Columbus' discovery of Saint Salvador, in 1492, was the confirmation of theories entertained for a period dating back three centuries before the Christian era, and no sooner was the demonstration thus made clear than adventurous sails in search of new lands were multiplied upon the sea. In June, 1497, nearly fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, sighted the mainland, John Cabot, a native of Venice but a resident of Bristol, England, discovered North America, probably in latitude 56°, “among the dismal cliffs of Labrador.” In the year following, Cabot's second son, Sebastian, set forth from

England, Columbus from Spain, and Vasco da Gama from Portugal, each in quest of “that hidden secret of nature,” the short route to India. In May, Vasco da Gama reached Hindostan by way of the cape of Good Hope; in August, Columbus discovered the mainland of South America, and in the same summer Cabot explored the Atlantic coast of North America from a northern latitude as far south as the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay. Of these pioneers of the sea, Cabot alone failed to receive the recognition which his discoveries deserved. Vasco da Gama became the hero of Portugal's national epic; Columbus found secure fame in Tasso's lines; while Cabot's name, emerging from the half century of obscurity that early enveloped it, is now scarcely known save to the scholar.

Of the three, Cabot alone failed of the immediate object of his voyage; for, whatever the language in which the object of his search may have been expressed, Columbus sought something more than a new commercial route. Early educated for a mariner, and entering upon a nautical life when only fourteen years of age, he came to mature years learned in the geographical investigations which marked the age, and possessed with an invincible idea that the shortest route to Asia lay across the Atlantic. To demonstrate the validity of this idea, to satisfy the longings of a lofty ambition which he believed inspired and led of God, were the great motives that supported him in his career and approved his achieve-



ments. And so, while he failed in the demand of spirits "not finely touched," he won the plaudits of the learned. The unmistakable demand of the age, however, was for the discovery of a way to reach India without paying commercial tribute to the Ottoman empire. This Gama achieved by a southeast passage, and received the lavish praise of his countrymen. Cabot, seeking a northwest passage, was turned back by Arctic obstructions, and fell upon a coast that, to the narrow conceptions of the age, offered no compensatory advantage for the object he sought, and which was so much desired. Yet this coast, barren of gold mines and rich commerce, was destined to exceed the wealth of the Indies in valuable returns. But years were to elapse and nations were to be taught in the school of experience, before the full importance of his discoveries could be comprehended. In the meantime, the shoals of cod, which he first brought to notice, and to which he gave the name that still exists in the Spanish tongue, attracted the attention of the world, and sustained the flagging interest in these shores which offered no glittering attraction to the commercial spirit of the period.

The discoveries of Cabot and Columbus, though not in the direction of the prevailing thought of the time, served nevertheless to attract the curiosity of all Europe; and Spain, Portugal, France, England and Holland gave official countenance and aid to the numerous adventurers that came forward to seek new fortunes and fame in the new world. These early voyages produced little returns for the considerable expenditure involved, save interesting specimens of no pecuniary value, and the activity of European complications served to prevent a calm consideration of the real advantages to be secured from their results. Gradually the object of these explorations underwent a change: the futility of the search for a northwest passage, and the discovery and conquest of Peru and Mexico, with their fabulous stores of gold, gave new zest and direction to the efforts of later maritime adventurers. Greed for gold, to be secured by acts scarcely to be distin-

guished from acts of piracy, enlisted the cupidity of the old world, and hundreds of the most depraved as well as bravest of the adventurers that swarmed throughout Europe, descended upon the North American continent. But the dreams of Central and South Americas found no realization on these northern shores; beset by obstacles which no human device could surmount, a disheartened and destitute remnant only survived to tell the story of their failure. Led by the romantic superstitions of the age, other few sought in the new world the spring of eternal youth and another Eden, only to learn by an experience, fraught with misery and death, that to wealth and happiness there is no royal road. Yet years of effort and hundreds of lives were expended in these fruitless adventures before the grand project of planting new states in this land dawned upon the intelligence of the world.

Early in the sixteenth century, England, freed from the entangling alliance with Spain, began to turn her attention to the commercial advantages to be found in America, and in 1541, by an act of parliament, began to foster the fisheries of Newfoundland. These continued to attract the attention of the sober-minded of Europe for years, and after 1574, England alone sent from thirty to fifty ships to this fishing ground. The hope that some hidden treasure might still be found here was never entirely absent from the minds of the explorers; but while Elizabeth and the majority of English adventurers were still dazzled with the hopes of gold, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "with sounder judgment and better knowledge, watched the progress of the fisheries, and formed healthy plans for colonization." To him, in June, 1578, the queen granted a charter, "to be of perpetual efficacy, if a plantation should be established within six years." Associating with himself his step-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, he set out at the head of a goodly band of followers to seek a site for his plantation.

It was not until the following year that the expedition, fated to fail, sailed from England. One vessel was lost and the re-

mainder were forced to return with the object of the voyage unattained. In 1583, another fleet set forth under the happy auspices of the queen, bearing practical men of science. But fate again proved unpropitious. But one vessel made the voyage and returned, the others deserting at the outset or going down at sea, carrying with them the men of science and the brave admiral. Undaunted by repeated failure, Raleigh obtained a patent similar to the one granted to Gilbert, and in 1584 projected a third expedition, which sailed by a circuitous route, touching at the Canaries and West Indies; thence the course lay northward along the coast of the Carolinas, the July air greeting the voyagers with "so sweet and strong a smell, as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden." The islands inclosing Pamlico Sound were touched and explored, and a colony planted upon Roanoke.

The story of this attempt to colonize America is short and inconclusive. Grenville, Lane, Hariot and Cavendish, names noted in the annals of state, of art, of history and of science, took part and notably contributed to the information respecting this newly discovered land. Grenville commanded the expedition; Lane was appointed governor of the colony; and Hariot and Cavendish accompanied to picture the natives and note the country. Explorations, not unmarked by brutality and superstition, were made into the surrounding region before the return of the fleet. For a time, the novelty of the situation and the necessary activity involved in preparing accommodations for the colony kept discontent in abeyance, but injudicious cruelties practiced upon the natives soon raised up a breed of threatening phantoms to vex the weak-hearted, while the realization of their isolated position gave rise to general despondence.

At this juncture, the fleet of Sir Francis Drake unexpectedly made its appearance, its commander desiring to make a friendly visit to the plantation of his friend. There was at first no disposition on the part of the colonists to forsake their trust; on the contrary, a fair sized vessel, with experienced naval

officers, and all needed supplies for a retreat to England in case of necessity, was cheerfully provided by Drake and joyfully accepted by the colonists. In the midst of these negotiations a violent storm arose which forced the fleet to stand out to sea for safety. When it had subsided, the vessel set apart for the use of the colony was not to be found, and nothing would satisfy the importunities of the colonists, save the embarking of the whole number and transporting them to England. This was accordingly done, only to miss, by a few days, a ship, laden with every needed supply, dispatched to the settlement. This had been sent out by the provident care of Raleigh, and two weeks later was followed by three well-furnished ships, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, who commanded the original expedition. In addition to a liberal and intelligent provision of supplies, Grenville brought a reinforcement of numbers, and after an unavailing search for the colony, and placing fifteen men upon the island as a garrison, the fleet returned to England.

Notwithstanding this "lame and impotent conclusion," this first attempt at colonization was not without good results to the general cause. The description of the country and its inhabitants by the returned colonists was of the most favorable kind. The salubrity of the climate, the abundance and variety of edible productions, the hospitality and tractability of the natives, as well as their timidity and small efficacy as enemies, were each enlarged upon to a credulous public, which now eagerly pressed forward to supply the recruits for a new expedition, which Raleigh immediately prepared to send out. Some eighty-nine men and seventeen women formed the colony, which sailed in 1587, under John White as governor. On reaching Roanoke, no trace of the fifteen men landed by Grenville could be found, save certain bones which lay scattered in the abandoned fields. All the colonial buildings were found in a ruined condition, with evidence of having been long deserted, and no further traces of these men were ever discovered. In his instructions to this later expedition, Raleigh had indicated



the shores of the Chesapeake Bay as the site for the settlement, but the naval officer, eager to engage in the West Indies trade, refused to go further than Roanoke Island, and the new colony began its career amid the ruins of its predecessor. Unhappily it fell heir also to the animosity of the natives which the acts of the first colonists had engendered, and some unfortunate complications with the Indians occurred even before the departure of the ship which brought these later immigrants.

In the departing vessel the governor took passage for England, for the assigned purpose of seeking further assistance for the colony. His leaving his daughter and newly born granddaughter on the island was the pledge of his good faith in leaving the little band he was selected to guide and guard. He found the kingdom absorbed in its contest with Spain, and it was not until after the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" that the cause of the less important community gained the ear of the public. Not so with Raleigh; engaging heartily in the defense of his country, he did not on that account lose sight of the demands of humanity, and made "five several attempts" to relieve them. Each time his efforts were thwarted, and the colony, including the first white child born on the soil of the United States, Virginia Dare, miserably perished, leaving no story of their fate, save "that such things had been and had perished."

In 1589, after expending £40,000 in promoting these various schemes of colonization, Raleigh found his fortunes so far broken as to prevent further efforts of his own, and granted to Sir Thomas Smythe and others certain concessions under his charter. No immediate advantage to American colonization grew out of this arrangement, but a number of influential and wealthy men were brought into intimate acquaintance with the plans for the new world, and their interest in the subject gave it a new impetus.

For years, the Newfoundland fisheries alone kept alive the English interest in America, and kept the way open for the occupation of Virginia, as the whole coast had

been named by the virgin queen. Nearly every expedition to the shores of Newfoundland did something incidentally toward extending the exploration of the American shore, and it was due to these amateur discoveries that the first successful outcome of these colonization efforts gained the interest and support of some of its most eminent sustainers. It was through them that Bartholomew Gosnold, an experienced naval officer, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges enlisted in this kind of enterprise; through them Sir John Popham, lord chief-justice of England; Edward Maria Wingfield, a merchant; Robert Hunt, a clergyman; John Smith, a soldier of the Continental wars; George Popham, a relative of the chief-justice, and Raleigh Gilbert, whose name suggests his relation to the "shepherd of the sea" and the brave and pious admiral became identified with the American colonization plans which eventually crystallized into the twin charters for the planting of the first and second colonies of Virginia.

In 1606, the queen dead, Raleigh imprisoned in the Tower, and his patent forfeited by his attainder of treason, these persons and "certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of the city of London and elsewhere," applied to James I for "his license to deduce a colony into Virginia." Catching something of the spirit that actuated other sovereigns of Europe, the king granted a liberal charter under date of March 9, 1607. At the request of the company, on May 23, 1609, the king by letters-patent superseded his former grant, and incorporated the company under the name of "the treasurer and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London for the first colony in Virginia." The members of the original company in the west of England had withdrawn and formed an independent organization, to which was assigned the privilege of founding the "second colony in Virginia."

The king selected from the North American continent a territory extending along the Atlantic coast from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, which, for



the purpose of colonization, he divided equally between the two companies. By the first charter, the colony was to be planted anywhere south of the forty-first parallel of latitude in the district assigned, and its jurisdiction was to extend, on either side of the site selected, to the north fifty miles; and to the south, the same distance; into the land 100 miles, and to include islands at the same distance in the sea. By the second charter the territory assigned the London Company included "all the lands in Virginia from Point Comfort," a name assigned by John Smith to a point at the mouth of the James River, "along the sea coast to the northward 200 miles, and from the same point along the sea coast to the southward 200 miles, and all the space from this precinct on the sea coast up into the land, west and northwest, from sea to sea, and the islands within 100 miles of it, with all the commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises and pre-eminences within the same, and thereto and thereabouts, by sea and land, appertaining in as ample manner as had before been granted to any adventurer: to be held of the king and his successor, in common socage, yielding one-fifth part of the gold and silver to be therein found, for all manner of service," etc. The colony of the London company was planted in the early part of 1607, under the first charter, which was not materially affected by the changes wrought in the terms of the second.

The company appears to have profited little from the experience of earlier attempts at colonization. The site of Raleigh's unfortunate colony was again selected for the experiment, but a happier fate drove the fleet northward in a storm, to escape which it took refuge in the "Mother of Waters" (Chesapeake), where the safety of the harbor and the beauty of the country induced the colonists to remain. Of the character of colonists demanded for the success of such an enterprise, the managers of the company had quite as little comprehension as of the proper site to be selected. An expectation that gold, or other valuables, was to be se-

cured by conquest appears to have been entertained by the company, and England's poet probably voiced the prevailing sentiment when he bade the departing colony God speed, "to get the pearls and gold." The company, therefore, which set out in the "Discovery," the "Good Speed," and the "Susan Constant," under the command of Christopher Newport, consisted of 105 men, forty-eight of whom were classed as "gentlemen," twelve as "laborers," and four as "carpenters," while a few other mechanics, with "soldiers and servants," completed the number.

Scarcely had the ships which brought them departed, when this ill-assorted company began to experience the misery which their faulty organization entailed. Dissension had begun on the outward voyage; the other leaders had insanely conceived the idea that Smith designed to murder them and make himself "King of Virginia." He was accordingly arrested and remained under arrest until a jury of colonists acquitted him and mulcted his accusers sometime after their landing.

With this inauspicious beginning, harmony was not to be expected. The particular site\* for the plantation was chosen against the earnest protest of Gosnold; the council was distracted by factions; and the wide diversity of social character and position of the colonists forbade anything like union of sympathies or purpose. The sealed instructions sent out with the colony, to be opened on arrival at their destination, revealed the names of the local council. To this distinction the king had named Bart. Gosnold, a brave old sea captain; John Smith, the bold, fearless and faithful soldier; Edward Wingfield, a faint-hearted merchant; Christopher Newport, "an empty, idle man;" John Ratcliffe, "not worth remembering but to his dishonor;" John Martin, incompetent and distrusted, and George Kendall, traitorous and malicious. Through the jealousies of the council, the weak-hearted Wingfield, the least capable of the number to sustain the onerous duties of the position, was elected

\*Named Jamestown in honor of the king.

president, and under his administration the career of the colony was that of a ship without a helmsman.

Surrounded by abundant material for comfortable shelter, the men lived in tents until they rotted to pieces over their heads. Surrounded by hostile Indians, the colonists, unprotected by palisades and unused to the new exposure, were compelled to maintain a constant guard; while incessant broils in the council and company heightened the general confusion and distrust. Added to these grievances were the dangers arising from the unfortunate location. Here the poisonous exhalations of the marshes, the impurity of the water, and the supplies deteriorated by the sea-voyage, combined to breed a terrible mortality that rapidly thinned the number which, at the outset, was at the minimum point to insure the success of the venture. Gosnold was among the first to fall a victim to the evils he foresaw from the first, and by fall, fifty men had perished, while despair filled the hearts of the survivors. Smith alone rose equal to the emergency, and, though sick with the prevailing disorder himself, cared for the sick and dying, ministering to the diseased minds and bodies when there were scarcely "ten men could neither go nor stand."

In September, the inefficient Wingfield was deposed by general consent, and replaced by Ratcliffe. The council does not seem to have supplied the vacancies in its membership, as they were empowered to do, and their number was now reduced to three men: Gosnold had perished; Newport had sailed with the fleet; Wingfield had been deposed; and Kendall had been tried and shot. The new president and Martin, unpopular with the colonists and deficient in executive ability, left affairs to be directed by the redoubtable John Smith alone. He had been relieved from arrest, and under his guidance the despairing colony took a new lease of life. Setting a rigorous example, he infused activity and resolution into the infant settlement; something of discipline was maintained; buildings were constructed; and, pushing outside the newly erected palisades,

Smith opened communication with the savages, supplying the fort with an abundance of corn, and gaining the respect of the Indians. Having thus quieted the discontent of the colonists, and laid in an ample store of provisions for the winter, he set about obeying the royal instructions to explore the surrounding country. In one of his expeditions at this period he was captured by the natives. Undaunted by his peril, he wrested victory from defeat; spent his captivity in learning the features of the country, and in the end secured a valuable alliance, which subsequently led to the marriage of the chieftain's daughter, Pocahontas, to one of the colonists.

In the meanwhile, the fleet had proceeded to England, but had no sooner reached there than the company, with commendable zeal, sent out two vessels with fresh supplies and reinforcements for the colony. Newport, still in command, reached Jamestown early in 1608, to the great joy of the colonists; their number was reduced to thirty-eight; "the silly president" had not only done much to counteract the good results of Smith's energetic direction, but in his absence had planned with Wingfield to seize the pinnace left with the colony, and escape to England. Smith returned on the day planned for their departure, and "with the hazard of his life, with sabre, falchion and musket-shot," foiled this third attempt at desertion. New efforts, under the thin disguise of legal forms, were made to destroy Smith, but seizing Ratcliffe and Wingfield and their new accomplices, he placed them under guard in the pinnace. Matters were in this state of "combustion," when Newport reached Jamestown after an uninterrupted voyage.

/ The uninstructed policy of the company made Newport's arrival contribute hardly more of comfort than misery to the colony. Some 120 emigrants were sent, consisting of "vagabond gentlemen, unaccustomed to labor and disdainful of it, with three or four bankrupt jewelers, goldsmiths and refiners sent out to seek for mines." Such an importation at this time, was of the nature of a disaster to the solid prosperity of the colony. Newport remained fourteen weeks, and by



his conduct justified the epithet of "empty man" applied to him by the early chroniclers. The orderly methods of practical industry were set aside; "there was now," says Smith, "no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold," and Newport finally returned to England with a cargo of worthless dirt and the disgraced Wingfield. The "Phoenix," which sailed from England in company with Newport, had been delayed by storms and arrived afterward. Her commander, "an honest man and expert mariner," Francis Nelson, was not lured by the "fantastical gold," and at Smith's suggestion took on a cargo of cedar, and the first written history of the colony: Smith's "True Relation of Virginia." Ratcliffe had been restored to office; the old soldier, embarking with a crew of fourteen upon the pinnace, followed the "Phoenix" on its homeward voyage as far as the capes, and then turned to explore the rivers that find an outlet in the Chesapeake Bay. Returning to Jamestown in July, he again set out to complete his undertaking, sailing in both voyages some 3,000 miles. He returned again in September, 1608, and compiled the results of his labors in the first intelligent map ever produced, which, in its main features, remains unimpeached to this day.

In Smith's absence, the president had "riotously consumed the stores," and the colonists were about to take vengeance upon him, when the exploring party returned. Smith at once interfered to save his old opponent, but the dissatisfaction was not allayed until Ratcliffe was deposed and Smith elected in his stead. Order was once more installed in direction, when Newport again appeared, bringing supplies and colonists. The latter numbered seventy, of whom two were women, but with this exception were no more suited to the demands of the settlement than the previous shiploads. A few natives of Germany and Poland were included in the company, who were intended to engage in the manufacture of pitch, tar, soap-ashes and glass for exportation. Had the colony been in condition to provide their own support, such industries were more likely to prove

remunerative to the company than any attempt to develop mines of the precious metals; but to a colony just emerging from a period of starvation, the depleted numbers of which were for the most part only reinforced by "poor gentlemen, indolent, dissolute and insubordinate, or else broken tradesmen, fitter to breed riot than to found a colony," this greediness for returns was exasperating. In relation to this feature of the company's policy, Smith wrote: "When you send again, I entreat you, rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and diggers-up-of-tree-roots, well provided, than a thousand such as we have." But the company were explicit in their requirements. With Newport it sent out a demand that a return cargo, equal in value to the cost of the present expedition, should be sent, on pain of being left in Virginia as banished men. The reply of Smith was much better tempered than the state of the case would warrant. "We have not received," he wrote, "the value of £100. From toiling to satisfy the desire of the present profit, we can scarce ever recover ourselves from one supply to another. These causes stand in the way of laying in Virginia a proper foundation; as yet you must not look for any profitable returning." This was considered a "rude answer" by the titled gentlemen who controlled the destiny of the colony in England. The demand of the company was accompanied by the additional stipulation for one of the lost colony of Roanoke, a lump of gold, or the discovery of the south sea beyond the mountains. When this was made known by Newport, Smith was beside himself with rage and declared the demand preposterous, and did more wisely than attempt such impossibilities. He secured a cargo of tar, pitch, lumber and ashes and sent it back. With the vessel he sent Ratcliffe, writing the home council, "I have sent you him home lest the company should cut his throat."

The situation of the company somewhat mitigates the harshness of their demand. The colony had cost it a very considerable sum, and thus far had made very slight

return. This was far from satisfactory to a corporation, the primary object of which was to enrich itself with no great delay. Only one or two of the members had ever visited the American coast, and none had a clear idea how returns of a satisfactory nature were to be secured. The company was also without any reliable report of colonial affairs. Newport, it was said, "hath £100 a year for carrying news," but, jealous and incompetent, he did nothing but bear the malicious tattle of those who rebelled against proper discipline, which the "poor counterfeit impostor," Ratcliffe, abundantly confirmed. These, with the deposed Wingfield, gained the ear of the council by their polished manners and plausible tales, and prepared it to resent the truth in the rougher guise and less palatable facts of Smith's answer. Could the company have been guided by his judgment, and their affairs in the colony have been directed, unhindered, by his hand, the plantation would undoubtedly have reached a greater prosperity at an early age. As it was, the colony owed its preservation and chance of final success to John Smith, who, amid misrepresentations and malice which did not hesitate to instigate his assassination, rose superior to every obstacle and saved those who were unwilling to save themselves.

At this juncture the company took a middle course: it did not make good its threat of abandoning the colony, nor did it accept Smith's advice; it reorganized, increasing its membership, "so that the nobility and gentry, the army and the bar, the industry and commerce of England, were represented." Among the new members were Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury; the earls of Southampton, Lincoln and Dorset; Sirs Oliver Cromwell, uncle of the future "Protector," Thomas Gates and George Somers, Lord Delaware and others. Whatever value the company placed on Smith's "rude answer," the reorganization was undoubtedly induced by the conviction that "nothing was to be expected from Virginia but by labor." To wait for returns by this slow process demanded ampler resources of influence and

money than the old company could command, and it was probably with a tacit understanding of this sort, that the new company was formed.

At all events, the reorganized company at once took the advanced position indicated by Smith, and prepared to strengthen the colony. The large accession of wealth and nobility to the membership of the company gave it great prestige, which, with the fuller reports obtained of the country, led to a widespread desire to join the fortunes of the Virginia colony. The company, therefore, had no difficulty in dispatching a fleet of nine vessels, bearing more than 500 emigrants. On the outward voyage the fleet was "caught in the tail of a hurricane;" one vessel sank; the "Sea Venture," bearing Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers and Christopher Newport (who were appointed commissioners to direct the colony until Lord Delaware, the newly appointed governor, should arrive by a later vessel), was wrecked on the Bermuda Islands; seven vessels arrived at their destination in safety, bringing, among others, the former "silly president," Ratcliffe.

While matters were thus going forward in England, Smith was laboring in Jamestown to bring order out of the chaos induced by the last addition to the colony. Three additional members for the local council had been brought by Newport, but the people would trust only Smith, and he continued president. The arrival of the seven ships found the little colony enjoying a system of order and good rule to which it had hitherto been a stranger. The cultivation of Indian corn, under the instruction of two of the natives, had been introduced, and some forty or fifty acres planted. The Scriptural rule, "that if any would not work, neither should he eat," was rigorously applied; the soft-handed gentry had learned to dexterously wield the ax; and six hours' daily labor was the undeviating law for all able-bodied members of the colony.

This halcyon period was seriously interrupted by the arrival of the fleet. Ratcliffe lost no time in landing and proclaiming the



reorganization of the company and the approaching retirement of Smith; with him came his old associate, Martin, and a new accomplice, Archer. Ratcliffe at once assumed the old struggle, claiming authority under the new company. Smith was not a man to be irregularly superseded, and the contest of authority immediately became a question of relative strength. There was no doubt as to the sympathies of the old colonists, who were about to cut Ratcliffe's throat when Smith sent him to England. Of the something more than 300 new-comers, there was more doubt. Some of them were "gentlemen of good means and great parentage," but the larger number were "unruly gallants packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies at home." The latter class sided with Ratcliffe, and mob rule seized upon the town. The "unruly gallants would dispose and determine of the government sometimes to one, sometimes to another: to-day the old commission must rule, to-morrow the new, the next day neither; in fine, they would rule all or ruin all." This was more than Smith could patiently endure; he suddenly arrested Ratcliffe and other leaders, and placed them in confinement to await trial. To relieve the crowded state of Jamestown, and profitably employ the largely increased numbers, West, a relative of the new governor, was dispatched with 120 men to establish a plantation at the falls of the river; a similar company, under Martin, was sent to plant a colony at Nansemond, near the sea.

The incompetency of these leaders led to the miserable failure of both projects; the lower colony, deserted by Martin and left without a leader, was destroyed by the Indians almost to a man; the other fared scarcely better. On a trip to relieve the upper settlement, Smith received the wound which obliged him to leave Virginia before the arrival of his successor. His powder-bag, exploding near him while asleep, terribly lacerated his side and thigh, making it necessary for him to repair to England for successful treatment. His great anxiety at this juncture was the care of the colony. He steadily refused to confer authority upon

Ratcliffe, and at the last moments, when aboard ship, he persuaded George Percy to defer his own departure and accept the reins of colonial government until relieved by the arrival of the new official.

The retirement of Smith was in no sense a retreat. Notwithstanding the antagonistic elements with which he had to deal, the incompetency of his supporters and the malice of his opponents, he left "all things prepared for peace or war." Jamestown contained two or three score of houses, some of two stories, besides a church and store-house. The whole was surrounded by a stout palisade of logs, fifteen feet high; at the neck of the peninsula, the only point left unguarded by the river, was a fort, with cannon regularly mounted. The armament consisted of twenty cannon, and 300 stand of small arms—muskets, swords and pikes—with a full supply of ammunition. In the river were three vessels and seven boats, with a complete assortment of fishing nets. In the store-house was an abundant supply of provisions, besides 500 or 600 hogs, horses, sheep and goats. Within the inclosure were nearly 500 men, women and children, of whom 200 men had been trained to Indian warfare under his own eye. With such an equipment failure could come only through misgovernment; under Percy, this followed. The lawless element again seized the government, and made short work of ruining all that the patient foresight of Smith had accomplished. The ample stores laid by were squandered, the friendly relations with the Indians were interrupted, and the colony was once more threatened with destruction from within and without. The horrors of the famine succeeded; one after another of their resources were exhausted; "hogs, hens, goats, sheep, or what lived—all was devoured;" the savages responded to entreaties for succor with "mortal wounds, with clubs and arrows;" and when all else had failed, they fed on human flesh. An Indian, killed and buried, was exhumed and eaten, "and so did divers one another, boiled and stewed with roots and herbs." Thirty escaped in one of the vessels

to begin a career of piracy; but with this exception the whole number, save sixty persons, perished of misrule.

In May, 1610, the occupants of the *Sea Venture* reached Jamestown. They had succeeded in reaching shore after being wrecked, had found abundant supplies in the natural products of an island, and in nine months had constructed two vessels from the cedars of the island and the bolts and rigging of the wrecked ship. In these, the "*Patience*" and "*Deliverance*," the whole company, consisting of more than 100 persons, came with Gates and Somers to the colony, bringing a store of such supplies as were saved from the wreck and the island afforded. At Jamestown they found a shocking scene of misery and death: only a feeble, emaciated remnant of the once prosperous colony survived, and these declared "this in ten days more would have supplanted us with death." Somers volunteered to return for further supplies to Bermuda, where he died, and the crew, unmindful of Virginia, sailed direct for England. With reviving strength the Virginians clamored to be removed from a place where "none had enjoyed one day of happiness," and so strongly did the whole situation plead in their behalf, that the entire company embarked to return to England. Every feature of the place was hateful to the sufferers, and the remaining structures were about to be given to the flames, but "God, who did not intend that this excellent country should be abandoned, put it into the heart of Sir T. Gates to save it."

By the charter under which the company was reorganized, the machinery of colonial government was slightly changed. A governor and council were appointed, besides a gubernatorial staff, selected probably by the governor. The reorganized company selected Lord Delaware governor for life and captain-general of the colony. He immediately assumed the state of a viceroy, with Sir Thomas Gates as lieutenant-governor, Sir George Somers as admiral, Christopher Newport as vice-admiral, and Sir Ferdinando Wyman as master-of-horse. The lieutenant-governor, admiral and vice-admiral were dispatched

with the fleet as noted above. Subsequently the governor set out with three ships, stored with a year's provisions for the colony, besides a number of emigrants. On reaching the settlement near the mouth of the James River, Delaware learned of the state of affairs as well as of the contemplated removal, and promptly sent forward one of his ships to stop the movement and announce his approach with relief. Hardly had the deserting squadron reached the lower quarter of the river when it met the governor's messenger, and, turning back, by night they were once more in their old quarters, with happier prospects in view. This happy deliverance seemed little less than marvelous to the sorely beset colonists, and new and old settlers united to ascribe the event to the interposition of a kind Providence.

There is, perhaps, no better indication of the improvement wrought by the reorganization of the company than in the improved social condition of those who constituted the new colonial government. Smith possessed all the requisites of a successful governor, save that social prestige which plays so important a part in a community constituted as was that of Jamestown. Lacking this, he was obliged to extort, by the forcible show of power, that recognition of his authority which his position alone ought to have insured. This prestige the new governor possessed in an eminent degree, as well as "approved courage, temper and experience." The "pomp and circumstance" of the new administration, therefore, served a more valuable purpose than to tickle the vanity of the gallants. While the silk and lace of the new government made some of the older colonists complain that the plantation "was not grown to that maturity to maintain such state and pleasures," they imposed upon the other class a sense of power which they were prepared to respect.

The new governor, with great wisdom, addressed himself to repair the disaster that had befallen the colony. Every mark of that "starving time" was removed; buildings were repaired, the stockade renewed; and the church building, refitted and decked



with flowers, was made the center of instruction and administration. Under the mild but firm rule of Delaware, matters once more assumed the air of tranquillity and prosperity. Methodical industry was once more established; comfort and order were everywhere manifested; and the incongruous elements seemed to blend in one harmonious community. But this happy state of affairs was doomed to an early interruption. The cares of the colony and the insidious poisons of the malarial atmosphere proved too much for his feeble constitution, and Lord Delaware was forced to return to England.

The administration, in the absence of Gates and Somers, was placed again in the hands of Percy. The colonists at once took counsel of despair, and all the horrors of his former term of office seemed to loom up to overwhelm them. That experience, however, had probably taught a valuable lesson to the survivors which might have served to prevent the full repetition of the period of anarchy and death, but fortunately the colony was not called to long test its dearly bought wisdom. Before the departure of Delaware was known in England, Sir Thomas Dale was despatched as "high marshal of Virginia," with supplies. Delaware left in March, 1611, and Dale arrived in the following May. The colonists had begun to relapse into idleness, the necessary work of the plantation was forsaken, and Dale found them playing bowls in the grass grown streets of Jamestown. The lawless element immediately tested the mettle of the "high marshal" by an attempt at mutiny, but the old soldier, armed with a "code of martial law," restored order with a "cruel, unusual and barbarous" hand. His early report to the company sets forth the weakness of the colony and the great discontent of its members, but on the other hand it gives great encouragement that the ultimate success of the enterprise is certain if only the company persevere, adding his estimate of the prize to be won as follows: "Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country, either for commodities or goodness of soil."

This report received the confirmation of Delaware and Gates, who were competent judges of the facts, and the lieutenant-governor was immediately dispatched to the colony with a fleet of six ships, bearing 300 emigrants and abundant supplies, among which were 100 kine. The arrival of Gates was hailed with a military salute; and being the superior officer, he assumed the control of affairs. Dale subsequently, with the permission of the lieutenant-governor, chose 350 men from the increased number at Jamestown and planted a settlement on a high plateau, within what is now known as Dutch Gap, a fertile and picturesque spot nearly surrounded by the James River. Here he founded a town, which he named Henrico, in honor of Prince Henry. Soon afterward he established another plantation a little further down the river, near the mouth of the Appomattox, called Bermuda.

Under the severe discipline established by Dale, and the wisdom with which it was directed by Gates, the colony was placed upon a secure and permanent basis. It was not only rapidly approaching the point of self-support, but was showing a vigorous vitality in projecting military movements in support of English pretensions to New England shores. The prosperous condition of the colony was marked also in its material improvement. The buildings and palisades wantonly destroyed were replaced, and plantations began to dot the banks of the James at intervals almost to the sea.

With all this improvement the colony was yet unable to make any gainful return for the vast outlay of the company; the burden began to be seriously felt, and, in 1614, a petition was presented to parliament praying for the aid of the government. The petition was received with marked tokens of interest and favor, but home affairs of a pressing nature intervened and no action was taken on the address of the company. The great need of the colony, Lord Delaware declared in advocating the petition in parliament, was only "a few honest laborers, burdened with children." The colony had

been projected and maintained, thus far, more as a military occupation of the land, than as the germ of an independent state, and colonists, selected by the criterion of the garrison, with few exceptions, had been entirely men. The disintegrating influence of a society thus abnormally constituted, and unrestrained by the close organization of the military code, wrought its legitimate results; and at this time not one in twenty of the considerable number of emigrants brought to Virginia remained alive. The natural result of this policy was that the colony, though planted with care and cultivated at great expense, refused to take root. The adventurous character of the colonists could be restrained by a firm government, but it could not supply home ties nor the responsibilities of a family to anchor the immigrant. Deprived of these moorings, the whole colony was in a chronic state of discontent, rebellious under a firm government, and riotous under a weak one; in Jamestown the settler found no "continuing city," and the hope universally cherished was to return with a competency to England.

This state of affairs could not fail to reach the knowledge of the company and challenge their thoughtful attention. It is probable that the return of Gates to England in 1614, followed by the petition to parliament, marks the awakening of the company to the importance of a change of policy. The movement of reform was not allowed to cease with the inconclusive petition. Sir Thomas Smythe, who, as treasurer of the company, had directed the destinies of the colony with something of autocratic power, was succeeded by Sir Edwin Sandys, but not until the old policy had furnished another example of misrule and consequent distress to "point the moral."

Sir Thomas Gates remained in command in the colony until 1614, when he received permission to visit England. In his absence the government devolved upon Dale. The "high marshal" was "a man of great knowledge in divinity, and of a good conscience in all things," according to his chaplain, Whittaker, and while stern in executing the

penalties of martial law against offenders, he maintained a stable government, with peace abroad and order at home. In 1616, Dale turned over the government to George Yeardley, and returned to England. Since his arrival in Virginia, the plantations had increased from one to eight. These were located along the James River: Henrico, Bermuda, West and Shirley Hundreds, Jamestown, Kiquotan, and Dale's Gift—the last on the sea-coast, near Cape Charles. Henrico, under Dale, had become the residence of the governor, and a college for the education of the natives for the missionary work had been established here. At Jamestown was a settlement of fifty men under the control of Francis West.

Certain radical reforms, instituted at the suggestion of Dale, rendered the colony quiet and industrious, and Yeardley seems to have been able to devote his whole attention to increasing the prosperity of the people. Tobacco was found cultivated by the Indians, and some experiments in its culture had been made by certain of the colonists. On his accession to the government, Yeardley took prompt measures to introduce the general cultivation of the plant, and with such success, that, three years later, Virginia shipped 20,000 pounds to England, where it was rapidly becoming an article of general use. His official term was short, however. Through the intrigue of the beneficiary, Yeardley was succeeded by Samuel Argall, in whose hand martial law became the scourge of a demon.

The new appointee arrived at Jamestown in 1617, with the authority of "deputy governor, and admiral of Virginia." He had been the commercial agent of Sir Thomas Smythe, and in 1613 had commanded an expedition from the colony which destroyed a peaceful French settlement upon Mount Desert Island, off the coast of Maine. These seem to have been his only qualifications for the discharge of the important duties of colonial ruler. The colonists had become peaceful farmers under the wise administrations of Dale and Yeardley, and the new official had nothing to distract his attention from the sole purpose of his stay—the securing of



plunder. He found martial law a dead letter; this he immediately revived, and used the vast power of his position to oppress the colonists for the enrichment of himself and accomplices. Circumstances combined to retain him in power even after his malfeasance was known in England, and with the gross perversion of arbitrary power continued for two years "importing more hazard to the plantation than ever did any other thing that befell that action from the beginning."

"The condition of Virginia," says Bancroft, "became intolerable; the labor of the settlers continued to be perverted to the benefit of the governor; servitude for a limited period was the common penalty annexed to trifling offences; and in a colony where martial law still continued in force, life was insecure against his capricious passions." Notwithstanding the clearness of his guilt, Argall found strong support in the company, and it was only "after a strenuous contest" that he was displaced, and the "temperate and just" rule of Yeardley reinstated.

This experience precipitated the "irrepressible conflict" between the two factions that had grown up in the London Company. The people of England were, at that time, engaged in that struggle which arrayed the constitution against the prerogative and resulted in the beheading of Charles I in the succeeding reign. The same principles were involved in the division of the company, and the struggle here was but an eddy

Of the mighty stream  
That rolls to its appointed end.

In this case the people succeeded earlier and without violence, and from the election of Sir Edwin Sandys, as treasurer of the company, dates the change in the colonial policy of the organization.

One of the earlier acts of the new *regime* was the importation of "maids" to Virginia. Home ties were the pressing need of the colony, and at the instigation of the new treasurer ninety young women, "pure and incorrupt," were induced to embark for the new country. Their transportation was ef-

fected at the cost of the company, which was reimbursed by colonists who took them in marriage. This venture, undertaken somewhat as a commercial speculation, proved so successful that a second company of sixty were sent out. The company desired "that the marriage should be free, according to nature," and that the maids should not be "deceived and married to servants, but only such freemen or tenants as have means to maintain them, \* \* \* not enforcing them to marry against their wills." It was further provided that "in case they cannot be presently married," that they should "be put with several householders that have wives until they can be supplied with husbands." "These new companions were received with such fondness," however, as made such provision of temporary homes unnecessary. They were all "presently married," the price of a wife rising from 100 to 150 pounds of tobacco. This was a debt of honor and was first paid, the company giving preference, in the matter of employment, to married men. The good effect of the company's fostering of domestic ties soon became strikingly apparent; "the people fell to building houses and planting corn;" the restless, discontented settlers became "provident fathers of families, solicitous about the prosperity of a country which they now considered their own."

On the accession of the new direction in the home council, the company, after twelve years of labor and the expenditure of £80,000, could only exhibit, as a result, a colony of 600 inhabitants, including men, women and children. "In James city were only those houses that Sir Thomas Gates built in the tyme of his government with one wherein the governor allwayes dwelt, and a church built wholly at the charge of the inhabitants of the citye, of timber, being fifty foote in length and twenty in breadth." In the town of Henrico were only "three old houses, a poor ruinated church," "with some few poore buildings in the islande." "For ministers to instruct the people, only three were authorized; two others had never received their orders," and the affairs of the

colony were declared to be "in a poore estate."

The new administration immediately addressed itself with energetic good sense to reform old abuses, to enlarge the privileges and increase the numbers of the colonists. In one year as many as 1,260 persons were conveyed to Virginia, and 1,100 were sent out annually. In 1619, there were eleven plantations; three years later eighty plantations extended 140 miles on both sides of the James River, and toward the Potomac, wherever rich farming lands attracted the settler. The culture of silk, grapes and cotton was invited, and seed and persons skilled in their cultivation sent to the new land. Nor was the higher culture overlooked; good progress was made toward the endowment of the Indian University, which, with the several churches, received a liberal grant of the public lands. So prosperous was Virginia in these years, that the friends of the enterprise declared the new State had at length been placed upon a secure foundation, and that the "hopeful country of Virginia" would furnish "full employment for all needy people; provide estates for all younger brothers, gentlemen of this kingdom; and supply this nation with commodities we are fain to fetch from foreign nations, from doubtful friends, nay, from heathen princes." A new danger, however, threatened to cloud this bright picture. The new governor found "the natives upon doubtful terms," a condition of affairs that subsequently resulted in open hostilities.

The conduct of the early explorers toward the Indians, while in perfect keeping with the spirit of the age, was such as to permanently alienate the savages from the whites had they been of a less peaceable disposition. The bigotry of the church, the dominant power of the time, claimed the population of the newly discovered lands as subjects, if Christians; if heathen, as slaves; and there was scarcely an accessible harbor of North America that did not contribute to the slave-marts of Europe. The English were least addicted to this form of villainy, and on the other hand they were the least energetic in

converting them into subjects. The feeling that the savages had no rights which a civilized subject was bound to respect was universal, and actuated all the early dealings of the English in North America. The first colonists under Raleigh's patent were hospitably entertained by the natives, and yet in an eight days' trip to the interior, for trifling or fancied injuries, an Indian village with all the standing corn was destroyed. Even then the savages offered no retaliation, moved to this course, probably, by fear; but the suggestion that the lost colony of Roanoke had been adopted and protected by the Hatteras tribes, was not considered inconsistent with the character of the natives.

The Jamestown colony was planted in a region occupied by upward of forty different tribes. The colonists came without diplomatic introduction; yet, in seventeen days, they explored the river, smoked the calumet with one tribe, selected the site of their colony, and seized upon the whole country with no greater resistance than a single flight of arrows from the startled natives. The more powerful of the tribes in the vicinity of Jamestown were the Chickahominies, who, through the wise management of Smith, early became the steady friends of the whites. The folly of the colonists gave rise to occasional hostilities, in which the two races inflicted mutual injuries as acts of war; but the conversion and marriage of Pocahontas to Rolfe restored amity, and cemented the races in so close a union that the powerful tribes ruled by Powhatan "demanded to be called Englishmen." The rights of the Indians, however, were little respected by the whites, who did not scruple at times to appropriate the soil, cabins and grain of the natives, without the fact or form of treaty or compensation. The policy of too many of the colonial authorities seemed only directed "to overmaster the subtle Powhatan," and such success followed their schemes that it was believed he must become a vassal of the colony, or "leave his country to their possession."

So long as Smith remained in Virginia, the Indians proved of the utmost advantage



to the colony, repeatedly succoring the starving colonists by timely gifts of corn and game; and even after the strong ties which commanded their friendship were severed by the removal of Smith and the death of the Indian princess, Powhatan still remained at peace with the whites. In 1618 this chieftain died, and the influence of Argall, careless of, or unlearned in the early traditions of the colony, prepared the way for a serious disturbance of the existing amicable relations. Later colonists had learned to despise the power of the savages, and the wise law which forbade the instruction of an Indian in the use of fire-arms was ignored. Savages were freely employed as hunters, Yeardley affording a conspicuous example of this folly.

The death of Powhatan gave place to less peaceful influences among the natives, who began to realize that some check must be put upon the rapid encroachments of the whites, or the Indian would be forced "to seek a stranger countrie." These influences had been secretly at work for two or three years, when, on May 22, 1622, the savages fell upon the unsuspecting whites and with relentless fury slaughtered men, women and children to the number of from 300 to 500. The attack was planned to reach all the plantations at once, and fell upon the remoter ones without warning. At Berkeleyan intimation of danger was disregarded, but the Jamestown settlement, notified through a colonist whom a friendly Indian desired to save from the general destruction, was put in a state of defense. Where the natives found the colonists prepared to resist, they abandoned the attack; at other points the settlers, though surprised, made a vigorous resistance and saved a remnant of their numbers; but in the main, plans of the savages were crowned with cruel success, and many of the plantations were utterly destroyed. An exaggerated fear took the place of the former over-confidence, and the settlers, far and near, forsaking their homes, crowded into the limited quarters at Jamestown, eager to sacrifice the results of their labor in the new world for the security offered in the old. Some returned to England; others, contracting disease in

the poorly provided quarters in which they were obliged to remain, died; and of eighty prosperous plantations at the time of the attack, only eighteen remained tenanted.

The report of these affairs united all classes of England in sympathy with the colonists, and aroused a pious indignation against the heathen. The new administration of the company, strikingly in advance of public sentiment in most things, was, in respect to the Indians, quite as vindictive. In addressing the colonists, it "redoubled their courages," urged them not to forsake their plantations, but "to embellish the Sparta upon which they had lighted." It counseled the most rigorous reprisal, declaring "the innocent blood of so many Christians doth in justice cry out for revenge." "We must advise you," continued the instructions, "to root out a people so cursed, at the least to the removal of them far from you. Wherefore, as they have merited, let them have perpetual war without peace or truce, and without mercy, too. Put in execution all ways and means for their destruction, not omitting to reward their neighboring enemies upon the bringing in of their heads." The whole public busied itself in providing more substantial aid than advice. The king, with a parsimonious attempt at liberality, contributed some cast-off arms from the Tower; corporations and private citizens of London contributed money and supplies; and the company, aided by private enterprises, undertook to send out large reinforcements of emigrants.

The colonists did not await instructions from England to return the attack of the Indians. Four expeditions carried destruction into the Indian country; the savages lost their villages, and in the fall of 1623, victimized by their own system of warfare, suffered a cruel massacre through a piece of treachery on the part of the revengeful whites. It is doubtful whether at the end of this year the losses of the whites were counterbalanced by the sufferings of the natives, but the resources of the latter being less, the damage was more irreparable. The colonial statutes bear evidence to the fact that the

policy of the company in regard to the Indians was fully adopted by the Virginians. For nearly two years, it "lost the name of action" only through the intervention of more pressing objects than revenge. The whites learned, also, that they were "not suddenly to be destroyed with the sword, by reason of their swiftness of foot, and advantages of the wood, to which upon all assaults they retired." Peace proved far more destructive to the Indian dominion than war, and receding before the gradual extensions of the plantations, never again disputed the sovereignty of the tidewater valley of Virginia. From this period, the stability of the colony never stood in doubt; the steady, healthful immigration became independent of the company's transportation and solicitude, and attention became centered in the political development of the colony.

The charter under which the settlement of Jamestown was planted placed the government in the hands of a council of the company in England, with a resident council to administer colonial affairs. The appointment of the latter was retained by the king, who also reserved the right to overrule and direct the home council in the most trivial affairs. The rights of coining money and making war were granted to the colony; and to the immigrant were granted the rights of English citizenship, which were to descend to their children. The second charter, granted two years later, transferred to the organized company the powers formerly reserved to the king. The council of the company was to be constituted and controlled by the voice of a majority of its members; this body was to have the power to appoint and displace the governor and council for the colony; to establish laws and forms of procedure, which should be operative not only in the colony, but also upon the sea in passing to and from the colony. The company was authorized to carry thither any persons who should consent to go, securing to such persons all the rights of natural born subjects, and in all doubtful parts the charter provided that it should be construed in such manner as should be most for the benefit of the grantees.

The governor was clothed with the most dictatorial powers; in justice, his authority was unquestionable in the colony; guided by the tenor of the company's instructions, he was made the sole judge of their intent, and in the absence of specific provisions, was granted unlimited discretion, even in capital and criminal cases. In cases of mutiny or rebellion the governor was authorized to employ martial law, of the necessity of which he was made the sole judge, and the sole executor of its mandates. The civilization of the age and the novelty of the experiment must afford the only extenuation for such an example of despotic legislation, and it is creditable to the early governors that the character of the early colonists did not provoke a fuller exercise of these powers. Until the coming of Dale this despotic authority lay dormant; but the "high marshal of Virginia" brought with him the military code as practiced in France and the Lowlands, which Sir Thomas Smythe had printed and provided upon his own authority. Dale was an old soldier of the army in Flanders, and exercised his powers with all the brutality then in use in the armies of Europe. In one instance a bodkin was thrust through an offender's tongue, who was then "chained to a tree till he perished;" and others were punished "by hanging, shooting, breaking on the wheel, and the like." The Church of England had been planted with the first colonists, and the sway of the sword was extended to its administration. Stripes were provided for negligences, and death for infidelity, to be administered at the direction of a court martial. Saving the barbarous form of punishment, Dale seems to have administered the code with justice, but the organization of the settlement was unfitted for the operation of a law, provided in the charter only for occasions of mutiny or rebellion, and the people were greatly distressed.

The severity of this administration was greatly relieved by the reforms instituted. The early custom of "bringing all things to the common store" encouraged idleness; the larger number "presuming that, however the harvest prospered, the general store must



maintain them," refused to work, and the labor of a few only could be brought to the maintenance of the colony. The gross injustice of this arrangement, with the lack of enterprise to identify the colonists with the country, operated against the prosperity of the community. Most of the first colonists who came to Virginia were maintained at the cost of the company, and were its servants. To each of these, Dale granted three acres of land for their own use, with an allowance of two bushels and a half of corn from the public stores; one month of the year was allowed each one for the cultivation of this tract, the other eleven being required by the company. To immigrants coming at their own cost, or to persons bearing their expense, a bounty of 100 acres was offered, which was subsequently reduced to fifty acres, when the success of the colony became assured. A grant for meritorious services, not to exceed 2,000 acres to any one individual, was provided for, and any one by the payment of £12 10s. to the company could secure 100 acres, with the privilege of another 100 acres when the first was occupied and improved. Of the later colonists many were tenants, who paid two and a half barrels of corn to the public granary, and one month's labor, which was not to be required in seed time or harvest. In 1615, through the influence of Dale, the company granted 50 acres in fee-simple to each colonist who would settle and clear them, and pay a nominal rent. Such was the small beginning of private property in this colony; but meager as was this concession, it did much to rescue the reputation of Dale from the general odium which his severity had brought upon it.

The administration of Argall, which followed the short uneventful rule of Yeardley, clearly indicated the fatal weakness in the colonial government, and the election of Sandys to the executive office of the company was the signal for the preparation of "instructions for the better establishment of a commonwealth" in Virginia. Yeardley, who now bore the title of sir knight, as well as governor-general, was made the bearer of the good news. On his arrival in Virginia,

he forthwith proclaimed the new policy—"that those cruell lawes, by which the ancient planters had soe longe been governed were now abrogated, and that they were to be governed by those free lawes which his majesties subjects lived under in England;" and, "that the planters might have a hande in the governing of themselves, yt was graunted that a generall assemblie shoulde be helde yearly once, whereat were to be present the governor and counsell with two burgesses from each plantation, freely to be elected by the inhabitants thereof, this assemblie to have power to make and ordain whatsoever lawes and orders should by them be thought good and profitable for their subsistence."

The summons for the election of burgesses was issued by the governor in June, and on the 30th of July, 1619, the first legislative body of America convened at Jamestown. The session was held in the colonial church, the members of the body occupying the choir.

The assembly exercised fully the right of judging the proper election of its members; and they would not suffer any patent, conceding manorial jurisdiction, to bar the obligation of obedience to their decisions. They wished every grant of land to be made with equal favor, that all complaint of partiality might be avoided, and the uniformity of laws and orders never be impeached. The commission of privileges sent by Sir George Yeardley was their "great charter," or organic act, which they claimed no right "to correct or control;" yet they kept the way open for seeking redress, "in case they should find aught not perfectly squaring with the state of the colony." Leave to propose laws was given to any burgess, or by way of petition to any member of the colony; but, for expedition's sake, the main business of the session was distributed between two committees; while a third body, composed of the governor and such burgesses as were not on those committees, examined which of former instructions "might conveniently put on the habit of laws."

The legislature acted also as a criminal court. The Church of England was confirmed as the church of Virginia; it was intended that the first four ministers should each receive £200 a year; all persons whatsoever, upon the Sabbath days, were to frequent divine service and sermons both forenoon and afternoon; and all such as bore arms, to bring their pieces or swords. Grants of land were asked not for planters only, but for their wives, "because in a new plantation it was not known whether the man or woman be the most necessary." Measures were adopted "toward the erecting of a university and

college." It was enacted, that, of the children of the Indians, "the most towardly boys in wit and graces of nature should be brought up in the first elements of literature, and sent from the college to the work of conversion" of the natives to the Christian religion. Penalties were appointed for idleness, gaming with dice or cards and drunkenness. Excess in apparel was restrained by a tax. The business of planting corn, mulberry-trees, hemp, and vines was encouraged. The price of tobacco was fixed at 3 shillings a pound for the best, and half as much "for the second sort." When the question was taken on accepting the "great charter," "it had the general assent and the applause of the whole assembly," with thanks for it to Almighty God, and of those of the whole colony whom they represented: the more so, as they were promised the power to allow or disallow the order of the court of the London company.\*

Thus the Virginians sprang at one bound from a state of vassalage to the freedom of a republic; and right here was planted the germ of the next century and a half's contest in the form of a petition to the company that the assembly might be authorized "to allow or disallow of *their* orders of court, as his majesty hath given *them* power to allow or disallow *our* laws." This the governor had promised, and on July 24, 1621, the company added its confirmation by an "ordinance and constitution." The intent of this notable instrument was "by the divine assistance to settle such a form of government as may be to the greatest benefit and comfort of the people." The "constitution" provided for the appointment of a governor as before; for two councils—the one, called the council of state, to assist and advise the governor, and its members to be placed and displaced by the company; the other, to be called the general assembly, to be convened yearly by the governor, and to consist of the council of state, the governor, and two burgesses out of every town, hundred, or plantation, to be chosen by the respective inhabitants. In the general assembly, which was authorized to treat, consult, and conclude all "emergent occasions concerning the public weal," the greater number of votes were to decide its action, upon which the governor had a negative voice. No such law, however, was to be valid until ratified by the company; and on

the other hand, it was provided that when a government was "well framed and settled" under this instrument, "no orders of court afterward shall bind the said colony, unless they be ratified in like manner in the general assemblies."

In this radical measure was seen the result of Sir Edwin Sandys' influence, to whom King James preferred the devil as treasurer of the company. He and his supporters in the company were not political allies of the king, who viewed their accession to power with a disfavor which he took no pains to conceal. By the charter of 1609, he had given the company "full powers and authority" to confer upon the colony all privileges not in violation of "the laws and statutes of this our realm of England;" and by a third charter, in 1612, he had conferred the jurisdiction of the Bermuda islands upon the company, together with the privilege of sitting in council as often as it chose, and to hold four "general courts" in the year for official deliberation. Under the administration of his friends, the *jus divinum* was not likely to suffer any infringement, but by the election of Sandys the situation was radically changed. "The Virginia courts" became the "seminary to a seditious parliament," and called for the royal suppression—but how?

The defeated minority, of which Argall, knighted by the king, was a prominent figure, gave the dissatisfied James an ill-considered pretext for interference. At the quarter session of the company, held in May, 1620, his majesty nominated four persons, one of whom he expressed the desire to have elected treasurer in the place of Sandys. The company, consisting of about 1,000 members, was represented at this meeting by upward of half of its membership, including twenty great peers, nearly a hundred knights, and many others of renown, who were nearly unanimous in their support of the object of the king's opposition. The company denied the king's right to such nomination, and adjourned to the court in course. In the meantime a committee of eminent individuals conferred with the king and made the illegality

\* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I, p. 112, Edition 1884.



of his action appear so plainly that his majesty covered his mistake by retiring behind a very clumsy explanation of his interference. To avert serious contest with the crown, however, Sandys withdrew, and the earl of Southampton was elected in his place. This was no more satisfactory to the king, for the new treasurer made it the condition of his accepting the trust that Sandys and Nicholas Ferrar, a celebrated lawyer, should be associated with him in the direction of the company's affairs.

"Under their harmonious direction" the new policy of the company was consistently carried forward, but not without the inspired opposition of the minority. The king had determined to nullify the progressive tendency of the company, and it is probable that the "ordinance and constitution" sent to Virginia in the following year was hastened by their forecast of the probable result of the king's hostility. A petition of the minority for the redress of their grievances, together with a libelous description of Virginia by a court sycophant, gave the king the desired opportunity to seize upon the company's records, arrest the deputy treasurer, Ferrar, and investigate the administration of the colony for the purpose of making up a case.

A committee of royal tools were sent to Virginia, in the fall of 1623, to collect evidence to warrant the contemplated action of the king against the company. Upon the general assembly the commissioners used every artifice to obtain an expression in favor of the revocation of the company's charter, but this body was wise enough to observe that their political privileges, of no long standing, derived their present validity from that instrument and the acts of the company under it, and prudently declined to be intimidated or cajoled into conformity with the commissioners' designs. The assembly refused to afford any aid or comfort to the king's purpose, but expressed the utmost solicitude lest the governors should be restored to absolute power, and entreated their sovereign that "they might still retain the liberty of popular assemblies, than which nothing could more

conduce to the public satisfaction and public utility."

To prevent disorders arising "upon rumor of supposed change and alteration," the assembly warned the colonists not to "presume to be disobedient to the present government." There was little danger of such an occurrence, when the only alternative appeared to be a return to the former military despotism. Either side had its partisans; but the majority of the people were not strongly excited in the matter; there being three parties interested in colonial affairs, it mattered little what passed between the first and second, provided it did not affect the third. If the prerogative of the company passed into the hands of the king, the colonists held that no just cause of quarrel existed so long as their rights were not infringed; but in the destruction of the company their present bulwark of defense would be swept away, and the far-sighted planter might have had good cause to indulge the fear that the very citadel of their liberties might in the same way be successfully assailed.

After various attempts to evade the responsibility of arbitrarily revoking the charter, the king, under the disguise of the law, robbed the company, and nullified its appeal to parliament by the announcement to that body that *he* had resolved to "take care of the government of the country." The cat-paw minority of the company had little cause to plume themselves upon the success of their royal accomplice. Sir Francis Wyat, who had been the company's appointee to bear the ordinance to the colony, was confirmed in office; and he and his council were authorized "as fully and amply as any governor and council resident there, at any time within the space of five years now last past." This period was that in which a representative government had existed in Virginia, and the principle, already tenaciously held by the people, received a valuable sanction in this limitation. What ultimate changes the king contemplated, or what the hidden meaning in his statement to parliament that "they should all see he would make it one of his masterpieces, as it well deserved to

be," cannot be accurately determined; death prevented the fulfillment of his engagement.

The population of the colony, at this time, was about 2,500 souls. Since the original settlement in 1607, accessions had been yearly received, but the various exhausting experiences had tended seriously to reduce the numbers, so that of some 5,000 settlers brought to Virginia less than half remained. A large proportion of these were actual settlers located upon lands of their own, and engaged in agriculture. Plantations were situated widely apart, and cabins, by law required to be surrounded by stockades, indicated the site of planters' residences. These were constructed of logs, covered with boards and "matted on the side after the fashion of the Indian wigwams." The interior was ample and furnished with a curious blending of the crude materials of the new country and the higher civilization of the old. Substantial furniture, a table service approaching elegance, and ponderous, stoutly bound volumes bore the marks of English workmen; the high ruff, the small, high, wooden heel, and short, satin skirt of the hostess were of English exportation; the gold laces and brilliant buckles, which marked the distinguished position of the planter, were of the same origin. The fare set before the guest was of the virgin soil,—beef, bacon, a brown loaf, Indian corn cakes, with ale and stronger drinks from across the sea. The "unobtrusive third" followed the meal; the cob or wooden pipe, filled with the native weed from a "lily pot," and lighted with a splinter of juniper wood, or with more elegance by a coal of fire held in a pair of silver tongs made for the purpose, was presented and the guest requested to *drink* it. A boat, manned by a crew of indented servants, carried the planter or guest on the river to his destination; or else on horseback, guided by a trusted servant and accompanied some miles by his hospitable host, the traveler picked his way along scarcely distinguishable bridle trails.

Stock was not abundant, though sufficient for the necessities of cultivation; game, hogs and wild fruits, with the vegetables

that grew luxuriantly in the fertile soil, abounded. Corn and tobacco were the great staples produced, the first for food for man and beast alike; the latter the principal source of income from exportation. The privilege of coining money remained unimproved from the fact that there was nothing to coin. Tobacco became the circulating medium of exchange, and was made a legal tender by the general assembly, the rate of exchange being fixed by a special enactment. No internal trade existed; and the only village was the straggling hamlet of Jamestown, with its rude wooden government buildings and score of cabins. One or two sites of possible villages rejoiced "in that strange spell, a name," but were unmarked or only rendered the more obscure by a cabin or two.

The control of trade legislation was reserved to the royal government from the first. By the first charter it was provided that a "duty of five per cent to be levied within their precincts," on the traffic of strangers not owing obeisance to the British crown, was, for one and twenty years, to be wholly employed for the benefit of the several plantations; at the end of that time was to be taken for the king. By the second charter, the colonists were forever freed from all taxes and impositions on any goods or merchandise imported into or exported out of the colony, except the five per cent due for customs on all goods imported into the British dominions. The payment of this tariff gave the privilege, within thirteen months, to re-export the same goods into foreign countries, without further exactions for dues of any kind whatever. The colonists, at this period, depended for all articles of necessity upon the crude household manufactures of hemp, wool and cotton. For articles of luxury, the only supply was to be found in the mother country, from whence the well-to-do imported their own stock, paying the bill by a return cargo of tobacco.

Before the planting of this colony, King James' hostility to the use of the weed had moved him to write not only a "Counter-blast to Tobacco," but also to lay, by royal edict.



an excessive tax upon its use in his kingdom. Subsequently, when this product became Virginia's sole stock in trade, its sale in England was forbidden unless this tax was paid. This unjust burden placed upon the feeble resources of the colony was somewhat relieved in 1624, when, through the exertion of Sir Edwin Sandys, the Virginian product was amply protected against the competition of foreign tobaccos in the English market.

The local government was made up of a strong mixture of civil and military rule, the outgrowth of the "military code" and the "new ordinance." The people were grouped by boroughs, plantations and hundreds, each ruled by a commander, whose rank was set forth by the bravery of gold lace forbidden to others. His duties were to "see that all such orders as heretofore have been or hereafter shall be given by the government and council be duly executed and obeyed." He was also "commissioner," the prototype of the justice of the peace, with jurisdiction of all controversies under the value of 100 pounds of tobacco; in war he was captain of the contingent required from his hundred, and in peace the executive and judge. The whipping-post and pillory menaced the evil-doer, to which was sometimes added the excision of a part or all of one or both ears.

In the transactions of the general assembly there was no trace of the neophyte or republican; in the face of King James' commissioners it was declared that "the governor shall not lay any taxes or ympositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, other way than by the authority of the general assembly, to be levied and ymposed as the said assembly shall appoynt." To encourage

home industry, a matter which had vainly exhausted the devices of the early governors, it was enacted "for the encouragement of men to plant a store of corn, the price shall not be stinted, but it shall be free for every man to sell it as deare as he can." Swearing, drunkenness, and "scandalous speech against the governor and council" were threatened with the pillory, and the planter was forbidden to "dispose of any of his tobacco before the minister be satisfied."

Such was the colony planted by the London Company: seventeen years of labor and more than half a million dollars had been expended in the effort, and just as complete success seemed about to be attained, arbitrary power wrested the fruit of patient perseverance from its hand. The promised success, however, was of a character calculated to satisfy the heart rather than the pocket. The receipts of the company from Virginia had not equaled the disbursements on its account, and were not likely to restore the balance for some years to come; and the sequestration of the charter therefore brought a relief from responsibilities which greatly mitigated the royal outrage. At the same time, there must have been present a keen regret that the growing state, whose liberty was only half established, should so early fall into the hands of unfriendly power. But the liberal-minded majority had builded wiser than they knew; the ordinance of 1624 constituted the magna charta of the newly planted England; under its benign influence, the plantation became "a nursery of freemen," whose power to-day shapes the destiny of continent and molds the character of the wide earth.



## CHAPTER II.

## VIRGINIA AS A DEPENDENCY OF THE CROWN.

AS a dependency of the crown, the history of Virginia is marked by three periods: from the accession of Charles I to the revolution of 1688; from the revolution to the accession of George I; and under the house of Hanover to the American Revolution. During the first period, legislative independence in Virginia fluctuated between hope and fear—never quite secure from the invasion of the royal prerogative, and never entirely subjugated to its will. During the second period, the colonists, more firmly settled in the administration of home affairs, began to resist foreign encroachments upon their territory and to develop those powers of self-reliance which were destined to be used with such marked effect some half century later. The third period covers the era of resistance to the parliamentary prerogative, which culminated in armed resistance and revolution.

Charles I came to the throne in March, 1625. He found the royal exchequer impoverished and a rebellious faction preparing to resist the arbitrary rule of the crown; and these immediate objects so engrossed his attention that the Virginia colony, recently made the special charge of the king's care, was largely ignored. In the beginning of his reign the new sovereign did announce that he would adopt the policy of his father, but more pressing cares intervened, or pecuniary reasons, arising out of his desire to monopolize the sale of tobacco, induced him to forego the prosecution of his expressed purpose. Whatever the reason, it happened that while the king asserted the rights of the royal prerogative to the utmost limit in England, Virginia enjoyed legislative independence unquestioned, if unrecognized; and recognition came later. Through the agency of the general assembly the colonists "levied

and appropriated taxes, secured the free industry of their citizens, guarded the forts with their own soldiery at their own charge, and gave publicity to their statutes." A revised code, sanctioned by the royal representative, confirmed their early privileges, and Virginia thus early gained as large liberty as was secured to the English by the triumph of the commonwealth. The period was one of immense prosperity; immigration increased to wonderful proportions; home markets were invigorated, and the large increase of exports found unabated demand in England.

Wyat was continued as governor until the early part of 1626, when he was succeeded by Yeardley, an appointment that was accepted by the colonists as a guarantee that "the former interests of Virginia were to be kept inviolate," the king adding his confirmation of this impression by limiting the powers of his appointee to the use of "the same means that were formerly thought fit for the maintenance of the colony." A little less than two years later, Yeardley died, eulogised by the general assembly and regretted by the people. Francis West, a brother of Lord Delaware, was chosen by the council as his successor, adding another precedent in favor of home government, though acting in accordance with the king's commission. In the following year, West was succeeded by a Dr. Potts, who was replaced, as soon as the king learned of West's departure, by the appointment of Sir John Harvey.

The administration of Harvey, from 1629 to 1639, is a memorable one in colonial history. The Virginians remembered him as one of the over-zealous commissioners sent to the colony by James I to gather material

for the discomfiture of the London Company; and his appointment suggested that it was made by the king in requital of former services to his father. Such a governor could hardly be looked upon as the harbinger of good rule, or a desirable successor to Wyat and Yeardley. Two features of his commission confirmed the unfavorable impression; by this instrument he was empowered to fill vacancies occurring in the council, and was granted the fines assessed by his court as official emolument. Beverly describes him as "extortionate, unjust and arbitrary," and, armed with such dangerous power and privilege, he had sufficient incentive to lead an avaricious disposition into the most oppressive course of exactions. Puffed up with the pride of power, "he was so haughty and furious to the council and the best gentlemen of the country that his tyranny grew at last insupportable." The particular grievances recorded against him, by a historian of the time, are that he "issued proclamations in derogation of the legislative powers of the assembly; disbursed the colonial revenues without check or responsibility, and multiplied penalties and exactments and appropriated fines to his own use." It may be questioned if these alone would have raised up the determined opposition which followed; to these he added a supreme disregard for the rights of property, and not only granted large tracts of land to all comers for a private consideration, but also included in these grants the estates of certain planters. His favorable disposition toward the schemes for the dismemberment of the colony intensified the general feeling, and gave rise to a determination to resist his encroachments upon the rights of the colonists.

A public meeting was held and participated in by the chief men of the colony, at which was read a petition, numerously signed, denouncing the governor for the injustice of his administration. For this, the governor promptly arrested the important members of the indignation meeting, and convened the council to suppress such mutinous gatherings. Indignant beyond measure at this summary attempt to put them down, the people, led

by several councilmen and a body of troops, made a descent upon the governor's residence, released the prisoners, and arrested Harvey on a charge of treason. All attempts on the part of the accused governor to effect a compromise proved vain, and the brief record of the council relates only: "On the 28th of April, 1635, Sir John Harvey thrust out of his government, and Capt. John West acts as governor till the king's pleasure be known." The governor repaired to England, and commissioners were selected to present the case of the colony against him; but the two parties do not appear to have confronted each other there. The representatives of the colony were delayed, Harvey appeared before the privy council, cleared himself of the grave charges of treason and smuggling, and was returned by the indignant king, to whom the sending of the governor hither appeared "an assumption of regal power," which should be rebuked by the reinstatement of the obnoxious governor, "though to stay but a day." Harvey, accordingly, came back in 1637, shorn, however, of his power to fill vacancies in the council, and remained nearly two years without provoking further antagonism.

The Virginians regarded any infringement of their original territory with no less jealous eye than the infringement of political rights, and the founding of the colony of Maryland, in this administration, aroused an opposition which for over thirty years refused to acquiesce in the inevitable. The territory granted the first colony in Virginia extended from the Florida line to the Hudson River. In 1613, the Hollanders took possession of this river, and "built forts there, called Prince Maurice and New Netherlands," establishing a flourishing fur trade with the natives. "Thus," it was claimed, "are the English nosed and out-traded by the Dutch." Later, a colony of Swedes occupied Delaware; and in 1630, Sir Robert Heath was granted all that portion of Virginia south of the 36th parallel. All these were considered invasions of the territory of Virginia, and when, in 1632, Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, was granted the territory of Maryland, the Virginians began to fear that the recklessness



of the king and the greed of his favorites would not stop short of appropriating the lands already occupied by themselves. The reckless avarice of Harvey gave color to these suspicions, and the general assembly earnestly protested against the grant as an infringement of the rights of Virginia and a discouragement to the planters who had labored to build up the colony.

The founder of the new colony was a "popish recusant of high character;" under a royal charter he had established a colony upon the southern point of Newfoundland, but the climatic discouragement of that latitude had induced him to look about for a more favorable location. To this end he visited Virginia in 1630, where, the character of his mission being known, he was received with scant hospitality. He found the colonists possessed of a spirit of bigoted intolerance, and no sooner was his presence bruited abroad than a general commotion ensued. The distinguished visitor was given the lie publicly and threatened with violence, and the council, while punishing the offender against the peace and good manners, tendered Lord Baltimore the oath of supremacy and allegiance, which, as a good Catholic, he declined to take. This was equal to a dismissal from the colony, and he accordingly left for England, stopping long enough on his way, however, to explore the country on the opposite side of the Chesapeake Bay. On his return he represented to the king that the country north of the Potomac was inhabited only by savages; that years must elapse before the Virginians could occupy it; that other nations were preparing to plant settlements there, and that the surest way to frustrate them was to found an English colony in the territory.

To such potent arguments the Virginians could reply only by protest. By the canceling of the company's charter, the right of the soil was vested in the crown; and, aided by the influence of home statesmen as well as that of Harvey, Lord Baltimore succeeded in his quest, though his death in the meanwhile transferred the undertaking to his son. Circumstances devolved the respon-

sibility of further opposition, also, upon other shoulders. The king's "trustworthy and well-beloved William Clayborne," with a considerable following, occupied Kent Island, and founded so vigorous a settlement that in 1632 it sent a member to the general assembly of Virginia. This contestant engaged in trade with the Indians, for which he provided a well-equipped vessel, and announced that, as he occupied the soil of Virginia under patent of the king, he would resist any attempt to rob him of his rights.

In 1634 the second Lord Baltimore sent his brother, Leonard Calvert, with "twenty gentlemen" and several hundred laborers to take possession of the king's grant to him. Clayborne's trading vessel was seized, and the colony on Kent Island surprised by night and driven out. The resolute defender of Virginian rights sent an armed pinnace to rescue the captured boat, but in the skirmish which followed the rescuers were defeated with the loss of three men. Beaten for the time, Clayborne waited until the absence of the governor of Virginia gave him an opportunity to renew the struggle. Accordingly, in 1645, he seized the Maryland government *vi et armis*, and forced the representative of Lord Baltimore to retreat to England. The return of Berkeley, then governor, turned the tables, and the defender of the ancient limits, deprived of home support, was violently expelled by the proprietary forces. In all the protracted struggle, Clayborne was supported by the patriotism of the Virginians, who claimed the territory as a part of the colony's possession, and by that religious bigotry which united Puritan and Episcopalian in opposition to the Catholic.

Other marks of individuality appeared in the administration of Harvey; the colonists not only assumed "regal power" and developed a patriotism that countenanced the rebellious attempt to nullify the king's patent, but the colony began also to put off the forms of its tutelage, and to assume the garb of maturity. Early in the administration (1628-29) commissions were issued to the different plantations and hundreds to hold monthly courts, and in 1634 eight shires,



their form of government copied from the shires of England, were erected. Over each of these was placed a "lieutenant, the same as in England, to take care of the war against Indians;" the sheriff, sergeant and bailiffs were also constituted and elected "the same as in England." Harvey was recalled in 1639, and Sir Francis Wyat conducted the government until Sir William Berkeley arrived, in 1642.

The new governor was a "courtier," a member of an old English family, deeply imbued with a profound belief in the *jus divinum* of kings, and schooled in the graces, amenities and prejudices of the well-bred cavalier. At his country estate of 1,000 acres, near Jamestown, he surrounded himself with great social state, and did much to foster the growing aristocratic tendency, which gradually prevailed in the customs of the wealthier classes of the old Virginians. The people were not averse to this display. During the administration of Harvey, the colonists had gained a broader comprehension of Virginia's future possibilities as an integral part of the British kingdom, and readily associated this display with the growing importance of the colony. The exercise of governmental functions had been a powerful means of educating the people in self-confidence, and public spirit, though less marked, had kept pace with the social tendency of the colony. Untouched by the influences which moved England to rebellion, "Virginia was whole for the monarchy," though it only needed similar grievances, thirty-four years later, to break out in armed resistance. But, for the time, the man and the hour had met in happy conjunction. The people, wearied and outraged by the coarse brutality of the retiring governor, were captivated by the urbanity of Berkeley; ruffled by their inconclusive bout with Harvey, and excited over the dismemberment of their territory, the Virginians were surprised into good nature by Charles' address to "our trusty and well-beloved, our governor, council and burgesses of the grand assembly of Virginia" (his first recognition of the colonial legislature, July 5, 1642), and

accepted the liberally devised instructions to Berkeley as the *amende honorable*.

It was under such happy auspices that the long (1642-1677) and eventful career of the new governor opened in Virginia. His instructions associated the council with the governor in supplying the vacancies in that body; provided for the annual meeting of the assembly with unabated privilege, the governor to have a negative voice; for the erection of courts inferior to the quarter sessions; for the administration of justice according to the English usage; and for the probate of wills. To carry out these instructions the governor and assembly united in harmonious action, and for seven years the golden age of colonial existence went on without interruption. In 1643, the shires took the name of counties, and as immigration found its way into new regions, the number increased; stock of all kinds multiplied; the cattle were estimated at 20,000 head, with horses and other kinds in proportion; the fertile soil yielded rich returns of wheat, tobacco and corn, the latter "five hundred fold;" the cultivation and manufacture of silk was encouraged, and the infant industry was destined to supply the coronation robe for the restored Stuart, if the tradition be true; and trade, "the calm health of nations," attracted ten vessels from London, two from Bristol, twelve from Holland, and seven from New England.

In the meantime, affairs in England were rapidly approaching the revolutionary climax; the news found its way to Virginia, but awakened no response in the hearts of the colonists. The Virginians were prosperous and happy, and good churchmen enough to believe that "godliness with contentment is great gain." In 1643, the parliament's board of commissioners could offer no advantage which the colony did not already possess; and when the company, which fostered its infancy, sought to revive its charter, the colony promptly protested that "there is more likelihood that such as are acquainted with the clime and its accidents may upon better ground prescribe our advantages, than such as shall sit at the helm in England." The period of

colonial minority had passed and the colony was now able to judge for itself; the legislature had exercised its coveted privileges unhindered, and secured such sanction to the principles of home government as removed all doubt of their stability; the king's policy in Virginia had been quite satisfactory, and the colonists had no disposition to join the cause of the Puritans in the attainment of objects in which they had no interest. The execution of Charles I., therefore, awoke in Virginia a sympathy for the victim of the English people's rage, and the royalist refugees, who fled to Virginia in great numbers, found every home a "hostelry," and had "choice of hosts without money or its value."

The king was beheaded in January, 1649; the general assembly, which met in the following October, took early opportunity to denounce "the late traitorous proceedings" against "the late most excellent and now undoubtedly sainted king;" and provided that all persons who should "by word or speeches, endeavour to insinuate any doubt, scruple or question of, or concerning, the undoubted and inherent right of his majesty, that now is, to the colony of Virginia, and all other his majesty's dominions," should suffer punishment. In 1650, the exiled monarch recognized the loyalty of Virginia and sent his commission to Sir William Berkeley from Breda, and the colony prepared to be "the last country, belonging to England, that submitted to obedience of the commonwealth." This rebellious attitude toward the new state of things could not long pass unnoticed. In the latter part of this year parliament adopted measures to reduce "Barbadoes, Antigua, Bermudas and Virginia" to obedience. One after another made submission to the new authorities with slight resistance at the Bermudas only, and in 1652 a frigate brought the menace of war to the shores of Virginia. The brave old governor made prompt preparations for resistance; the defenses of Jamestown were equipped and manned; the Dutch ships in the harbor were unloaded of goods and mounted with cannon, and nothing was needed to precipitate the devastation and misery of war but the folly of the commonwealth's

commissioners. Fortunately this had been guarded against, both in the selection of the officials and in the terms of their instructions; the demand of the commonwealth was for parley, not surrender. The burgesses of the several plantations were called to assist and advise in the matter, and "upon long and serious debate, and in sad contemplation of the great miseries and certain destruction," surrender was agreed upon.

This result would seem to be a foregone conclusion; the Virginians differed with the commons of England only in personal sentiment; both claimed England as their fatherland, and its settled ruler as the common sovereign of both; Virginia did not aim at independence, and the commonwealth sought only to prevent the dismemberment of the kingdom; there was, therefore, no cause for war. When clearly formulated, the demands of each party were found entirely compatible with the highest interest of both, and instead of a recourse to arms, this real union of sentiment was set forth in articles of agreement "for the surrendering and settling of that plantation under the obedience and government of the commonwealth of England."

By these articles it was provided "that the plantation of Virginia, and all the inhabitants thereof \* \* \* shall have and enjoy such freedoms and privileges as belong to the free-born people of England; \* \* \* 4ly, That Virginia shall have and enjoy the antient bounds and lymitts granted by the charters of former kings; \* \* \* 8ly, That Virginia shall be free from all taxes, customs and impositions whatsoever, and none to be imposed on them without consent of the grand assembly, and so that neither fortes nor castles bee erected or garrisons maintained without their consent;" and this agreement was therein acknowledged "a voluntary act, not forced nor constrained by a conquest upon the countrey." This convention, consisting of sixteen articles, with a supplementary paper granting immunity for acts done under the commission of the exiled king, was confirmed by the "long parliament," save the important stipulations in regard to the "antient bounds and



lymitts," and those contained in article "Sly," quoted in full. These were referred to a committee and were not acted upon before the parliament was dissolved; but whatever this grave omission might have imported, subsequent events secured to the colony the substantial results sought, with the exception of the original boundaries.

Clayborne, who was one of the commonwealth commissioners, the Virginia business being settled, renewed his struggle for the possession of "that sweete, that rich, that large country" of Maryland. Under the general authorization of parliament to reduce "all the plantations within the bay of Chesapeake," he seized the governor of that colony and revolutionized the government, but not without a stubborn fight, in which the proprietary forces were defeated. In 1658 the end appeared; the power of the Puritans began to fail; the Catholics took courage, organized, and surrendered the colony to Lord Baltimore; the death of Cromwell followed in the same year, and the restoration, in 1660, settled this vexed question forever.

The revolution was effected in Virginia without the slightest commotion; the articles for the "settling of that plantation" had made no provision for its future government, but the assembly, as "the representatives of the people," declared "the right of electing all officers of this colony should appertain to the burgesses," and, "after long and serious debate," "unanimously voted and concluded that Mr. Richard Bennett, Esq., be governor for this ensuing year" (1652). Bennett was one of the commonwealth's commissioners, and Clayborne, another, was made secretary of state, the council being composed of sympathizers with the exiled king and "round-heads." The old cavalier-governor disposed of his "house in James Cittie, the westernmost of three brick houses I built there," and retired to his country estate to vent his petulant humor in criticisms of the existing government. The new administration, with no friends to favor nor foes to punish, "kept the noiseless tenor of its way." The "mercenary attorneys" were the common enemy

of all, and were harassed as they were under Berkeley.

There was a "looseness and unsettledness" in the character of the government under the commonwealth recognized by all, and while the protector had "come to some resolutions for supplying that defect" death intervened to prevent his carrying them into execution. The assembly in the meanwhile directed affairs; in 1655, Edward Digges succeeded Bennett as governor, and in 1656, Samuel Matthews was elected. The latter was graced with the title of captain, and was "an old planter of nearly forty years' standing, a most deserving commonwealth's man, who kept a good house, lived bravely, and was a true lover of Virginia." In 1658, the assembly excluded the governor and council from its session; the "old planter governor" resisted the innovation and dissolved the assembly, but the "representatives of the people" were not thus to be coerced. Members were forbidden to leave Jamestown, and convening in secret session the colonial legislature declined to submit the whole question to Cromwell, declaring the assembly was "not dissolved by any power yet extant in Virginia but our own." The burgesses were not without their remedy; they declared themselves in possession of full power to elect and appoint all officers in the colony until orders to the contrary should be received from the supreme power in England; "that all former elections of governor and council be void and null; that the power of the governor for the future shall be conferred on Coll. Samuel Matthews, Esq., who by us shall be invested with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the governor and captain-general of Virginia." This occurred on the first day of April, and on the third, the old planter captain accepted the promotion to colonel, and took the oath in accordance with the determination of the burgesses.

On the death of Cromwell, his son and successor was recognized; the restoration was in view, and the resignation of Richard Cromwell being followed by the death of Matthews, the old cavalier was called from his retirement and placed at the head of the



government once more. The burgesses took care, however, to reaffirm "that the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly," and to enact that "all writts shall issue" in its name, "until such a command or commission come out of England as shall be by the assembly adjudged to be lawful." In the absence of a settled government in England, this guarded declaration of supremacy was not inconsistent with the old governor's political faith, and acquiescing in the innovations accomplished by the burgesses, he declared himself "the servant of the assembly."

The restoration of Charles II was hailed with joy in Virginia. During the rule of the commonwealth the people had lost none of their love for the cause of the deposed monarch, and the unsettled state of the government kept alive the expectation of a return to the only settled form known to the people—a monarchy. The large accession of royalists, "men of the first rate, who wanted not money nor credit," whose singularly wise conduct had provoked no antagonisms, reinforced the natural sentiment. Berkeley was re-elected in March, 1660; in the following May, the restored king forwarded to him a royal commission, and in 1661 a new assembly was convened. The old one, it is said, "was full cavalier," but the constitution of the new one exhibited the change silently wrought in Virginia by the restoration. In the first general assembly convened in the reign of Charles II, "large land-holders and cavaliers" appeared almost exclusively; of the members of the preceding assembly, only eight were re-elected, and only five retained their seats; of those prominent in the extension of colonial privileges, but two appeared in this body. England was restored; Virginia was revolutionized.

The colony was on the high road to rebellion, but its progress was only incidentally marked through the course of the sixteen years which followed. The restoration found colonial power in the hands of "the people of Virginia;" the governor placed and displaced by the general assembly, and his salary voted from one session to another; the council de-

pendent upon the same power; the courts conformed to English law; taxes levied on the poll and only by the burgesses; the assembly directly responsible to the people, elected once in two years and each member paid by his constituents. These privileges had survived both monarchy and commonwealth, and the people, who sought an explicit grant of security from the successor of Cromwell, deemed a charter from the restored Stuart unnecessary; and so Virginia relied upon the integrity of her king and assembly, while the less loyal colonists in the North were securing liberal charters as the price of their unwearied importunities. The mistake of this overweening confidence was fatal to the peace of the Virginia colony.

In 1662, the new assembly, by a permanent imposition on tobacco, provided an unquestionable emolument for the appointees of the crown, and having freed the governor from his financial restraint, the same assembly prolonged its own existence by declaring the law requiring the election of burgesses once in two years "utterly abrogated and repealed." Other innovations followed, all tending in the same direction—the exclusion of the people from the government. New laws freed the burgess from the financial restraint of his constituents by providing for his payment out of a general levy; and in 1670, the franchise was restricted to "free-holders and housekeepers." Such was the progress in ten years; the movement had not gone unnoticed by the people, who were disposed to make "choyce of persons not fitly qualified for so great a trust," in the opinion of the royalist assembly, and hence the restriction. This last innovation was a serious one, and challenged the immediate attention of the people. From the first years until 1655, all settlers had been heard in the general direction; until 1619, in the matters of the plantations and hundreds, and subsequently in the election of burgesses. In 1655 the franchise was restricted to housekeepers, but in the following year the privilege was restored, because it was "something hard and unagreeable to reason that any person shall pay equal taxes, and yet have no

vote in elections." Fourteen years had not antiquated the logic of this reasoning, but the royalists found a class of "persons, who, having served their time, are freemen of this country." Many of these were their old enemies who had been brought to Virginia in the restored times, as indented servants, and now, restored to freedom, made "tumults at this election;" it was safer, therefore, to "grant a voyce in such election only to such as by their estates, real or personal, have interest enough to tye them to the endeavor of the public good."

This centralization of power reached the courts also. The governor and council formed the superior and chancery courts, from which, for a time, there was an appeal to the assembly; the minor courts consisted of eight unpaid justices of the peace, who held monthly sessions in each county for the disposition of minor causes and county business. These magistrates were appointed by the governor during his pleasure, the one oldest in commission succeeding to the position of sheriff, and others in regular rotation. This court, without responsibility to the people, levied the taxes for county purposes, and disbursed them too often for the enrichment of peculating officials. To this was added the exacting machinery of an established church. The later laws, which had lost much of the severity of bigotry, were repealed, and the old ones restored; the vestry was constituted a close corporation with perpetual charter, and endowed with powers to assess taxes without regard to the will of the parishioners.

It is impossible to conjecture how far this irresponsible tyranny would have gone, had not the similar policy of the king supplied a partial corrective. The oppressive trade measures of the crown brought home to the privileged class the folly of alienating the great body of freemen entirely, and subsequent events were to convince them that where plunder was involved even the touch of aristocracy did not make kin. In 1673 the king wantonly granted all the "dominion of land and water commonly called Virginia" to Lords Arlington and Culpepper for thirty-

one years. Such a grant was portentous of the greatest evils; these court favorites, for the annual rent of 40 shillings, were endowed with all the privileges and powers of the Crown over 40,000 people for a generation. The outcry against the villainy was spontaneous and prolonged, and joined in by freeman, housekeeper and burgess. The cavalier assembly protested to the king in language very similar to that of freemen; "they humbly requested not to be subjected to our fellow-subjects, but for the future to be secure from our fears of being enslaved." A commission was sent to England to secure a charter by which the encroachments of the new proprietors might be restrained, but the people, excited by new grievances, took the remedy into their own hands, and the news of "Bacon's rebellion" stopped the charter in the government offices.

In 1674 the general exasperation found some expression, but calm advice and counsel checked the outbreak. Some minor reforms were granted, but the great burden of oppression remained; the determination of the people was taking form, however, and want of opportunity alone denied it expression. This want was supplied at last; the Indians were showing a disposition to renew hostilities; a rumor of their approach was followed by the slaughter of settlers on the frontier plantations. The natives extended their ravages, and planters gathered to follow the foe to his retreat and inflict summary punishment, but they had no leader, and the governor was charged with caring more for his beaver trade than for the lives of the people. Bacon visited the assembled planters, and the general voice proclaimed him leader; but the expedition was not to be undertaken without the sanction and commission of the governor, and the young leader, assuming the responsibility thrust upon him, applied for the necessary warrant to proceed. The governor replied in "polite and complimentary terms" and did not send the commission; but Bacon, "of a precipitate disposition," thanked the governor for the promised commission, and set forth at the head of a force of "most good housekeepers" to achieve the



signal discomfiture of the savages a few days later.

Bacon was a young man, not yet thirty, "of quality and merit, brave and eloquent, \* \* \* master and owner of those inducements which constitute a compleat man (as to intrinsecalls), wisdom to apprehend and discretion to chuse." The governor had now reached the age of about seventy years, with the political principles of his youth no less firmly held, but with temper and judgment somewhat impaired. The temper of the times in England had not escaped his attention, and something more than a regard to the Indian trade prompted his diplomatic reply to Bacon's request. He "doubted Bacon's temper, as he was popularly inclined," and "the peoples' dispositions." His letter to Bacon had been unequivocal on the essential point of the commission; he had not sent it nor promised it, and the "popularly inclined" young cavalier's affected misunderstanding of its terms alarmed the old royalist. This was a repetition of Cromwell's rebellion in disguise, and taking a "bond of fate," the hasty viceroy fulminated a proclamation declaring Bacon and his followers rebels, and commanding them to disperse. A messenger, bearing this ominous summons, overtook the war party before it had passed the frontier; a large number of the "most good housekeepers" faltered at this summons and turned back, but the leader, with a few steadfast planters, went forward, achieved the victory, and slowly returned.

In issuing his proclamation, Gov. Berkeley assumed the whole responsibility, and forthwith raised a force of horsemen to put down the recalcitrant few. But the people had not been uninterested observers of these proceedings, and no sooner was the governor set out than his ears were assailed by the mutterings of a political storm in his rear. The lower counties had risen in rebellion, and complained not only of the defenseless state of the country against the Indians, but demanded also that the general Assembly, which had maintained its existence

for fifteen years, should be dissolved, and that the forts should be dismantled.

To this higher demand the governor was forced to submit. Turning about, he returned to Jamestown, dissolved the obnoxious assembly, issued writs for a new election, and ordered the forts dismantled. Bacon, though under ban as a rebel, presented himself as a candidate for burgess from Henrico, and was elected. Throughout the colony the freemen ignored the law disfranchising them, and elected representatives of the people, among whom were some of their own class. The burgesses met in June, 1676, and Bacon, accompanied by thirty of his supporters, went to take his seat in the new assembly. This was an act of contumacy to which the governor was not prepared to submit, and the whole party was arrested; some were put in irons, and others, with Bacon, released upon parole. Certain politic people interfered; Bacon, who was a member of the council, was persuaded to acknowledge his error in proceeding against the Indians without a commission, was restored to his place in the council, and promised a commission as "general of the Indian wars."

The governor's persuasion partook too much of the nature of duress, against which the old cavalier secretly rebelled; Bacon, while ostensibly reconciled to Berkeley, had good grounds to fear that the end was not yet reached. The commission was delayed from day to day; Bacon assigned a fictitious reason for his desire to return to his plantation, and permission to retire from his duties as councillor was given by the governor, who meditated his re-arrest when thrown off his guard. Matters could not rest here; as one of his followers expressed the situation, "he was in overshoes, and must be over boots," and three or four days later Bacon returned to Jamestown at the head of some 600 armed men to demand the commission. Berkeley vainly attempted to organize a force for resistance, but the whole country rang with the name of Bacon, and the governor was forced to submit. It was force alone, however, that wrought his submission. The



brave old man denounced the young leader and his followers as rebels to their faces; challenged Bacon to a single combat, and opening his clothing, invited him to deliver the fatal shot. To this indignant bravado, the "rebel" replied in language that does credit to his cause: "Sir, I came not, nor intend, to hurt a hair of your head, and, for your sword, your honor may please to put it up; it shall rust in the scabbard before I shall ever desire you to draw it. I come for a commission against the heathen, who daily inhumanly murder us, and spill our brethren's blood, and no care is taken to prevent it."

This forced conciliation was carried to the extent of drafting a letter to the king, cordially endorsing the "rebels" and their general, which the governor and council were obliged to sign. Berkeley was not to be so easily over-reached; he wrote the king that he was "encompassed with rebellion," and besought him to send troops to support the government; he then posted his proclamation, declaring Bacon, who was then carrying devastation among the Indians in accordance with his commission, a traitor. Following the precedent of Charles I, the governor repaired to Gloucester County, and planted his banner to rally the loyal colonists in defense of the colonial interests which his excited imagination declared in peril. But the same fate followed his efforts here; Bacon was all the cry, and the disheartened old man fled to Accomack as the last resort. Here he gathered a motley crew of a few influential persons, planters, seafarers and long-shoremen, and descended upon Jamestown, which he occupied.

Bacon, astounded by the new folly of the governor, turned his back upon the enemy of the frontier, vexed to the heart "to think that while he was hunting wolves, tygers and foxes, which daily destroyed our harmless sheep and lambs, that he and those with him should be pursued with a full cry, as a more savage or a no less ravenous beast." For him the situation had indeed grown critical; he "was fallen like corn between the stones," as the old historian puts it, "so that if he

did not look the better about him, he might chance be ground to powder." Happily he had "wisdom to apprehend and discretion to chuse;" he marched his forces to the middle plantation, and issued his proclamation convening all who had "any regard for themselves, or love to their country, their wives, children and other relations," to consider "Sir William's doting and irregular actings." On August 3, 1676, "most of the prime gentlemen of those parts," appeared; they were for the most part in sympathy with Bacon, but hesitated to go the length to which necessity compelled the general. To him it was death or rebellion, and yet he asked only for protection in the performance of duties for which he was duly commissioned, and which the state of the country made necessary. A "test or recognition" to be subscribed by all was agreed upon. This at first proposed that none of the subscribers should aid Berkeley in disturbing the general and his army. But Bacon demanded something more than neutrality; they must agree "to rise in arms against him, if he with armed forces should offer to resist the general; and not only so—if any forces should be sent out of England at the request of Sir William or otherways, to his aid, that they were likewise to be opposed" until the whole affair should be adjudicated by his majesty, the king. This was a startling step to the planters, not placed in such straitened circumstances as the general, but they believed in the justice of his cause, and his impassioned eloquence did the rest. The whole obligation was assumed, but with the express understanding that it was not to impair their allegiance to the crown.

His rear thus protected, the general proceeded to the frontier, and attacked and routed a tribe of savages, and then came to the "verge of the English plantations," where his troops, save a small detachment, were sent to their homes for rest. Here the news of Berkeley's coming to Jamestown, with seventeen ships and 1,000 men, startled the successful general from his dreams of peace. This meant war, and peace henceforward could be purchased only by the submission of Bacon or Berkeley. The governor

had already shown the fate in store for "the general and his army" by the hanging of one of his supporters on the sea-shore, and Bacon needed no urging to prompt action. He immediately set out with his body-guard for Jamestown, while couriers rode in all directions to summon his forces. The capital was at once besieged, and the governor, recognizing that the solid men of the country were arrayed against him, and finding the great mass of the adventurers in his ranks rapidly deserting, again fled disconsolate to Accomack.

And now the last blow was about to be struck; Accomack was to be invaded; the governor seized, and the whole matter to be referred to the king. But revolution was to be deferred for a century. Bacon, sick from exposure and the over-exertion of the year, died in October, not without a well-grounded suspicion of poisoning at the hands of his enemies. His body was buried by his friends with great secrecy that it might not be dishonored by his foes, a cautionary proceeding which foreboded the end. Deprived of the wisdom and discretion of its general, the army rapidly melted away before the prestige of the governor. One after another of the prominent supporters of the uprising were seized by Berkeley and destroyed; age had not cooled his blood, and the rebellion had made him a fury; it was believed he "would have hanged half the country if they had let him alone."

The king in the meanwhile had heard of the uproar, and in January, 1677, a fleet with a regiment of English soldiers brought a commission to settle the trouble. Even the king turned against the bloodthirsty Berkeley, and his prejudgment of the case had consigned Bacon and other prominent "rebels" to the gallows, and the governor to trial. Berkeley was recalled, summary punishment was inflicted upon prominent supporters of the general, and peace once more reigned in Virginia.

All this had passed in the space of a year; the new assembly held only a short session, but still accomplished much. The newly elected burgesses knew what was expected of

them, and impartially censuring both parties to the disturbance, they proceeded to establish practical reforms; they broke up the monopoly in the Indian trade; arbitrary vestries were reorganized; official fees were regulated; the elective franchise was restored to freemen; and election returns were guarded with new restrictions. The net result of the rebellion, however, was disastrous. The form of government was seriously limited by new instructions from the king; assemblies were allowed to meet but once in two years, and then to sit but fourteen days unless for special business, and care was to be taken that the members "be elected only by freeholders." Under the new regime the reforms instituted by the Bacon assembly were nullified and nearly every abuse restored.

Sir Herbert Jeffries succeeded Berkeley; in 1678 Sir Henry Chicheley followed; in 1679 Lord Culpepper; in 1684 Lord Howard. During this period the "ancient dominion" suffered the "malignant humors of a proprietary government." The burdens of the colonists were doubled to pay the perquisites demanded, and every department of colonial activity was so oppressed by arbitrary exactions that despair nearly gave rise to another outbreak. The summary punishment of a few malcontents quieted the disturbance, and the powers of the assembly were still further restricted. In 1684, the proprietors having exhausted the plunder to be readily gotten out of the colony, Virginia became once more a royal province, destined, however, to still contribute to the ill-gotten gains of the court favorites. Howard was the first of these, and the most exorbitant fees were exacted of the colonists to supply his demands. The accession of James II in 1685 made no change in the monotonous course of despotism. Howard was continued in office and the sway of the royal prerogative reached its climax in Virginia in his administration. "The executive, the council, the judges, the sheriffs, the county commissioners and local magistrates were all appointed directly or indirectly by the crown. Virginia had no town meetings, no village democracies, no free municipal institutions. The custom of a co-





KENTUCKY INSTITUTION FOR DEAF MUTES, DANYILLE.—SEE PAGE 585.





lonial assembly remained, but it was chosen under a restricted franchise; its clerk was appointed by the governor, and its power impaired by the permanent grant of revenue which it could not recall." (Bancroft.) Such was the condition of the colonial government when the revolution of 1688, overturning the tyranny of the royal prerogative, established the supremacy of law.

On the accession of William and Mary, the assembly hastened to dispatch an agent to England to "supplicate their majesties to confirm unto the country the authority" of government "as near as may be to the model of the parliament of England." The specific stipulations of the assembly sought generally the recovery of privileges enjoyed at the date of the restoration. These "their majesties" did not hesitate to grant, and without defining the ultimate scope of the colonial assembly's authority, the royal instructions recognized it as an integral part of the Virginian government, and interfered little with its particular functions. Under this fostering toleration the colonists found themselves once more able to achieve their own destiny through a free assembly. The independent spirit of the people began to revive, and it was observed that "pernicious notions, fatal to the royal prerogative, were improving daily." Little by little affairs gravitated toward the golden age of the colony under the commonwealth, and in 1710, Gov. Spotswood noted for the information of the queen's ministers that "the inclinations of the country are rendered mysterious by a new and unaccountable humor (the Governor was born in the year of Bacon's rebellion), which hath obtained in several counties, of excluding gentlemen from being burgesses, and choosing only persons of mean figure and character."

In the meantime the elements of growth came in to restore the assembly to its early vigor. The single colony had increased to twelve, each independent of the other, but all united in the demand for the co-ordinate authority of the colonial assembly. Thus a spirit of emulation stimulated each colony to persevere by independent measures in seek-

ing the desired end, the achievement of one proving indirectly the gain of every other. The population of Virginia had now reached about 50,000 persons, and the permanent revenue granted by the cavalier assembly, and increased under Culpepper, was no longer the menace to colonial liberties that it once was. The large increase of expenditures demanded additional supplies, which the assembly now took care to grant for limited periods, and for specifically defined purposes, the disbursements being made by their own treasurer, who acted independent of the officers of the crown. Another fact contributed to the same end; the office of governor had now become a sinecure, which was enjoyed by the appointee in England, and his lieutenant was restrained by the beneficiary, who cared for nothing so much as the perquisites of his office. Thus, under the last days of the Stuarts, the general assembly regained much of its lost power, never to lose it again.

With the accession of the house of Hanover, began a period of the grossest political corruption. The supremacy of parliament gave new prominence to the ministry, and the cabinet became gradually invested with much of the privileges which formerly accrued to the crown. Colonial appointees came to be very generally selected from the relations or dependents of persons in power, or from a class of political pirates who engaged to surrender the larger part of the legal emoluments of office for the opportunity of enriching themselves by irregular methods. The grossest abuse of official trusts followed; but plunder being the sole pursuit, these crown representatives proved less determined in their opposition to the aggressive policy of the assembly.

Legislative independence gained an advantage also at this time by the change in the official management of colonial affairs in England. In 1696 the general supervision of the colonies had been placed in the hands of the "board for trade and the plantations," consisting of certain of the ministry with eight appointed commissioners. Subsequently, the functions of this board were restricted simply to legislative and clerical

duties pertaining to the administration of the colonies; in the cabinet, the American colonies were represented by the secretary of State for the southern department; and to the privy council was reserved the framing of measures to enforce the instructions of the board of trade. It thus happened that on one side was the legislative power and on the other the executive power; between them stood the secretary, necessary to connect the cause and the effect of the administration of colonial affairs, but subject to neither, and often busy with projects which led him to ignore the colonies altogether. Amid all this official circumlocution the crown could not maintain effective control of the growing insubordination of the colonies, and unsatisfactory "instructions" were easily evaded or compliance refused outright.

America was now rife with the bickerings between governor and assembly; governors came armed with instructions to the assemblies to provide "a permanent revenue, solid, definite and without limitation." This demand was refused, with more or less circumlocution, in every case. Limited grants, only in return for the sanction of legislation which gradually sapped the foundation of arbitrary power, were made, but even these were so completely guarded as to give little satisfaction to the representatives of the crown. The result was a series of complaints from the governors, and protests from the assemblies. "To preserve the dependency of America," declared the badgered and defeated officials, "the constitution must be new modelled." To this the assemblies calmly replied, basing their arguments upon the rights of all Englishmen gained through Magna Charta, and upon the co-ordinate authority of the assembly with parliament. These premises were not allowed by English statesmen, but there was that in the undemonstrative attitude of the colonies that forbade rash procedure, and the question of a fixed revenue continued to vex the souls of crown officers.

The struggle with France for the possession of the Ohio valley added its influence to bring matters to a crisis. The "great

woods" was the indeterminate title which stood for the vast expanse of field and forest west of the line of the Alleghanies, from the lakes to the gulf. Traders brought the intelligence of the French quietly pushing eastward from the Illinois country, and southward from the lakes at Detroit and Niagara into the valley of the Ohio. This progress of the French people was viewed with jealousy both in England and America, but the lack of harmony between the mother country and the colonies prevented union of action. The French were keen observers of all this, and placed their dependence more upon the division of their opponents than in their own strength; "the English," said they, "can raise two men to our one; but they are too dilatory to prevent any enterprise of ours." It was the opinion of the leading men on both sides of the ocean, that the colonies should unite to resist the French, but even a liberal plan of union for this purpose, conceived by Benjamin Franklin, failed to satisfy the jealous demands of the colonies, though its independence startled the statesmen of England.

In 1754, the board of trade proposed a complicated scheme for the same purpose, the chief feature of which was "a certain and permanent revenue." No determined effort was made to materialize this proposition, and resort was finally had to the prerogative. Gen. Braddock was commissioned to take command of the American forces to be employed against the French, and the colonial governors were notified that it was the king's pleasure "that a fund be established for the benefit of all the colonies collectively in North America."

The opposition which had defeated a plan devised to meet the difficulties of the situation by one who sympathised with the colonial prejudices, was not likely to be dispelled by the king's peremptory demand. "The assembly of this dominion," said Gov. Dinwiddie, "will not be directed what supplies to grant, and will always be guided by their own free determinations; they would think any restraint or direction an insult on their privileges, that they are so fond of." When



Braddock reached America in 1755, he called a convention of the governors, and expressed his indignation "that no such fund was already established." The governors could only protest their inability to accomplish it, and the convention, in which Virginia was represented, united in a paper to the king; "such a fund," said the governors, "can never be established in the colonies without the aid of parliament. Having found it impracticable to obtain in their respective governments the proportion expected by his majesty toward defraying of his services in North America, they are unanimously of the opinion that it should be proposed to his majesty's ministers to find out some method of compelling them to do it, and of assessing the several governments in proportion of their respective abilities." This was fatal advice; and the initiatory act of the inevitable conflict thus clearly defined was reserved for the reckless ministry of that royal bigot who,

Like the base Indian threw a pearl away,  
Richer than all his tribe.

In the end, while the colonies declined the proposition of the ministry, they consented to *loan* the English government sufficient to carry on that struggle which left no barrier to the English sway between the Gulf of Mexico and the North Pole.

Thus matters stood when George III came to the throne of England in October, 1760; a sovereign who sought to revive theories of government that had practically been laid aside for three-quarters of a century; and who thrust the royal dictum in the face of a defiant nation, whose power was but vaguely guessed.

At this time Virginia was the most docile of the English colonies; the governor and council were appointees of the crown; they constituted the court of last appeal in the colony, and the lower courts were held by judges appointed by the governor and held office during his pleasure. Admiralty courts, a later invention of the trade laws, were constituted by the lords of admiralty in England, while the comptroller and collectors of customs, found in every considerable harbor, were appointed by the commission-

ers of customs; officers of the militia and magistrates were appointed by the governor. The elective franchise was still confined to freeholders, and the assembly consisted of two houses sitting separately, the burgesses and the council of state. There was less of bickering between governor and assembly than in other colonies, but no more subservience to the royal prerogative. The governor holding his office as a sinecure, exercised a wholesome restraint upon his lieutenant, and the permanent grants to the crown removed the oft recurring collision which agitated the less loyal colonies.

The cavaliers were still here, and the old sentiment of loyalty to the mother country was still the prevailing one, but the royal policy was rapidly blending the classes that had been widely separated in 1676, and immigration was gradually reinforcing the yeomanry. The sturdy emigrants whom royal oppression was driving out of Scotland, Ireland and Germany were finding homes in the valley, and settling on the frontier, far from the restraints and influences of the older centers of civilization; were drawing in the inspiration of freedom from the very atmosphere of woodland homes. The "man of the people" had arisen, and initial opposition to royal tyranny was to be transferred from the representatives to the constituency.

In 1763 Patrick Henry declared, in the famous "parson's cause," that the burgesses were "the only authority which could give force to the laws for the government of this colony," and denounced the king as a tyrant amid the cries of treason from the opposing counsel. In 1765 he offered five resolutions in the assembly opposed to the stamp act of parliament, the purport of which was summed up in the conclusion that "the general assembly of this colony has the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions on the inhabitants of this colony." The assembly still counseled delay, but the passionate eloquence of Henry, with which he declared amid cries of treason, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third may profit by their example," pre-

cipitated action. Gov. Fauquier dissolved the independent assembly which had caught the sentiment of the people, but freedom had gained a voice, never to be stifled. Jefferson, the "apostle of Democracy," reinforced Henry, and the people under these leaders swept away opposition. But this was not a converting power; the cavalier element had resisted the eloquence of Bacon, and democracy had no charm for the gentlemen in powdered wigs and ruffles of lace who still exerted the dominant influence in colonial affairs. The ruthless policy of the king supplied the deficiency; the indiscriminating oppression of trade laws afforded the bond of union which made the colonies practically unanimous for independence.

On the accession of Charles I, Virginia, whose population was less than 3,000, had no trade of importance save to itself. Tobacco was the only staple source of income, and this product was shut out of the whole world save England. In the closing years of the preceding reign, the colony with the Somer Islands—Bermuda—enjoyed the monopoly of this market, which was confirmed by Charles. The increasing growth of the colony, together with the stimulated production, soon glutted the restricted market; the price of tobacco gradually declined, and the utmost distress afflicted the colonists. Tobacco was then the circulating medium of exchange, the money of the country, and continued the standard of business exchanges, with slight exceptions, until 1656. The evil grew under the administration of Harvey, and under his successor a "stint" was resorted to for relief. The whole product of the colony was limited to 1,500,000 pounds of tobacco; the rotten, unmerchantable and half the good crop was legally burned. The two years following, the whole product was limited to 1,300,000 pounds, and "all creditors were to take forty pounds for a hundred."

During the rule of the commonwealth rigorous navigation laws were enacted, but under the toleration which Cromwell accorded to all colonial affairs, these were evaded, and Virginia enjoyed "as free trade as the people of England." Trade with the Indians, which

had been trammelled with license, was made free, and the traffic with the Dutch was conducted under a slight cover of evasion. Under the reign of Charles II, however, a radical change was effected. The "navigation acts" restored the commercial restrictions of the commonwealth, and, under the closer scrutiny of a royal regime, became a mighty engine of grinding oppression.

By these acts it was provided that "no merchandise shall be imported into the plantation but in English vessels, navigated by Englishmen, under penalty of forfeiture." The greed of the English merchant was not yet satisfied; the carrying of trade was monopolized, and the trade in supplies to the colonies practically secured, but now the privilege of fixing the price of colonial products was demanded, and so such American products as did not compete with English industries were restricted to the market of England under penalty of forfeiture. These products were specifically named, others being added as developed, and included all the staples of the country. Again, in 1663, lines were more strictly drawn; there was danger that the trade in supplies might be partially diverted, notwithstanding the English had command of the carrying trade, and supplies were required to be bought in England alone. This left the colonies still the privilege of supplying each other so far as their limited resources would allow, but in 1763 this last vestige of privilege was cut off; traffic between the colonies was made subject to a duty equal to that placed upon the same commodities in England.

Against these oppressions Virginia could make no formidable resistance; against them and the system of government which made them possible, Bacon entered his protest by force of arms, and the near success of the rebellion showed how far these measures had united the sentiments of royalists and people. Its failure prevented the "consummation devoutly to be wished;" the cavaliers returned to the support of royal tyranny, and the people to the galling yoke of oppression. The royal favorite conceived that the growth of the colony would be accelerated



by the establishment of towns, and certain town sites were appointed from which all tobacco should be shipped. The penalties affixed to disobedience of these laws were so severe as to drive traders out of the country, and small planters, unable to market their crop, saw the fruit of their labor rot on their premises or wrested from them by the minions of the law. Complaints remained undressed, and despair drove the poor and ignorant to destroy the growing plant wherever found when the season was too far advanced to replant. Then followed the attacks upon the privileges of the assembly, which united all classes again in opposition to the despotic measures of the king, only to again fall apart under the seductive smiles of the royal representative. But each time the division between the classes grew less.

The revolution of 1688 brought relief to the strained situation, and free trade once more sprang into existence. This forestalled rebellion, but did not bring freedom from oppression. The wasted energies of the people and country were restored, and something of prosperity began to dawn, when, in 1696, commercial tyranny was again brought back to power. New inventions added rigor to its enforcement. It was provided that even after the payment of export duties products should not be taken to a foreign market, and customs officials were authorized to enter warehouse and wharf to enforce these stipulations. Still the fear of evasion haunted the commercial oligarchs, and courts of admiralty were established "that offences against these acts of navigation might no longer be decided by judge and jurors who were themselves often the greatest offenders."

But in spite of these inventions, or rather in direct result of this tyranny, the colonists began to turn their resources to domestic account. "The people" it was said, "more of necessity than of inclination, attempted to clothe themselves with their own manufactures." In 1699, therefore, a blow was aimed at domestic manufactures, lest the flocks and fireside industries should "inevitably sink the value of the lands" in England. Hence it was enacted that "after the

first day of December, 1699, no wool, or manufactures made or mixed with wool, being the product or manufacture of any of the English plantations in America, shall be loaden in any ship or vessel, upon any pretext whatsoever—nor loaden upon any horse, cart or other carriage—to be carried out of the English plantations to any other of the said plantations, or to any other place whatsoever." Still, in 1719, it was reported of the colonies that "the inhabitants worked up their wool and flax, and made a coarse cloth for their own use; that they manufactured great part of their leather; that they were hatters in the maritime towns; and that six furnaces and nineteen forges were set up for making iron." This called forth renewed restrictions, and every manufacture was forbidden, save those of bolts and nails, a concession reluctantly granted to the long and determined opposition of the northern colonies. And thus the monotonous course of commercial oppression was pursued until even hops were allowed to be shipped only to England.

The grievous burdens entailed by this policy were rendered the more intolerable because they resulted in no revenue to the English government. The colonists were bred to support vampires; the trade enriched the English merchant, while the system gave origin to and supported "a crew of villains," who did not hesitate "to betray his (the king's) interests and break the acts of trade," provided they could make greater gains from bribes than from the exorbitant fees they were authorized to exact and retain. This state of affairs was not unknown to the home government, but the system, it was thought, served a purpose other than to provide revenue, equally desirable; it was declared in a resolution of parliament that "the erecting of manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence."

There could be no greater mistake either in political economy or in theory of government. As was declared by a colonial agent, "London" indeed "arose out of the plantations, and not out of England," but as a means of continuing the dependence of the colonies the policy was a conspicuous fail-



ure. The "most pernicious doctrines" increased daily under this oppression; Massachusetts was declared to be "a kind of commonwealth, where the king is hardly a stadholder," and royal governors repeated the same story elsewhere. The ministry was repeatedly warned that "the American assemblies aimed at nothing less than being independent of Great Britain as fast as they could."

The colonies were in this attitude, when England, burdened with the cost of continental wars, sought relief from the expense of colonial maintenance. The stupendous trade folly brought in no revenue; the colonists refused a fixed and permanent fund; and now a direct tax was proposed. Independence, which had disturbed the imagination of royal governors from one end of the country to the other, and which Franklin declared could not be achieved "unless they (the colonies) could first strengthen themselves by a confederation of all the parts," was about to be accomplished through the agency of its opponents. The stamp act was passed to raise a revenue; it was resisted and repealed. Then followed the duty laid on paper, glass and tea, for the same purpose; this was resisted, and again England conceded all but the principle—the cause of resistance. The duty on tea alone was retained, and the English premier declared, "a total repeal cannot be thought of till America is prostrate at our feet." The issue was now made up; freeman and cavalier, Puritan and churchman, proprietary and royal colony, north and south—all united in resistance. The war was inevitable. "Virginia gave the signal to the continent" in 1765, and ten years later declared, "the cause of Boston is the cause of all."

Virginia did not live entirely on the surface of political agitation, however. The old-time adventurers amid many vicissitudes had taken a deep root in its soil, and during the nearly two centuries which had elapsed at this time, had developed the thrifty State which now defied its king. In the preceding pages have been traced the causes which transformed the English colonist into an

American patriot; similar causes in other colonies wrought a similar result. The Virginian exhibited no striking marks of individuality in this development; the people of the thirteen colonies were of common stock, and were actuated by common motives to seek the same end, but here the cognate development ended, and individuality began. In the home influences, in the limitations of nature, and in social traditions, Virginia had a marked individuality which prevailed through all these years, and which made itself felt as a molding influence upon the nation that grew out of that oppression which "effaced the boundries of the several colonies."

In 1628, Virginia was a colony of 3,000 inhabitants; it had just passed from the dominion of a proprietary company to that of the king; its people were composed of indentured servants, freemen, tenants, planters, and a few large landholders. A large majority of the people came to the New World with no capital but their own industry, and with no prestige save their own achievements. The class of indentured servants, at times reinforced by new importations, was gradually changing, the laws tending to facilitate their early enfranchisement, when they became eligible for any elective office. Planters were generally settled upon lands held under a not burdensome quit-rent, but were gradually acquiring freeholds. The liberal land laws allowed settlers to locate lands at their own pleasure; and settling widely apart, without the natural rendezvous of towns, the forms and restraints of society had scarcely become established, and the colonists early imbibed a carelessness of government to which the adventurous character of a large part of the population naturally inclined them. The people were not without governmental traditions, however; they were Englishmen by birth, and rendered willing allegiance; they had come to the New World under the combined patronage of all the ruling classes of England, and brought with them a matured prejudice for English institutions. They looked to the mother country as the model after which the institutions of

the new State should be fashioned; a monarchical form of government, an established church, and a privileged aristocracy were sought as advantages.

During the reign of Charles I, "possessed of security and quiet, abundance of land, a free market for their staples, and having England for their guardian against foreign oppression, rather than their ruler, the colonists enjoyed all the prosperity which a virgin soil, equal laws and general uniformity of condition and industry could bestow." (Bancroft). During this halcyon period the population rapidly increased, until, in 1650, it was estimated at 20,000 souls. This resulted largely from immigration, but the colonial statute book notes also that "among other blessings God Almighty hath vouchsafed increase of children to this colony."

The following decade proved equally propitious to the happy development of the colony, the population increasing fifty per cent. The widespread story of its prosperity challenged the attention of all classes; it was accounted "the best poor man's country in the world;" loyalists of rank, education and wealth found it a congenial asylum; and travelers from England, charmed with the milder climate, the profusion of game, and the beauty of new birds and flowers, united to confirm the opinion that "if a happy peace be settled in poor England, then they in Virginia shall be as happy a people as any under Heaven." Once settled in the country, the immigrant thought no more of returning. Land was cheap and abundant; waterfowl thronged the sedgy streams; fish swarmed in the rivers; thousands of quail and turkeys supplied a new delicacy; and oysters "heaped together in inexhaustible beds" cost only the gathering. Such abundance gave rise to a lavish hospitality which became proverbial, and leisure, following the possession of wealth, found no difficulty in transferring the sports of the old country to the new. The prolific forests furnished unstinted shooting, while the chase and race track followed the increase of horses, the improvement of which was early fostered by legislation.

The restoration found the early planted

germ of aristocracy well developed. Estates of 1,000 acres were not infrequent; the colonial governor maintained a brick house at the capital, and a manor-house on his large estate, provided with plate, servants, carriages, and orchards, in which he counted 1,500 apple trees, besides apricots, peaches, pears, etc. Silk and lace, fashionable attire, official trappings, English furniture, wine and books were the rule among the dominant class. The success of the commonwealth had contributed large numbers of cavaliers to colonial society, as many as 330 coming in one ship. These persons were "among the nobility, clergy, and gentry," and brought with them the prejudices and habits of this class in the mother country. The loyalty of the colony and the readiness with which the conditions of the New World lent themselves to the disposition of the cavaliers made them a permanent acquisition to the colony, and social forms as well as material prosperity soon showed the result of their molding influence. The "general uniformity of social condition" underwent a striking change. The simplicity of frontier life gave way to the courtly bearing of the aristocracy and the subservient politeness of peasantry; the democratic log home of the wealthy was replaced by the manor-house or frame dwelling of the well-to-do planter; and imported elegancies vied with the native luxuries in their grand entertainments.

With the accession of the large cavalier immigration Virginia possessed two classes of people, which had been distinct in England, and which must, in the natural order of things, be distinct in the colony. The great mass of the colonists were drawn from the middle and lower walks of English life, a considerable number was originally indentured servants, and had become freemen, while some had been transported on criminal charges, though principally of political offenses. The more successful of these original colonists formed the middle class in Virginia, and insisted no less upon their privileges than the cavalier class. This system of gradation was further emphasized by "the



almost general want of schools." "Every man instructs his children according to his ability," wrote the governor; a system calculated to perpetuate ignorance in a community where few had any education save that gained by daily experience. The wealthy fared better; their children were sent to England or provided with tutors, supplied from the clergy, who gave instruction at their homes.

In such a community only the nicest adjustment of the balance of power could prevent the intelligent and privileged classes from assuming the supreme and undivided control of affairs. The lower classes, however, had gained something by the change of continents which could not be sequestered by the advent of an aristocracy, and the sterling character, practical good sense and independent spirit of the common people were not readily overawed by the large domain, superior intelligence, and gentle breeding of the favored class. And so, during the rule of the commonwealth, the equipoise was maintained; the commoners sat in the assembly and resisted the encroachments of the governors in right democratic fashion, while the aristocracy molded the social institutions, instructed themselves in the prestige of Old World traditions, and awaited the expected return of a royal administration.

The restoration of Charles II was the signal for their advancement to full power; the commoners naturally retired with the commonwealth, and the royalists came in with the return of royalty. The first assembly elected under the restored king's reign was composed almost solely of the cavalier element; but this portentous change did not then occasion serious consideration—it was of the eternal fitness of things, and the colony had not yet learned the folly of trusting in princes. The legislation which followed was not the suggestion of revenge, nor a greedy grasp at unwarrantable power. The cavalier believed in the *jus divinum* of kings not more absolutely than in the *jus divinum* of king's men; and in freeing the governor from incidental restraint, in securing to the burgess independence of his obligations to

constituents, in the restriction of the elective franchise, and in augmenting the arbitrary power of the church, the royalist only carried out the precepts of a form of government which all the people saw restored with satisfaction. It was the only proper thing in the view of the restored refugees, and the cavalier governor for the same reason found in the absence of means for popular education a cause for congratulation. "I thank God," said Berkeley, "there are no free schools or printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world and printing has divulged them, and libel against the best government. God keep us from both."

The people, however, did not accept these logical deductions of the restoration; the free air of the New World had educated them to a point which made them refuse to accept the position accorded to them by the institutions of the Old World. They complained, and when fortune gave them a capable leader, they rebelled. It is true that the disaffection caused by the wanton policy of the king reinforced the people by a goodly contingent of the cavalier element, but had the charter they sought been granted, had they, "for the future" been secured "from our fears of being enslaved," it is safe to say fewer cavaliers would have given Bacon moral support, as in fact very few were under arms. At the death of "the general" the rebellion failed, not for lack of victory nor of capable leaders among the cavaliers who had given the cause moral support, but for the lack of such a leader to assert the rights of the commons. On their return to power the cavaliers systematically undid the whole work of the Bacon assembly, and sat quietly by until the outraged representative of royalty disgraced his manhood as well as his office in his quasi legal butcheries; until, as the king said: "That old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than I have done for the murder of my father." If indeed the cavalier element did sympathise with the people in their rebellion, they were the most miserable poltroons recorded in history. The prepon-



derating evidence is to the contrary; in a fit of pique they maintained neutrality; the rebellion failing, they returned to their natural vocation of ruling the people in their own way.

In 1670 the governor reported the condition of the colony to the lords commissioners of foreign plantations. There are 40,000 people in Virginia, of whom 6,000 are white, and 2,000 are black servants; the freemen muster monthly in every county, and number more than "8,000 horse;" five forts—two on the James River and one each on the York, Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, are armed with thirty cannon; of shipping there are some eighty vessels from England and Ireland yearly, and a few "ketches" from New England; of home shipping there is none, as neither "small nor great vessels are built here, for we are most obedient to all laws, whilst the New England men break through and trade to any place that their interest leads them to."

This is the outline. Bancroft writes in the details under date of 1674, as follows: "the paths were bridle-ways rather than roads; and highway surveyors aimed at nothing more than to keep them clear of logs and fallen trees. There was not an engineer in the country. I doubt if there existed what we should call a bridge in the whole dominion. Visits were made in boats or on horseback; and the Virginian, traveling with his pouch of tobacco for currency, swam the rivers when there was neither ford nor ferry. Almost every planter was his own mechanic. The houses, for the most part of one story and made of wood, often of logs, the windows closed by shutters for want of glass, were sprinkled at great distance on both sides of the Chesapeake. There was hardly such a sight as a cluster of three dwellings. Jamestown was but a place of a State House, one church and eighteen houses, occupied by about a dozen families. Till very recently the legislature had assembled in the hall of an ale house. Virginia had neither towns nor lawyers. A few of the wealthier planters lived in braver state at their large plantations surrounded by indented servants and slaves."

In the period succeeding the English revolution the "people" gradually came back to power; "pernicious notions" increased so rapidly that, in 1710, certain counties discarded "gentlemen" in their choice of burgesses and sent "persons of mean character and figure" to represent them. Immigration, which almost ceased during the troubled times of Bacon's rebellion, set in again with increased numbers. The disfranchisement of dissenters in England stimulated emigration by which the colony gained considerable accessions of a kind which strengthened the opposition to arbitrary or privileged power. The divine right of king's-men was no longer supported by the instructions of the crown, and the grinding oppression of the "navigation acts" was gradually effacing the political lines of colonial classes. Settlements were pushing into the interior; a colony of Huguenots had settled, in 1699, on the upper James River; a colony of "Germans of Palatines," sent over by Queen Anne to aid in the manufacture of wine and iron, were settled on the Rapidan; and yet, with about 100,000 population, the colony, "as to outward appearance, looks all like a wild desert." In 1680 the assembly sought to correct the evil to commerce by this dispersion of settlements and selected a site in each of the twenty counties for a village, and brought all the power of legislation to encourage their growth, but not more than three or four of these sites contained villages at the time of the Revolution.

Under the house of Hanover the progress of colonization received a powerful influence from the disturbed state of Europe; Germans came in large numbers; in 1728 Ireland was in a ferment; "people every day engaging one another to go the next year to the West Indies," *i. e.* the British colonies; and colonial authorities were "very much surprised at the vast crowd of people pouring in upon us from the north of Ireland." An important part of this immigration came by way of Pennsylvania, and attracted by the fertility of the Shenandoah valley, began to make settlements in the lower part of it, extending above the present site of Winchester. This

tide came in about 1732, and consisted chiefly of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Following closely in their wake came the Germans, settling, still further up the valley, the village of Strasburg recalling in its name the nationality of its founders. These new settlers were generally divided among three religious sects: Lutheran, Mennonists and Calvinists; and so completely did they occupy the country, that the native language and customs long maintained their purity against the innovating influences of the new country. Winchester was the dividing line between the two nationalities, and St. Patrick's day and the festival of "St. Michael, the patron of the Dutch," regularly occasioned collisions of opposing partisans. In 1736, the valley was entered by Virginians, who followed up the James River to the fertile land beyond the Blue Ridge. These were almost entirely of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians driven from Ulster by English oppression. Thus the wooded slopes of the mountain ridge and the fertile valley beyond were settled by a class of sturdy dissenters, dissenting not only to an established church, but also to a political system founded only on the divine right of kings and kings'-men.

Thus the American Revolution found Virginia a thrifty agricultural State in spite of the burdens it had borne; its population a vigorous people but less homogeneous than in New England, and its social institutions a type of England in new environments. The counties, in 1652 thirteen in number, and in 1680, twenty, had gradually increased to seventy-four: thirty-five on the tide-waters or in that parallel; twenty-three between the tide-water counties and the Blue Ridge Mountains; eight between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains; and eight west of the latter range. There were no townships, and village growth was still greatly retarded by the character of the country. The lowlands, intersected by numerous navigable streams, allowed trade to find its way to the very doors of the people, and limited the necessity for merchants and distributing points. Williamsburg, the seat of government for over eighty years, never con-

tained over 1,800 inhabitants; and Norfolk, the most populous town the colony ever had, numbered but 6,000 people. Besides these leading towns there were some twenty-four more or less vigorous villages; on the James River and its tributaries were Portsmouth, Hampton, Suffolk, Smithfield, Petersburg, Richmond, Manchester, Charlottesville and New London; on the York River and tributaries, were York, New Castle, Hanover; on the Rappahannock, Urbana, Port Royal, Fredericksburg, Falmouth; on the Potomac and tributaries, Dumfries, Colchester, Alexandria, Winchester, Staunton; and on the Ohio, Louisville (1780). There were other places "where the laws have said there shall be towns; but nature has said there shall not." Tobacco was still the great staple production of the country; but the later immigration had not taken kindly to its culture, and wheat and stock-raising occupied the attention of the larger part of the valley farmers.

Of internal development, the keenly critical Jefferson writes (Notes on Virginia, 1781): "Private buildings are very rarely constructed of stone or brick, much the greatest portion of scantling and boards, plastered with lime. It is impossible to devise things more ugly, uncomfortable and, happily, more perishable. There are two or three plans, on one of which, according to its size, most of the houses in the State are built. The poorest people build huts of logs laid horizontally in pens, stopping the interstices with mud. The wealthy are attentive to the raising of vegetables, but very little so to fruits. The poorer people attend to neither, living principally on milk and animal diet. The only public buildings worthy of mention are the capital, the palace, and the hospital for lunatics. \* \* \* There are no other public buildings but churches and court houses, in which no attempts are made at elegance. Indeed, it would not be easy to execute such an attempt, as workmen could scarcely be found here capable of drawing an order. The genius of architecture seems to have shed its maledictions over this land. Buildings are often erected by individuals,



of considerable expense. To give these symmetry and taste would not increase their cost, \* \* \* would often cost less than the burthen of barbarous ornament with which these buildings are sometimes charged."

The old social regime was in its prime; the large immigration in the second quarter of the eighteenth century had given rise to two societies, in popular terms: the "Cohes" of the mountains and valley, and the "Tuckahoes" of the lowlands. The former were the hardy frontiersmen who lived the adventurous life of the pioneer, pressing westward over the Alleghanies into the "great woods" in daily combat with wild men and beasts; the latter made up of 'longshoremen of Accomack and the seaboard, the small landholder—the yeomen of Virginia—the merchant or factor of the towns and the planters on the James and York. Social forms had been settled at the beginning of the century, but since then its grooves had been fixed, and customs were planted upon a foundation that promised perpetuity. A spirit of mutual toleration had grown and flourished under the varying experiences of the century, and in political sentiment there was general unanimity; social classifications had originated in the natural "love of ease and rule in Virginia character." "Nabobs," a term of ridicule applied to the wealthy planters by their opponents, were numerous in the lowlands, and lived in a luxurious and ostentatious style. Many possessed immense estates held under the rigorous laws of entail, while others acquired them through their own talents and enterprise. A sumptuous six-oared barge or a coach and four were the familiar means of travel; two-horse carriages were rare. At the capitol a ceremonious hospitality was dispensed with lavish hand; liveried servants did the bidding of the host; plate and china decked the table; the rarest wines of England cheered the guest; and an imported *chef* directed the cuisine, which the luxuriance of the country amply supplied with every delicacy. On his own estate the planter "was a feudal patriarch mildly ruling everybody; drank wholesome wine, sherry

or canary of his own importation; entertained every one; held great festivities at Christmas, with huge log-fires in the great fire-places, around which the family clan gathered; and everybody, high and low, seemed to be happy." All luxuries were imported from England in exchange for tobacco, which was loaded from warehouses on the river bank into the ship's hold. Nothing was manufactured in the colony. The passion for country life was universal. Gov. Spotswood is pictured by the historian of the period (Hon. William Byrd of Westover) as residing at "Temple Farm;" the rooms of his manor house are "elegantly set off with pier glasses," and adorned with bric-a-brac; two tame deer enjoy the freedom of the house, and "one of the handsomest and easiest chariots made in London" provides a means of conveyance for himself, family and friends.

During the session of the assembly it was very much the habit of planters to come to the capital with their families to enjoy the gaiety of the season. The original capital was fixed at Jamestown; the "city" was twice destroyed by fire, and in 1698, when the capitol and prison were again burned, Lieut.-Gov. Nicholson removed the seat of government to the middle plantation, where he laid out the town of Williamsburg. The original plan of the town was a monogram composed of the initial letters of the reigning sovereigns—William and Mary. The plan was not fully carried out, but the village became the centre of political and social influences. It "consisted of Gloucester Street, the main thoroughfare, with the old capitol at one end and William and Mary College at the other, Palace Street debouching upon it, and a few others, as in undeveloped towns" (Cooke). The capitol was a two storied building, "a light airy structure" according to Jefferson, "with a portico in front, of two orders;" it was architecturally inaccurate in its construction, yet on the whole it was the pleasantest piece of architecture in the colony. In this building the use of fire, candles and tobacco were forbidden, lest it should share the fate of its predecessors.



The college, established in 1693, and later provided with a home at the capital, and the lunatic asylum built here, were "rude, misshapen piles, which, but that they have roofs would be taken for brick kilns." Near Gloucester Street was the palace, which the burgesses, in 1710, grateful for the concession of the writ of *habeas corpus*, granted Spotswood £2,000 to build. The structure was not handsome without, but spacious and commodious within; was "prettily situated" in grounds embracing some 300 acres, set with lindens and other trees. Among other notable buildings of the old capital, were the "old magazine" built by the same governor in 1716, a stone octagon in which were stored muskets and powder, and the "Raleigh Tavern on Gloucester Street, a building of wood erected in 1700, with entrances on both fronts, and a leaden bust of Sir Walter Raleigh over the main doorway." A large apartment, called the "Apollo Room," is a historic feature of this structure; this was the favorite place for dancing; here were given inaugural balls, and assembly receptions; and here the burgesses, dissolved by the irate governor, deliberated on revolutionary topics.

In the fashionable season, "Gloucester Street was an animated spectacle of coaches and four, containing the 'Nabobs' and their dames, of maidens in silk and lace with high heeled shoes and clocked stockings; of youths passing on spirited horses—and all these people are engaged in attending the assemblies at the palace, in dancing in the Apollo, in snatching the pleasure of the moment, and enjoying life under a *regime* which seemed made for enjoyment. The love of official intercourse had been a marked trait of the Virginians in all generations, and at the middle of the century the instinct had culminated. The violins seemed to be ever playing for the divertisement of the youths and maidens; the good horses were running for the purse or cup; cocks were fighting; the college students were mingling with the throng in their 'academic dress,' and his serene Excellency, in his fine coach, drawn by six milk white horses, goes to open the house of burgesses,

after which he will sternly dissolve them."

Of this royalist "Nabob" class, but few were actual Tories during the Revolutionary struggle. Some quite naturally were disposed to favor conciliatory measures to the last moment; while others, among whom were Washington, Mason, the Lees, Pendleton, Peyton, Edmund Randolph, Cary, Madison and Monroe, were foremost in their opposition to the royal prerogative. But the asserted equality of mankind, as applied to the issue between assembly and parliament, was, to many of this class, only an assertion of the equality of the *jus divinum* of kings and king's-men. Democracy became an inevitable though unwelcome consequence of the revolutionary spirit which they had helped to evoke, and which Jefferson guided with inexorable logic. The application of the principles of the Revolution to social institutions, therefore, aroused the most spirited opposition. On the fourth day of the first legislature under revolutionary auspices, Jefferson introduced a bill for establishing a free judiciary, and three days later a bill to convert estates in tail into fee simple. This measure was opposed by a strong minority, and forced to run the gauntlet of various amendments, calculated to preserve the principle; it finally passed by a bare majority. The nature of the contest is explained in Mr. Jefferson's reason for the bill; that "instead of an aristocracy of wealth, (of more harm and danger than benefit to society), to make an opening for the aristocracy of virtue and talent \* \* \* was deemed essential to a well ordered republic." This law of entail had been more strongly guarded in England than in Virginia, and had been a powerful instrument in building up the aristocratic class. The passage of the bill abolishing this law, and another measure introduced by Jefferson abolishing primogeniture and the Salic principle in the laws of inheritance, did more to loosen the hold of the aristocracy upon Virginia society than all the liberal constitutional changes effected.

The original constitution made only slight

\* "Virginia: a History of the People," by John Esten Cooke, a work to which the preceding pages are largely indebted for the description of Virginia society.

changes in the form of government; it did not extend the elective franchise, and mentioned the church only to exclude "all ministers of the gospel" from membership in the assembly. The established church, however, was a matter which was not to be allowed to pass in silence. In the last article of the bill of rights, Mason gave expression to the undoubted sentiments of the "people;" the people believed "all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion," and the first legislature received numerous petitions for relief from the assessments in support of the established church. In this session Jefferson introduced a bill for the relief of dissenters, and brought on a contest which lasted from the 11th of October, 1776, to the 5th of December following. No other innovation of the Revolutionary period provoked a contest so obstinate, or aroused so bitter feelings—for the time. It was in fact, the initial act of a new movement, which, after a contest of 34 years, sustained by the established church with unvarying success, was about to give victory to the large and growing class of dissenters.

The Church of England came with the first colonists as a part of their equipment provided by the company, and was accepted as a feature which no well furnished community should be without. The first minister in the colony was Robert Hunt, "an honest, religious and courageous divine" in the opinion of the rough old soldier writers of the time. He was succeeded by Mr. Bucke, Mr. Wickham, Mr. Whitaker and others. They were men of irreproachable character, and actuated by the true missionary spirit. The latter was especially unselfish in his devotion to the colony, and is known as "the apostle of Virginia." Under the ministry of these men, the churches at Jamestown, Henrico, Smithfield, Bruton, and the Blanford Churches at Williamsburg and Petersburg were founded. For years the subject of dissent did not agitate the colonial government. Delaware set an ostentatious example of church going, attending services accompanied by his staff and "fifty halberd-bearers in red cloaks." In 1611, Dale came

armed with "stripes for negligence and death for infidelity," but dissent had not yet sprung up.

The church became a subject of legislation as early as 1624, when it was decreed that the whole colony should conform; "both in canons and constitution, to the Church of England;" parishes were laid off, to each of which was assigned a minister with a fixed salary of tobacco. Up to 1630, the presence of dissenters had not attracted hostile attention; on the contrary, the Puritans were invited to leave their sterile country and settle in the more favored land of Virginia. The first of this sect came to the colony as early as 1619, and a considerable company of these people was prevented from coming at the same time only through the interposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the coming of Berkeley in 1642, their numbers were sensibly felt by the jealous churchman, and were considered almost as objectionable as papists. Against the latter the commander of the fort at Point Comfort was directed, in 1632, to administer the oath of allegiance and supremacy to all passengers of ships arriving there from abroad, and to commit any refusing the oath to prison.

Berkeley was "very malignant toward the way of the churches" and exercised his ample powers freely to keep the established church pure and undefiled by dissent. In 1643, the assembly pronounced the sentence of banishment against the "Independents," as they called themselves; they were forbidden to teach or preach publicly or privately unless conformable to the "orders and constitution of the Church of England," and directed to "be compelled to depart out of the colony with all convenience," when notified. The governor lost no time in giving the notification by proclamation, and large numbers were "compelled" to leave Virginia finding an asylum in catholic Maryland and elsewhere. Notwithstanding these rigorous measures against the "Independents," dissent still continued to be a subject of complaint by zealous churchmen, but there were grave difficulties in the way of persistent persecution. As time passed on other matters engaged the at-



tention of the governor; the zealous complainants found themselves in a hopeless minority; and, for ministers, the governor reported, in 1670, "the worst are sent us," who would do well to "pray oftener and preach less."

The criticism in regard to the character of the ministers was one of long standing. In 1632, the assembly thought it necessary to warn them not to "give themselves to excess in drinking or riot, playing at dice, cards, or any unlawful game," and the governor found few to boast of "since Cromwell's tyranny drove divers men hither." It seems, therefore, that the successors of the early eminent divines were illy calculated to build up the church; but there was also another difficulty in the great extent of the parish. Some of these extended over more than one of the large early counties, a distance in a single direction of more than fifty miles. Such a field was not inviting to those who were qualified to fill the better places in England, and so Virginia was principally dependent upon such as could do no better. Under such circumstances dissent flourished, and was ignored, and "neither surplice nor subscription spoken of."

The government, at times, aroused itself from this course of tolerant inaction and leveled its stern decrees against the obnoxious sects, but only eventually to stimulate their growth, as the established church possessed scarcely vigor enough to keep dissent out of its own pulpits. In 1650, the loyal colony, alarmed at the progress of dissent in England, and fearing the effect of the development of the puritan element in Virginia, again banished the nonconformists. The church was too weak, however, to lend any valuable assistance to these efforts; meeting-houses were to be found only in the heart of the colony, although there were some forty-eight parishes; and ministers, though "well paid," were so few that a bounty was offered by the assembly to secure the immigration of more. After the restoration, the most rigorous legislation was resorted to in aid of the church; the whole liturgy was required "to be thoroughly read," and the ministry provided for by granting the vestry extraordinary power. In the last measure the zealous churchmen overreached

themselves; the burdens imposed by these exacting vestries was an important cause which contributed to the armed dissent of Bacon. And so the church fared for half a century; the colony in 1684 driven to the verge of treason in their alarm at the papist tendencies of James II, and in 1710 in "gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England."

The great tide of immigration which flowed into Virginia in 1732, brought in a powerful element of dissent, the old "Tuscorora Meeting House" and the "Opequon Church" remaining for years the enduring evidence that their religious faith was not left behind nor inactive in the wilderness. This population was composed chiefly of Scotch and Irish Presbyterians and German Lutherans, Mennonists and Calvinists. All this class of dissenters, while conscientious, law-abiding people, were in sentiments and tastes as much opposed as possible to the easy-going gaiety-loving Episcopalians of the lowlands. While "dancing and other amusements," according to the historian of the valley (Kercheval), "were common, and were sometimes kept up for weeks together," they were deeply in earnest, and the solicitous churchmen declared that "paganism, atheism, and sectaries" threatened the solidity of the church, and created "faction in the civil government." Various remedies were suggested; prominent among these was the appointment of a resident prelate, and at one time "all the hopes of Jonathan Swift terminated in the bishopric of Virginia." Sectarians, however, continued to increase; the Episcopal clergy, secure for life in their glebes and salaries, devoted the Sabbath only to the care of their parishes, and gave the balance of the week to the cultivation of their estates or other remunerative employment; their character, also, was still the subject of grave and not unfounded suspicion. In direct contrast with the churchmen, the zeal of sectarian missionaries made their untiring efforts to be felt in all parts of the upland country, where it was largely an open and undisputed field.

The general deadness of the Church of

England gave rise to the Methodists, who sought rather to infuse life into it than to overturn it. In 1740, the "new light stir" reached Virginia, and under the powerful preaching of Whitfield, disrupted dissenting sects as well as the established church, and drew thousands to its ranks. The Presbyterians were active in the colony as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, but a presbytery was not established until 1755; the Baptists were quite as early in Virginia, but the first church was not established until 1760. The latter were especially aggressive in the propagation of their faith; this, with the peculiar freedom of their church constitution, rendered them especially obnoxious to the government, and the laws against them were rigorously enforced, the wealthy members being obliged to pay the fines of the poor. Persecution incited the Baptists to renewed zeal, and united other dissenting sects in opposition to a power that tolerated none. In 1768, imprisonment followed fines; three Baptist ministers were arrested, and marched through the streets of Fredericksburg, singing, to prison. The feeling between the dissenting sects, save the Methodists, and the established church was intensified into factional hostility, destined to be waged with bitterness on both sides, and only to cease with the complete overthrow of one of the two religious systems. The Revolutionary period gave the dissenters the additional support of political sympathy, and without this aid the established church hopelessly failed in the contest.

The inevitable result hastened to its conclusion; the bill for relief of dissenters brought victory in sight, and incited the sects in opposition to exact the utmost privileges of religious freedom. The act of 1776 left the question of "a general assessment for the support of religion," to be acted upon by general vote. In 1779, this was rejected; in 1785, the "act for religious freedom" consolidated all the previous legislation in this matter, and effectually divorced the church and State. In 1802, the sale of Episcopal glebes was provided for; this ended the struggle against the estab-

lished church; donations, church edifices, inclosures and furniture were preserved by this law to the church, but fate even despoiled her of these, and the once dominant church sank almost out of existence, to rise only after years of effort to a secondary place of power and influence.

One relic of the old aristocratic *regime*, however, survived the Revolutionary spirit of the period in the "peculiar institution." Conditional servitude under indentures existed in Virginia from the first settlement. These servants were bound to their masters to discharge by their labor the cost of transportation; under the reign of James I, 100 convicts were sent to the colony at the express command of the king, and sold to the planters; subsequently the city of London sent a similar number of homeless children, who were disposed of in the same way. White servants gradually became a common article of commerce; were sold in England to be shipped to the colony, where they were purchased on board ships of the masters of the vessels. In August, 1619, Dutch ships landed and sold twenty negroes as slaves, and from this period until the revolution of 1688, white and black servants were found in the colony. The two classes differed in their treatment only in the term of their service. The facility with which the white servant made his escape enforced humane treatment, which alone, however, was not found sufficient to retain them in servitude. The law provided severe punishment for runaways; in 1642, such offenders were liable, for a second offense, to be branded upon the cheek, a penalty which was subsequently so far mitigated as to place the brand upon the shoulder. Twenty years later the offense of running away was punished by increasing the term of servitude at the discretion of a magistrate, while the master was permitted to inflict "moderate corporal punishment." Subsequent importations of white servants were generally of those convicted of political offenses. "Scots taken in the battle of Dunbar; Royalists, prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester; and leaders of the insurrection of Penruddock."



The Oliverian plot in 1663, when certain recently imported "roundhead" servants instigated a nearly successful insurrection, awoke the colonists to the danger of such additions to the population, and the assembly prohibited the further importation of "jail-birds." Such legislation did not receive the sanction of the crown, and in 1685 the suppression of the Monmouth rebellion afforded a new supply of this objectionable class of servants. In the meanwhile, kidnaping had become common, in Bristol, at least; not only felons, but innocent persons were hurried across the Atlantic to enrich those engaged in the nefarious business. Even the mayor and aldermen were found guilty of terrifying culprits charged with venial crimes until they begged to be transported and were sold into servitude. The revolution of 1688 brought about a general amnesty for political offenses, and thereafter the trade in servants was chiefly confined to blacks, who were sold into perpetual bondage.

For more than fifty years after the introduction of slavery into Virginia, the system languished; the people enslaved as well as slavery was repugnant to the people. In 1671, among a population of 40,000, the number of white servants reached only 6,000, and that of slaves only 2,000; of the latter, Gov. Berkeley reported that only two or three cargoes had arrived in seven years, while some 1,500 of white servants—"most were English, few Scotch and fewer Irish"—were imported annually. By a system of sophistry drawn from the bigotry of the early church, the scruples of conscience and of a manly faith in the freedom of mankind were evaded. In 1670, it was enacted that "all servants not being Christians, imported into this country by shipping, shall be slaves;" in the natural order of evil progression, it was declared by statute in 1682—what had been practically affirmed as early as 1667—that "conversion to the Christian faith doth not make free."

Self-interest came to the support of this sophistry; the system of indentured service prepared the way for bond labor, and made it almost a social necessity; and even before

indentured service ceased, the condition of perpetual bondage found a willing convert in the Virginia planter's love of unrestrained power. In the purchase price the two classes of servants showed little difference; in 1672, the white servant, with five years of labor due, was worth about £10; the negro, with the expectation of thirty years of full labor, brought from £20 to £25. In cost of maintenance the balance was largely in favor of the negro, and there was a natural disinclination to hold in bondage persons who differed from their superiors only in their misfortune, and whom a few years might convert into equals with ability to avenge any grudges born of bondage. White servants, too, unstamped by nature with the ineffaceable marks of race, found escape not difficult; and laws which gave them the right to complain to a magistrate of undue punishment, or neglect of care in the matter of food, clothing or shelter, constituted an irksome restraint upon the master. The blacks, on the contrary, placed no such conditions upon the master; they were easily traced in attempting to escape; they had no champion in the law, and enforced ignorance made them powerless to resist legal power.

Slavery thus became engrafted upon the social system, and the general sentiment gradually emphasized the contrast between the two classes of servants; the early enfranchisement of the whites was favored, while every trace of black blood carried with it the stigma of bondage; and by degrees, all trace of the humanity of the slave was lost in the laws. In 1692, a statute made it lawful for "persons pursuing fugitive colored slaves to wound or even kill them;" and in 1699, the "death of a slave from extremity of correction was not accounted a felony, since it cannot be presumed that prepense malice, which alone makes murder felony, should induce a man to destroy his estate." Thus the slave became the absolute property of his master, with no other protection from his passions than that accorded to the brute.

The large profit accruing from bond labor employed in the production of tobacco, which

men brought a price ten times that realized to-day, was sufficient to give a marked impetus to the growth of slavery, but it is doubtful if the actual number of slaves subsequently imported would have reached the usual proportions without the artificial encouragement of the English government. Measures "for the better supply of the plantation" were considered by parliament in the reign of William and Mary; an English statute of 1695 declared "the trade is highly beneficial and advantageous to the kingdom and colonies;" in 1708, a house of commons committee reported the slave-trade, "important and ought to be free;" and three years later a similar committee thought "the plantations ought to be supplied with negroes at reasonable rates." During these years the traffic in slaves was encouraged by the English government on behalf of the interests of its merchants; but slave-trading soon became a royal monopoly, and legislative suggestions became laws, which were enforced by all the power and influence in the kingdom.

At the close of the war of the Spanish succession, England demanded and secured the monopoly of this horrible traffic. In the treaty of Utrecht (1713) "Her Britannic Majesty did offer and undertake, by persons whom she shall appoint, to bring into the West Indies of America belonging to His Catholic Majesty, in the space of thirty years, 144,000 negroes, at the rate of 4,800 in each of the said thirty years." In this royal monopoly, Philip V took a fourth share, and a similar proportion of the common stock was reserved to the queen herself; the balance being distributed among her subjects. The queen's individual share was subsequently assigned to the South Sea Company, at the earnest solicitations of her minister. From this time forward the traffic in humanity received the earnest support of the English government, and attained large and increasing proportions, great numbers of slaves finding their way to the colonies by way of the West-Indies, and direct from the shores of Africa; the single exception to the iron rule of colonial commerce being made in 1750, in favor of free

trade in slaves. Colonial governors were instructed to give particular encouragement to the Royal African Company of England, and to maintain "a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes." These instructions illustrate the royal policy in Virginia, and in 1754 slave marts were maintained at every court house "as far at least as the southwest mountain."

Freedom was not without its champions even in this mercenary age. In England, Baxter, Addison, Steele, Savage, Hutcheon and others, united the authority of religion, the power of logic, the pathos of poetry and romance, and the sanction of philosophy in behalf of the brotherhood of man; in America a variety of considerations led a strong sentiment in the same direction. As early as 1701, the Boston colony sought "to encourage the bringing of white servants and to put a period to negroes being slaves;" under the influence of Keith in Pennsylvania, the Quakers in considerable numbers were led to emancipate their blacks on religious grounds, Penn taking early and prominent part in the movement. In the southern colonies opposition to the trade was based upon the "excessive production and the consequent low price of their staple;" the heavy debt incurred by the purchase of slaves on credit; "and the dangerous increase of the colored population."

The subject of their increase seems to have claimed a good deal of consideration; it had been gradual, but in later colonial times had proportionately greatly exceeded the white population. In 1619, the first 20 came; in 1649 there were, in Virginia, 300; in 1670, 2,000; in 1714, 23,000; in 1756, 120,000; in 1790, 293,427. The increase of slaves in Virginia from 1670 to 1790, was in the proportion of 1 to 146; while the whites in the same period, increased only as 1 to 12. In 1725 the Virginia assembly, alarmed at this rapid increase, attempted to repress slave importation by tax; this was resorted to in 1732; in 1740 it was increased to ten per cent, and in 1761 a prohibitory duty was established. In each case the royal government nullified colonial restrictions, whether



in form of tax or duty; and the incontestable charge of a Virginia statesman stands unimpeached, that "the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this infernal traffic."

Both English and colonial authorities shared the opinion that the large body of slaves in Virginia constituted a menace to the independent action of the colony. The military forces needed on the frontier were in early days robbed of considerable numbers by the apparent necessity of maintaining a sufficient force of planters in the lowlands to overawe the large body of blacks, and a potent argument with the English ministry in behalf of unrestricted trade in slaves was that they would not "leave their employers the entire security that might prepare revolt." Such reasoning proceeded upon very narrow grounds. Negroes were gathered from widely separated districts in Africa, and taken from widely differing conditions in life; they were grossly ignorant and stupid, with neither dialect nor traditions in common, and were as completely dependent upon their owners as brutes. There were occasional flashes of manhood among them, where the harshness of the master or the exceptional spirit of some captive warrior led one to acts of desperation, but there never was any good cause for apprehension of serious insurrection save in the imagination of the slaveholders.

Public sentiment was very generally divided on the institution of slavery until after the Revolution. By many it was held: "Except the immediate interest he has in the property of his slaves, it would be for every man's interest that there were no slaves, because the free labor of a free man \* \* \* is in the end cheaper than the eye service of the slave." (Boucher, 1763.) Others based their opposition on moral grounds, and questioned whether "the liberties of a nation be secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God." (Jefferson, 1781.) On the other hand

an honest few believed slavery one of the means employed by a benevolent Providence to reach the heathen outcasts of Africa; but the main prop of the institution was "the immediate interest in the property of slaves." But, divided as the people were in regard to the institution in Virginia, there was practical unanimity in opposition to the further importation of blacks, and in 1761, Virginia found in this her chief cause of complaint to the English government. In this opposition Richard Henry Lee was one of the foremost actors, declaring the further importation dangerous to the political as well as the moral interests of the colony; this was the general sentiment of the people, and when the first general legislative assembly of the united colonies prohibited the traffic, the act received the general assent of every loyal citizen.

In this achievement the vigorous opposition to slavery in the State ended; the hope expressed by Jefferson, that the way was preparing "under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation," was disappointed; slavery became a permanent institution, the influence of which gave an imperishable character to every phase of society. The abhorrence of the foreign slave traffic was transferred to the internal trade and the slave-trader became an object of contempt, though tolerated as a necessary evil. Agriculture was confirmed as the prevailing industry, and tobacco as the only profitable staple; the miserable bondage of credit was continued, the factors of Baltimore and Charleston gradually taking place of the English and Scotch merchant; and the same improvident expenditure, the same open-handed hospitality, with more of republican simplicity, remained.

Such was the first colony in Virginia; and such were the molding influences of the State that was rapidly extending its territorial limits westward, destined to make the Mississippi its western boundary, and leave the birth-mark of its institutions upon four great States.

## CHAPTER III.

## BEYOND THE ALLEGHANIES—VIRGINIA'S CONQUESTS IN THE WEST.

VIRGINIA, in the time of Elizabeth, included all that indefinite region of the New World not occupied by Spain or France. As described by an old writer, "the bounds thereof on the east are the ocean, on the south lieth Florida, on the north Nova Francia; as for the west thereof, the limitations are unknown." In 1606, James I divided this territory between the "first" and "second colony to Virginia," and the subsequent failure of the "second colony," gradually led to the restriction of the original name of the territory assigned to the colony settled at Jamestown. This tendency was emphasized by the explorations of John Smith (1614); the name of New England applied by him to the north Atlantic coast supplanted the older one of Virginia, and the two parts became generally known under these respective names.

Notwithstanding their charter granted them the territory "up into the land from sea to sea," the Virginians seem to have laid but little stress upon this inland extension. They were very jealous of their rights along the sea-coast, and continued to protest in season and out of season against the infringement of their ancient bounds and limits involved in the royal grants to colonies north and south of them. But when these protests proved unavailing, they found little incentive and no necessity for pushing their explorations westward. Practically, therefore, Virginia for 125 years was restricted to the narrow scope of country between the Potomac and Nottoway, from Chesapeake Bay to the Blue Ridge.

The first authenticated attempt to explore the tramontane country was made by order of Gov. Berkeley. In 1670, Capt. Henry Batte commanded a force which penetrated

into the New River country; the Blue Ridge was found high, rocky and well covered with timber; and just beyond, the party found their progress obstructed by a rapid, rock-strewn river, which they estimated to be 450 yards wide. The banks were high and precipitous, in places estimated at a height of 1,000 yards; beyond they saw other hills, bare of timber and broken by white cliffs, but with these meager results the party returned. In the fall of the following year the valley of the Kanawha was further explored, but with no recorded results. Interest in this unknown region found no other public expression for nearly half a century. In 1716, Gov. Spotswood undertook a trip to the mountains, more as a novel entertainment than as a serious attempt to increase the general knowledge. A gay company of cavaliers was gathered at Williamsburg, in August of this year; "rangers, pioneers and Indians" were provided to bear the toil of the expedition, while pack-horses and servants supplied the comforts and luxuries demanded by the sumptuous character of the explorers. The journey was made with leisure; halts were made where the abundant game attracted the sportsman, and the nightly bivouac under the summer sky lent zest to the revels which closed the day's sport. The Blue Ridge at length was reached; on its summit the king's health was drank, and two neighboring peaks were named "Mt. George" and "Mt. Alexander," after the king and governor. Descending into the valley, the river, Shenandoah, was named "Euphrates;" an empty bottle was made the depository of a document proclaiming the valley the territory of the king, and buried, when the merry party returned to the colonial capital to found the order of the



"Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" in commemoration of the festive occasion.

No active emigration followed; the beauty and fertility of the valley were extolled, but the lowland planters were not of pioneer stock; the rocky barrier of the Blue Ridge forbade the life of luxury and ease to which they had grown accustomed, and another half century would probably have elapsed in inaction, had not the agitation of Europe supplied a hardier race. In 1732 a vast throng "of those whom bigots chase from foreign lands" found their way to America.

The glowing tales of the middle valley fell upon attentive ears, and following up the course of the James one current of this tide of immigration flowed into the upper valley, barely preceded by another which found its way through Pennsylvania and across the Potomac into the lower valley. These pioneers were early followed by large numbers seeking a refuge remote from European intolerance, and the settlements were rapidly extended to the western confines of the valley. Beyond the Alleghanies lay "the great woods," in the hidden recesses of which was to be determined not only the limit of Virginia, but the destiny of the continent also.

East of the Blue Ridge the extension of English settlements was not seriously hindered. The Indian race, apparently isolated by the natural features of the country, and divided into unfriendly tribes, fell an easy prey to the diplomacy and force of the whites. The colonists made little pretense of purchase in the acquisition of territory. The Indian massacre, of 1622, according to the ethical system of the time, placed the savages beyond the pale of diplomacy, and the whites proceeded to demand the forfeit of their lands as rapidly as the increasing population required more room. It was not to be expected that the untutored mind of the savage would grasp this theological subtlety; and in 1644 the aged successor of Powhatan, who had always cherished a determined hostility to the whites, signalized his closing career by a repetition of the earlier attack. Some 300 of the colonists perished, but the prompt and

vigorous rally of the whites inflicted a crushing blow upon the savages; their aged chief was captured and subsequently assassinated by his guard; and the tribe was forced to sue for peace, which was granted only on terms that made their presence south of the York River, without the badge of a messenger, the signal for their destruction by the vigilant whites.

In 1656 the presence of a mountain tribe near the falls of the James River was construed into a menace to the settlements, and a colonial force, aided by friendly Indians, was sent against them. In this engagement the whites were repelled, but the foreign tribe did not wait for further demonstrations, and retired to the Blue Ridge. Again, in 1676, the Indians, provoked by the steady encroachment of the whites, and the unwarrantable slaughter of certain chiefs, united to attack the settlements. This last blow of the savages was delivered with less effect than earlier ones, while the punishment returned by the whites was by far the most effective. Under the command of Bacon, the "well-armed housekeepers" of Virginia inflicted frightful slaughter upon a party of savages that made a stand near the site of Richmond, and in succeeding expeditions forever broke their power in the lowlands. This campaign transferred the irrepressible conflict to the region beyond the mountains. Here the two contestants were less unevenly matched; settlements less compactly made afforded less facility for organization, while the Indians, united in a common hostility, proved more formidable in numbers, and having their villages more remote, retreated from their forays with greater security.

A new and formidable element added to this tramontane struggle was the influence of the French. Preceding the English in these western waters, and even contesting with Spain the honors of original discovery, France claimed the whole continent from the Gulf to the polar sea, and from Newfoundland westward to the unknown limits of the New World. The discovery and exploration of America found the Gallic nation eager to improve the advantages offered by a virgin territory; the heresy of Calvin had made great inroads upon

he strongholds of the Roman Church; and the Huguenot party, a political as well as religious organization, was for the time not unequally matched against the Catholic court. But the tenure of its power depended upon the most delicate adjustment of social equilibrium, to the uncertainty of which none was more keenly alive than the "calm, stern man who represented and led the Protestantism of France." The New World, therefore, was hailed by one party, at least, as an asylum for the persecuted sect, and half a century before the origin of the "First Colony of Virginia," Coligny cautiously projected a city of refuge in America. The unsuccessful colony on the Brazilian coast, in 1555, and the unfortunate settlement on the St. John River in Florida, in 1564, marked the rise and fall of this project.

In the meanwhile French adventurers were pushing their explorations in the far North, scanning the Atlantic seaboard from the Carolinas to Newfoundland. In 1518 the first of a number of abortive attempts at colonization was made on the coast of Nova Scotia, but it was not until 1604 that the foundation of the colony of Acadia was laid. This colony, constantly harassed by the jealous opposition of Jesuits and illicit fur traders during its early career, was brought to the verge of ruin by the English in 1613-14, but was subsequently revived, and, in the hands of the French, remained a constant menace to the outlying settlements of New England until the peace of Utrecht (1713) gave it to England.

The seat of French power in America, however, was on the St. Lawrence. Here Champlain founded Quebec, in 1608, and inaugurated the policy which remained to the last the ruling principle of the French power in the New World. This adventure was projected and supported by a private enterprise of slender means, and with little recognition from the king. In 1615, recognizing the precarious foundation on which he was building, Champlain used his efforts to secure such recognition for his colony as would protect it against the jealousy which future success would be sure to awaken. A

viceroy was appointed, who turned his sinecure to account by granting a monopoly of the fur-trade to such as would pay the most for the privilege. Under this *regime* no attempt was made to encourage immigration; Quebec was half mission and half trading station; none tilled the soil, and, save the priests, the less than one hundred whites in Canada were all in the employ of the merchants who controlled the fur-trade. In 1627, Richelieu, who had recently (1624) come into power as minister of finance, suppressed this monopoly and organized the company of one-hundred associates. The resources of France were exhausted, and the great minister sought to build up New France from the resources of her own forests and rivers. To the new company was granted a monopoly of the fur-trade for fifteen years; and for this concession it was required to send two or three hundred mechanics of all trades to Canada at once, and to transfer thither, within the period of its monopoly, 4,000 colonists. This experiment, however wisely conceived, was fated to miserably fail; the "associates" made vast outlays and received but meager returns, and in face of the multiplied hindrances to carry out their obligations would have ruined the company.

The policy of the home government alone proved an insurmountable obstacle to success; the only emigrating class in France was the Huguenots, thousands of whom hailed the New World as an asylum where the reform religion could find a secure retreat from persecution; but Jesuit bigotry cut off this resource, and permitted none but Catholics to people New France. Of the latter class there were no voluntary emigrants save monks and nuns, who added discord but no increase of population to the feeble settlements. The resources of the company were still further crippled in another direction; the implacable hostility of the Iroquois destroyed its remaining hope of success by practically suppressing the fur-trade. Possessed by a satanic malice which braved death in a thousand forms, the implacable savages carried their war of extermination to



the farthest bounds of human habitation, and eventually made the populous region north of the St. Lawrence a tenantless wilderness.

In 1640, therefore, there were not more than 300 whites in Canada, of whom scarcely ten were self-supporting. Five years later the company surrendered its monopoly of the fur-trade, with its debts and obligations, to the people of the settlement, retaining all its seigniorial rights, and, in 1663, it surrendered these rights, with its charter, to the king. In accepting this surrender, Louis XIV expressed the hope that "through the re-establishment of commerce," he should secure "abundance of people" in New France; but led by Colbert, his prime minister, in the following year the king granted a monopoly of the fur-trade to the "great company of the West."

The new grant aroused a spirited remonstrance, which demonstrated the fact that this grant, if maintained, would be the death of the settlement; the company was therefore forced to surrender a part of its monopoly, and eventually failed, as its predecessors had done. At the same time the king seemed to awake to the importance of the St. Lawrence settlement, and henceforth the French possessions in the New World became, notwithstanding the monopoly granted, the especial care of the crown. This new dispensation was signalized, in 1665, by the appointment of a governor and intendant for Canada, and a lieutenant-general for New France, which included both Acadia and Canada. With these officials came a regiment of regular troops, which was employed in the next two or three years against the Mohawks with such effect as to secure a peace unbroken for twenty years.

With this departure a new era opened in Canada: *Sieur Talon*, the intendant, was instructed to "cause justice to reign, establish a good police, protect the inhabitants, discipline them against their enemies, and procure for them peace, repose and plenty;

\* \* encourage them to trade and industry,

\* \* and put them in the way of making some profit." The intendant entered with

vigor upon the discharge of his duties; aided by the resources of the royal treasury, he developed the manufacture of the common necessities of the colonists; sent engineers to explore the copper mines of Lake Superior, attempted to establish trade with the West Indies, and laid the foundations for those explorations which established the French in possession of the great West from the mouth of the Mississippi to Hudson's Bay.

The new king, scarcely out of his minority, heartily seconded his able representative; as early as 1659 the king had exerted his power to supply Canada with colonists, and each succeeding year shiploads of immigrants were landed at Quebec at the royal charge. Most of these additions to the colonial population were single men and women. At first, men alone constituted the bulk of the exportations from France, but in 1667 the institution of families received attention, and "eighty-four girls from Dieppe, and twenty five from Rochelle" were sent, among whom were "fifteen or twenty of pretty good birth." This plan was continued for years; troops were sent to the colony, and at the expiration of their term of service were disbanded, and every inducement made both officers and men to remain as colonists. Women suitable as wives to officers were sent over, and bounties were offered for marriage, the common people when married being presented with "an ox, a cow, a pair of fowls, two barrels of salted meat, and 11 crowns in money." The royal dowry was varied to reach all classes, and in some cases reached the extent of a gift of a house, with provisions for eight months.

Nor did the royal solicitude stop here. Bounties were offered on children: parents having ten living children born in wedlock were granted a pension of 300 livres a year; while to those having twelve children, the pension was increased by 100 livres. At the same time the royal power found exercise in stimulating this artificially grown colony to take root in the new soil; a modified form of feudalism was devised, and along both sides of the St. Lawrence and Richelieu Rivers were planted seigniories, for which the beneficiaries gave only "faith and homage."

Under such fostering care the colony gradually attained considerable expansion, if not solidity, but everywhere was felt the limiting hand of French absolutism. "The new settler was found by the king, sent over by the king, and supplied by the king with a wife, a farm, and sometimes with a house;" it was the forcing and pruning process of the garden, not the vigorous luxuriance of nature. In 1672 the king was diverted by more pressing cares in Europe, and the artificial symmetry of the Canadian colony took on some of the rugged vigor of nature.

The colonial policy of France, inaugurated by Champlain, made the Indian the chief corner-stone of New France; while other civilizations crushed or ignored the savages, the French embraced and cherished them. Of this policy the zeal of propagandism and the fur-trade were the vital forces, and "policy and commerce built their hopes on the priest." In 1625, the order of Jesuits was planted in Quebec. Undaunted by the rigors of the climate or the malignity of their savage foes, they bore the cross, the symbol of French religion and of French sovereignty, to the remotest recesses of fur-bearing America. Robbed of their occupation by the destruction of the Hurons, the Jesuits turned to the interior, and vied with hardy *courriers de bois* in pioneering the way of France in the great West. Here their explorations opened up a vast territory which the plan of their colonial development enabled the French to readily seize and hold.

This plan had its origin in the geographical situation of the parent colony and the character of the home government. Vitally dependent upon the fur-trade, the trapper and trader constituted an important element of colonial life, and all recognized the necessity for a wide and free range for the pursuit of their vocation; and the people, held under arbitrary rule, gave a military character to the order of colonial development. Strategic points were seized upon, where stations, half mission and half trading-post, were established; diplomacy with the Indians was conducted under the guise of the black hat and robe of the priest; and the fealty of

native allies was confirmed and maintained by conversion to the religion of the dominant race. Thus Quebec, Montreal, Fort Frontenac, Michillimackinac and Fort St. Louis were *points d'appui* from which French influences dominated the whole interior. Later development multiplied these points, and Presque Isle, Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and New Orleans completed the chain which connected the St. Lawrence with the Gulf, and constituted a claim to the valley of the Mississippi, which would have been well nigh irresistible, had it been properly and early supported by the French nation.

In the Indian confederation of New York, the colonial policy of Canada sustained the earliest and most serious check. Champlain found the northern tribes everywhere terrorized by the incessant attacks of the Iroquois; he therefore counseled a confederation of these tribes under the protectorate of France, and gave it an initial impulse by joining them in reprisals upon the universal enemy. Previous to 1616 he won three signal victories over these all-conquering savages, through the fatal power of the arquebuse, and for thirty years the progress of Iroquois conquest was stayed.

In the meanwhile, the thrifty Dutch traders of New Netherland supplied the Mohawks with the enginery of civilized warfare and, thus equipped, their superstitious fear of the whiteman's weapon gone, they renewed their unrelenting hostility. Nation after nation of the savage allies of the French were swept out of existence, and the whites, whose vaunted prowess had so imposed upon the simplicity of their allies, were reduced to the pitiable necessity of beholding these vital blows struck without raising a hand to prevent it. Emboldened by such victories the Iroquois conceived a contempt for the French, and carried their successful forays against the Canadian settlements until they were brought to the verge of extinction.

At this juncture, France awoke to the importance of her trans-Atlantic possessions: the signal punishment of the Mokawks followed;



but even this obtained peace for the whites only; the savage butchery of the faithful allies went forward, unchallenged by the feeble colony, until the whole region was depopulated of natives.

Short-lived cessation of hostilities between the French and Iroquois occurred, but these intractable savages were never really at peace with the power that gradually circumscribed their warlike enterprise. Located between the eastern and western colonies, they held the balance of power, and acknowledged fealty to neither; but notwithstanding a subtlety that almost attained the dignity of diplomacy, they became the cat's-paw of the Dutch and English. The eastern colonies, with nothing to demand, pandered to the savage instincts and easily won them; guns, powder and lead were freely given them in liberal exchange for furs, and secret aid was granted them in their warfare upon the French and their allies. On the other hand the French had little to grant and everything to demand; the war policy of the Iroquois was dictated by the demands of revenge and trade alike; their territory afforded few furs with which to carry on the profitable barter with the colonists at Albany, and they carried their forays to the west and north to levy an indemnity in furs, the staple of aboriginal trade. This the policy of the French hindered; and this alone under the influence of the seaboard colonists afforded a sufficient *casus belli*. At the same time, the French gave sufficient evidence of their power to convince the Iroquois of their inability to cope single-handed with this formidable people, and the savages were accordingly driven into closer relations with their English allies.

New Netherland was the key to the situation, and even after it passed into the hands of the English (1664), Sieur Talon persistently urged upon the prime minister, Colbert, the importance of buying or seizing this territory and thus bringing the Iroquois to submission. His successor continued to urge this action, but, through the short-sighted policy of Louis XIV, the golden opportunity was al-

lowed to pass unimproved. Accordingly the issue between the two colonial powers was joined. The Iroquois, pursuing their policy of independence, had carried their forays into the borders of Maryland and Virginia as well as into the Illinois country. Barre, the Canadian governor, determined to chastise them, and desirous of disabusing the English of the erroneous opinion that these attacks had been instigated by the Jesuits, announced his intention to the governor of New York, and suggested that he co-operate, at least so far as to suppress the traffic in arms for the time. With less frankness but more diplomacy, the governor of New York declined to accede to Barre's request, claimed the Iroquois as British subjects, and at the same time informed the Indians of the French governor's intentions. An angry correspondence ensued, and while the French gained some minor advantages, the practical result of this diplomatic collision was largely in favor of the English. Alarmed by the prospect of punishment by the French, the Iroquois entered into a treaty for protection (1684) with Lord Howard, the governor of Virginia, and though denying any fealty to the English, the Iroquois thenceforward were not often in doubtful relations to the two powers.

The antagonism of the two nations did not rest alone upon colonial rivalry; it found a deeper origin in their repugnant civilizations. England stood, on the one hand, for the supremacy of the people through law; France, on the other, stood for the absolutism of the *jus divinum*, and between these principles there could be no lasting peace. The rising of the English people, in 1687, precipitated the struggle which was destined to end only with the humiliation of absolutism. At the end of ten years, France gained territory and England gained the recognition of the people's king. In 1702, the struggle was renewed; the issue was unchanged but the results were less evenly balanced; at the close of the war of the Spanish succession, France was forced, in the peace of Utrecht (1713), to concede both principle and territory. In America, England gained by this war

Hudson's Bay and its borders, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the recognition of the Iroquois as British subjects.

Incomparably the greatest of these gains was the recognition of the English dominion over the New York confederation. With this concession was granted the English claim to the territory occupied by the Six Nations, a grant which not only seriously curtailed French pretensions, but also cut off all hope of a direct line of communication with the Mississippi Valley, and left their line by way of the lakes and Niagara River open to attack. This concession also made the English heirs to Iroquois claims of conquest in the West, an advantage of the highest importance, and which they ultimately improved. As yet, however, the English seemed utterly indifferent to the possession of the interior. The charters of the seaboard colonies granted the territory from "sea to sea;" but, separate in organization, and jealous of each other as well as of the king, their policy was narrowed and their power divided. Living by agriculture and trade, their expansion, while deep-rooted and permanent, was necessarily slow. A powerful incentive for the rapid acquisition of territory was thus wanting during the early period of English colonial history, and for more than a century their western horizon was bounded by the mountains.

In 1739, the warring civilizations were again arrayed in arms. The treaty of Utrecht had effected only a truce, in which the combatants gained the opportunity for needed recuperation; it defined many things but settled nothing, and the "war with Spain" was an inevitable result of this Machiavellian compact. In 1744, France became involved in the struggle which convulsed all Europe, but with the exception of the fruitless conquest in Acadia, the peace of the American colonies was undisturbed, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) referred to the new world only to leave the possessions of the respective powers "the same as before the war." This was but the evasion of an issue which sooner or later must demand adjudication, and left a peaceable adjustment of

conflicting colonial claims, raised by the former treaty, out of the question.

It is difficult to define the geographical scope of the early claim of the French in America. Generally stated it included the entire valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi Rivers; but of this broad claim the details were as illy defined in the minds of the claimants as in the minds of the English. Southeast of the Ohio, the Alleghany range afforded a natural boundary, which was seized upon by the French as the western limit of their rival; but the projection of this line northward necessitated the conquest or purchase of New York. The rectification of this line was, therefore, persistently urged by the Canadian officials, but neglected by the king, until the war of the Spanish succession set the matter at rest by the extinguishment of all French claims to the north-east and to central and eastern New York. The terms of the treaty, however, left the dividing line between the colonies of the two nations as obscure as before. This was not an oversight but the direct dictate of diplomacy; might was the only real basis of territorial right in the new world, and each nation was eager to anticipate the other in establishing its power within the coveted limits before trying conclusions; accordingly the inevitable collision was transferred to the valley of the Ohio.

At the date of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) the English settlement had not yet crossed the mountains, but this coming event had long since cast its shadow athwart the pathway of the French. As early as 1715, Father Mermet, at Kaskaskia, wrote the governor of Canada that "the encroaching English were building forts near the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers," and there are certain traditions of English explorations in the valleys of these rivers as early as the decade ending with 1664. In 1678, it is said\* "a considerable number of persons went from New England upon discovery, and proceeded so far as New Mexico, 150 leagues beyond the river Meschasebe;" twenty years later an expedition up the Mississippi River from the

\*Annals of the West, p. 44.



Gulf is related, and again, in 1742, the voyage of one John Howard down the same river by way of the Ohio, ending in his capture by the French. Whatever the truth may be in regard to these traditions, the French found plenty of evidence to confirm their apprehension that the English were about to dispute their possession of the interior, and in 1749 Gallisoniere, the governor of Canada, sent a party to plant lead plates, bearing the declaration of French claims to the territory, along the Ohio River.

But the adventurous English traders had preceded this party; on the Big Miami they built a trading house this very year, and on the Maumee they came in contact with the French, who arrested them for their intrusion. The French did not rest with these precautions; in 1750 a fort was built at Vincennes; and Fort Chartres, originally built of wood in 1718, was rebuilt of cut stone and garrisoned by a regiment of grenadiers. Nearer the scene of action the greatest activity prevailed; the loyalty of friendly Indians was confirmed by a judicious combination of threats and subsidies; Presque Isle (Erie) was fortified; a wagon road was built from thence to the Alleghany River; a second fort was built at Venango, fifteen miles southward of Erie, and a force sent to keep the Ohio clear. In the early part of 1752 these troops came upon the trading house on the Miami, and resistance being offered, attacked the place, capturing the traders, and inflicted considerable loss upon the tribe of Twigtwees who supported the Englishmen. Thus was struck the first blow of the "old French war."

In the meanwhile the English had not been inactive. The adventurous spirit of the colonists on the Atlantic coast early led to the exploration of the surrounding wilds; but, as has been noted, the character of the English settlements was such as to prevent a rapid or widespread occupation of the land, and notwithstanding the explorations set on foot by Virginia, and the somewhat mythical voyages referred to, it was the middle of the eighteenth century before the English began seriously to think of possessing the country

beyond the "great mountains." Though possessed of a very inadequate knowledge of the interior, Gov. Keith, of Pennsylvania, as early as 1719 urged upon the home government the necessity of securing the great West, but the importance of this acquisition did not impress the ministry until some thirty years later, when Lord Halifax wrote to his colleagues in the ministry that "the country west of the great mountains is the centre of the British dominions."

In the meanwhile, the settlement of the Shenandoah Valley had developed the trader, whose adventurous instincts led him to cross the Alleghanies and penetrate the pathless forests to the Miami and Maumee in search of trade. Here was carried on a profitable system of barter, the reports of which stimulated the commercial enterprise of the Virginians; and in 1748, Conrad Weiser was sent to the Indians of the Ohio Valley with a double mission: to subsidize the natives in behalf of the Pennsylvania government, and to sound them on the subject of allowing a series of trading posts to be erected in their country. The result of this mission was favorable to the projected trading enterprise, and in the same year, Thomas Lee, president of the Virginia council, Lawrence and Augustus Washington and ten other Virginians, with a Mr. Hanbury of London, joined in a petition for a grant beyond the mountains. In the following year the governor of Virginia was instructed to grant to John Hanbury and his associates, 500,000 acres between the Monongahela and the Kanawha Rivers, or on the northern margin of the Ohio. This organization, known as the "Ohio Company," was to pay no quit rent for ten years, to select two-fifths of their territory at once, and at their own cost to construct and garrison a fort. Other companies of a similar character came rapidly into existence; in 1749, in addition to the concession of the Ohio Company, a grant of 800,000 acres, north and west of the line of Canada, was made to the "Loyal Company," and in 1757, one of 100,000 acres to the "Greenbrier Company," which was projected, however, about the time of the others.

Of these trading corporations the Ohio Company alone showed early activity. Profiting by information gained from Indian hunters and traders, this company imported goods from England and had them transported to Will's Creek (Cumberland, Md.), from whence they were distributed to traders who carried them to the interior. At the same time (1750) the company summoned the "adventurous Gist from his frontier home on the Yadkin" to explore the country west of the "great mountains." He was instructed to push his explorations as far as the falls of the Ohio, to search for a large tract of good level land, to note the general features of the country, and mark the strength and number of the tribes.

"On the last day of October, 1750, the bold envoy of civilization parted from the Potomac. He passed through snows over 'the stony and broken land' of the Alleghanies; he halted among the twenty Delaware families that composed Shanoppin's town on the southeast of the Ohio; swimming across the river, he descended through the rich but narrow valley of Logstown." From thence he proceeded to Great Beaver Creek, and on to the Muskingum, where he met George Crogan, the trader-envoy of Pennsylvania. Parting from this point in January, 1751, he proceeded to the mouth of the Scioto, and thence across the Little Miami to the larger stream of the same name. From thence he retraced his steps, and descending to the Ohio by way of the Little Miami, proceeded within fifteen miles of the falls of the Ohio, when he checked his course and ascended the valley of the Kentucky; found a pass to the Bluestone and returned to his principals by way of the Roanoke.

In April, 1751, Crogan again visited the Indians at Piqua, and through him Pennsylvania was invited to build a fort at the forks of the Monongahela. This, from motives of economy, the Pennsylvania Assembly declined to do. In fact, each one of the provinces sought to evade the burden of securing the valley of the Ohio. The proprietaries and Assembly of Pennsylvania tossed the subject

from one to the other in fruitless dispute as to their responsibility in the matter; New York would only remonstrate with the governor of Canada, and Virginia, limited in resources, was equally reluctant to assume the expense involved in such an undertaking. The key to the Ohio Valley was the forks of the Monongahela; the nearness of this point to Virginia, and her charter claims to this territory, at length devolved the initiative upon her.

The claims of the English were based upon the discoveries referred to in the preceding pages, and upon a title secured by purchase. The discoveries were of too mythical a character to be strongly advanced against the superior claim of the French, and were made little account of; but the purchase of this territory from the Iroquois was more plausible, if not more valid.

In 1744, with Conrad Weiser as interpreter, the commissioners of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia met these Indians at "the filthy town" of Lancaster. Twelve days were consumed in ceremonies that partook more of the character of an orgie than a diplomatic conference. Punch, wine and "bumbo" were freely distributed, and the Indians kept stupidly drunk most of the twelve days. The history of the whole proceeding as given in the quaint, unvarnished language of the secretary of the Maryland commissioners, stamps the whole proceeding as a barefaced fraud, in which either party over-reached the other; the whites gaining concessions from the incapacitated natives, and the Indians selling that to which they had no more right than to Quebec. At each conference the whites "put about the glass pretty briskly," the Indians "fed lustily, drank heartily," and after such preparations enormous concessions were hurriedly made for trifling considerations.

It was the negotiations of the Virginians, however, upon which the English claims to the Ohio Valley were founded. To them the Indians gave "a deed releasing their claim to a large quantity of land lying in that colony," and recognized "the king's right to all lands that are, or by his majesty's ap-



pointment shall be, within the colony of Virginia." For this elastic concession the natives received £200 in gold, and a like sum in goods, with a promise that, as settlements increased, more should be paid. It was under this treaty that Virginia subsequently claimed all the lands westward to the Mississippi.

The settlements did increase, and the Indians, those who had as well as those who had not been represented at Lancaster, began to murmur. In 1752, Virginia sent commissioners to Logstown, a little village on the north side of the Ohio, seventeen and a half miles below Pittsburg, to meet the chiefs of these tribes. They declined to recognize the Lancaster treaty, but consented to have the English build a fort at the forks of the Monongahela. The Virginians were not satisfied with this concession, and through the white interpreter finally secured a questionable confirmation of the former treaty, and consent for a settlement southeast of the Ohio. The activity of the French in fomenting the dissatisfaction of the Indians kept the English busy in allaying their aroused suspicions and confirming them in their treaty relations with the colonies. In 1753, therefore, Fairfax met the chiefs at Winchester, but such were the feelings toward the Lancaster treaty that he dared not refer to it. At Carlisle, a month later, the commissioners of Pennsylvania, in a conference with the representatives of all the tribes, had more success. Here a treaty was concluded with them against the French, but which, in the end, proved quite as empty of good results as the others.

In the meantime, the two powers in Europe professed a state of "profound peace," and commissioners were in Paris seeking to outwit each other in regard to the disputed lands in the Ohio Valley. At the same time, England did not hesitate to instruct her colonial governors that France was invading her dominions, and to direct them at their own cost to build forts, and with their own militia to repress the savages and repel the French. Under these instructions, Gov. Dinwiddie, of Virginia, sent "a person of

distinction" to the commander of the French forces to ascertain the purpose of the warlike preparations on French Creek. The envoy, a young surveyor named George Washington, found the Indians terrorized by the threats of the French; observed the enemy strongly fortified at Presque Isle and Venango; learned of a projected descent upon the forks of the Monongahela in the spring, and ascertained that the courteous St. Pierre proposed to carry out the orders of his superiors, regardless of consequences.

Washington reached Will's Creek on his return, early in January, 1754. In his absence, the Ohio Company had taken steps to fortify the location it had chosen, and the returning envoy met "seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of the Ohio."

The report of Washington was followed by immediate activity. Expresses were sent to the governors of Pennsylvania and New York, conveying the startling intelligence, and calling for assistance. Two companies of volunteers were authorized by Virginia, the one to be raised west of the mountains by the frontiersman Trent, and the other to be raised in the older part of the colony by Washington. The former consisted of seventy men, and was at once employed in completing the fort begun by the Ohio Company, while Washington's command, consisting of 150 men, was to proceed to the fort, garrison it, and "to make prisoner, kill or destroy all who interrupted the English settlements." Men and munitions were gathering along the Potomac, as far west as Will's Creek, but before they could reach the new fort spring had come and with it the French.

On the 17th of April, 1754, the ensign in command of the thirty-three men at the incomplete fort, suddenly found himself beset by sixty batteaux and 300 canoes, laden with men, cannon and stores. Successful resistance to such a force was impossible, and the English capitulated and withdrew. This success on the part of the French was followed by the most active measures in securing its fruits; the fort was completed, armed and named DuQuesne, for the governor of

Canada. Troops from the Illinois country were hurried up the Ohio to reinforce its garrison; spies were sent throughout the Monongahela Valley to win the savages and watch the force at Will's Creek; and armed reconnoitering parties hovered about the English front to give warning of the first military advance.

Washington was at Will's Creek pushing forward the preparations to reinforce the frontier fort, when the news of its capture was brought in; scouts continued to bring information of the enemy's activities, but the tedious preparations for an advance were not allowed to cease. The line of march lay over a broken mountainous country to the mouth of the Red Stone Creek (Brownsville, Penn.), where the Ohio Company had already built a trading post, and thence down the valley to the fort; roads had to be prepared for the artillery and trains, and progress was made at the slow rate of from two to four miles a day. On the 27th of May, the English had reached a point known as Great Meadows; here a body of French troops was reported to be in the vicinity, and Washington, fearing a surprise, started out on the following morning to develop the strength of this enemy. A collision occurred in which the French lost their commander, M. de Jumonville, and nine men, the Americans losing but one. This was the first act of open hostilities between the regular forces of the opposing nations in the Ohio Valley, and was held by the French as the commencement of war.

The march of the American forces was continued without further incident until the latter part of June, when the report coming in that the enemy was approaching in force, a council of war determined on a retreat to a more defensible point. Great Meadows was again reached on the 1st of July, and at this point the exhausted state of the provincials determined Washington to make a stand. Here, as Washington reported, "with nature's assistance, he made a good intrenchment and prepared a charming field for an encounter," to which the circumstances of the troops gave the name of "Fort Necessity," and here on

the 3d of July, the Americans were assailed by some 900 French. For nine hours an ineffectual resistance was made against overwhelming odds, when a capitulation was agreed upon, the Americans being allowed to retire with everything save the artillery. This action was one of the causes subsequently assigned by George II for a declaration of war.

Thus matters stood at the beginning of 1755; both nations professed the most peaceful intentions, while vigorously pushing preparations to continue the war on a larger scale. Negotiations in Europe continued; France proposed to restore American lines as they were before the war of the Spanish succession, and refer all matters in dispute to the commissioners in Paris; England refused to go back of the treaty of Utrecht.

France rejected this basis of discussion, and offered another compromise—that both nations should retire from the country lying between the Alleghanies and the Ohio; to this England agreed, stipulating, however, that the French should destroy all their forts on the Ohio and its branches, but this the French court refused to accept.

This decision was not reached until the latter part of March, but in February, Braddock had landed in Virginia, and French stores and troops were embarked on a fleet which was crowding all sail across the Atlantic. War was not yet declared, and Braddock planning a three-fold campaign against the French posts in Nova Scotia, at Crown Point and by way of Fort Du Quesne against Niagara, did not meditate the conquest of Canada; he was instructed only to resist encroachment on English territory. The first onset was disastrous to the English; Braddock's terrible defeat near Fort Du Quesne was scarcely mitigated by the trifling successes at Lake George and at Louisburg.

Early in 1756 France formed an alliance with Austria, Russia and Sweden, and England with Frederick the Great. In May England declared war, and forthwith began a struggle, the influence of which was felt throughout the civilized world. At the end of seven years, England gained Canada, and



all the territory claimed by the French east of the Mississippi River, save Louisiana. By a secret convention in 1762, the latter had been ceded to Spain, and in the treaty of Paris (1763), France surrendered the last of her possessions in the New World. With these vast accessions came grave doubts as to the value of the conquest; statesmen of both nations declared that with the menace of a foreign power removed from their western border, the colonies would grow more independent, and cause of rupture with the home government would not be wanting; and so the event proved. "The seven years war, which doubled the debt of England, increasing it to \$700,000,000, was begun by her for the acquisition of the Ohio Valley. She achieved that conquest, but not for herself." (Bancroft.)

While the fate of nationality was thus being decided amid the din of arms, and the dire conflict of armies on the skirmish lines of opposing civilizations, the solid English phalanxes were pushing their way westward beyond the mountains, subject to many and terrible vicissitudes. Immigration once directed to the Shenandoah Valley, the people "spread more and more widely over the mild, productive, and enchanting interior," and at the opening of the French and Indian war were ready to surmount the rocky barrier of the Alleghanies. At the same time the attention of statesmen was drawn to this scarcely known region, and the necessity of planting a colony here, to more effectually resist the claims of the French, began to be considered in diplomatic circles. One of the professed aims of the Ohio Company was to plant a colony beyond the mountains in order to secure Ohio for the English, and while the more immediate object was the building up of a profitable trade with the Indians, a rapid settlement would certainly have followed its success. The first steps in the prosecution of the company's plan have been noted. Returning from his extended tour of exploration, Gist made the necessary surveys which preceded the erection of the posts on the sites of Brownsville and Pittsburgh, and, in 1752, the Indians in the treaty of Logstown, hav-

ing agreed not to molest settlements on the lands granted the company, he began laying out a town, two miles below the fort at the forks; founded a colony of eleven families beside himself near Laurel Hill; and projected roads to connect the whole together, and with Will's Creek, the base of supplies. Two years later, 1754, in response to action by the burgesses of Virginia, the king instructed the governor of that province to grant lands west of the Alleghanies to any person desiring to settle thereon, not to exceed 1,000 acres to one person, and upward of 3,000,000 of acres are said to have been thus granted.

At this point the war intervened, and less pacific measures became necessary to resist foreign encroachments. The French, with their Indian allies, descended upon the forks of the Ohio, and the scattering settlements west of the mountains were rapidly destroyed. Then followed Braddock's disastrous defeat, and the Indians, emboldened by the first show of success, carried the tomahawk and fire brand east of the mountains with such terrible effect that in April, 1756, Washington wrote from Winchester: "The Blue Ridge is now our frontier, no men being left in this county (Frederick) except a few who keep close with a number of women and children in forts." In the fall of this year a powerful blow was struck at these savage marauders by the destruction of their principal rendezvous at Kittanning, about forty miles above Fort Du Quesne. This gave partial relief to the border, and, in the summer of 1758, the English sent a trusty messenger to the Indians, who were beginning to waver in their friendship for the French. An informal treaty was thus effected, and a few months later the fall of Fort Du Quesne transferred the seat of war to the north.

A treaty with all the tribes at Easton, Penn., followed this event, and the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, thus relieved from the menace of these savage foes, were rapidly repeopled; traders began once more to bear their burdens of trinkets to the interior in quest of Indian barter; settlers began to slowly push into the "great woods," and the Ohio Company prepared to push their enter-

prise. Again the Indians began to murmur, and, in 1762, the English commandant at Fort Du Quesne, now called Fort Pitt, issued his proclamation declaring that the treaty at Easton (1758) secured all the lands west of the mountains to the Indians as hunting grounds, and forbidding all settlements or intrusion of traders within this region. This was followed (October, 1763) by general instructions from the king forbidding any grants of "lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions," by any colonial governors.

These precautions came too late, however. In the northwest was heard the voice of Pontiac crying: "Why, says the Great Spirit, do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country and take the lands I have given you? Drive them from it! Drive them! When you are in distress I will help you;" and the wide-spread disaffection among the tribes made them willing listeners to this preacher of the new crusade. At length the blow fell without warning upon the unsuspecting whites; traders were everywhere despoiled of their goods, and many of them murdered; the frontier forts from Mackinac to Fort Pitt were everywhere simultaneously assailed, and nine fell in one day. Along the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers the streams ran red with blood, and more than 20,000 settlers were driven from their homes in western Virginia. But the forts at Detroit, Niagara and Pittsburgh did not yield, and the expeditions of Bradstreet and Bouquet (1764) once more brought the Indians to sue for peace.

The treaty made at Niagara in the fall, settled only the status of the frontier forts, and provided for a complete surrender of prisoners. Accordingly in the following year, a conference was held with the various Indian nations at German Flats. At this meeting the whites submitted two propositions; the one, to fix a satisfactory line as a westward boundary to the white settlements; the other, that the Indians should grant the surviving traders, who had suffered by the conspiracy, a tract of land as a compensation for their losses.\* To the latter proposition

the Indians readily agreed, and offered, in response to the first, the line of the "Ohio or the Alleghany and Susquehanna." The agent of the English not being empowered to act upon this boundary question, the whole matter was left unsettled until definite instructions could be received from England. Through the criminal carelessness of the ministry, this important business did not receive attention until late in 1767; and in the meanwhile settlements were rapidly extending into the disputed territory in open defiance of treaty stipulations, proclamations and the express orders of Gen. Gage, the commander of the English forces.

The Indians began to grow restive under this state of things, but in apparent indifference to the critical character of the situation, the attention of the English ministry was absorbed in adjusting the conflicting claims to lands not yet secured from the threatening savages. The Ohio Company was pressing for an adjustment of its affairs, which the war had greatly deranged; two new companies were asking consideration of projects involving large grants of lands in this region; and in conflict with all these, the Virginia troops, who had served in the French war, and who had been promised a bounty in western lands, were represented by an agent who was urging their claims. Before any adjustment of these matters was reached, however, the attitude of the savages gave rise to a wide-spread apprehension of another border war, and urgent appeals were sent to the ministry to have the boundary line fixed at once. Instructions were accordingly received, and in October, 1768, a meeting of the Iroquois and certain of the Delawares and Shawanese, was held at Fort Stanwix. At this conference the boundary was settled to begin on the Ohio at the mouth of the Tennessee; thence up the Ohio and Alleghany to Kittanning; thence northward to the Susquehanna, etc., thus granting to the English a title to Pennsylvania, western Virginia and Kentucky, so far as the Indian representatives could do so.

\*Appendix A, Note 8.



The settlement of this question, though giving only a defective title to the region granted, gave rise to the greatest activity in land speculation. A new organization was formed in Virginia, called the "Mississippi Company," which presented a petition for a grant of 2,500,000 acres. This project was referred to the Board of Trade with the other matters mentioned, and no more heard of it. In the case of the others, a final issue was not reached until 1772; in the meanwhile, the Ohio Company being merged in one of the new ones, and the soldiers' claims being recognized by the united companies and the government, all the claims were adjusted by the royal sanction of the "Walpole Company."

The royal instructions of 1763 were generally considered as a temporary expedient to quiet the natives, and during the tedious negotiations of the land companies, private speculators were busy in exploring the country south of the Ohio. It is said, though denied by the governor, that Lord Dunmore sent surveyors into this region, and was pushing an extensive speculation in the public lands on his own account. Whatever the truth may be in this matter, it is well known that Washington, to whom the Virginia bounty gave 10,000 acres, and others were investigating and selecting lands through their agents, when the war of the Revolution put a stop to both corporate and individual speculation. At the same time adventurous settlers were rapidly over-running the hunting grounds of the savage, building their cabins and planting their fields where the situation appeared the most inviting; and surveyors, the most convincing evidence to the Indians of the intended permanent occupation by the whites, were found on the Ohio as far down as the falls, and on the Kentucky as far up its course as the site of Frankfort.

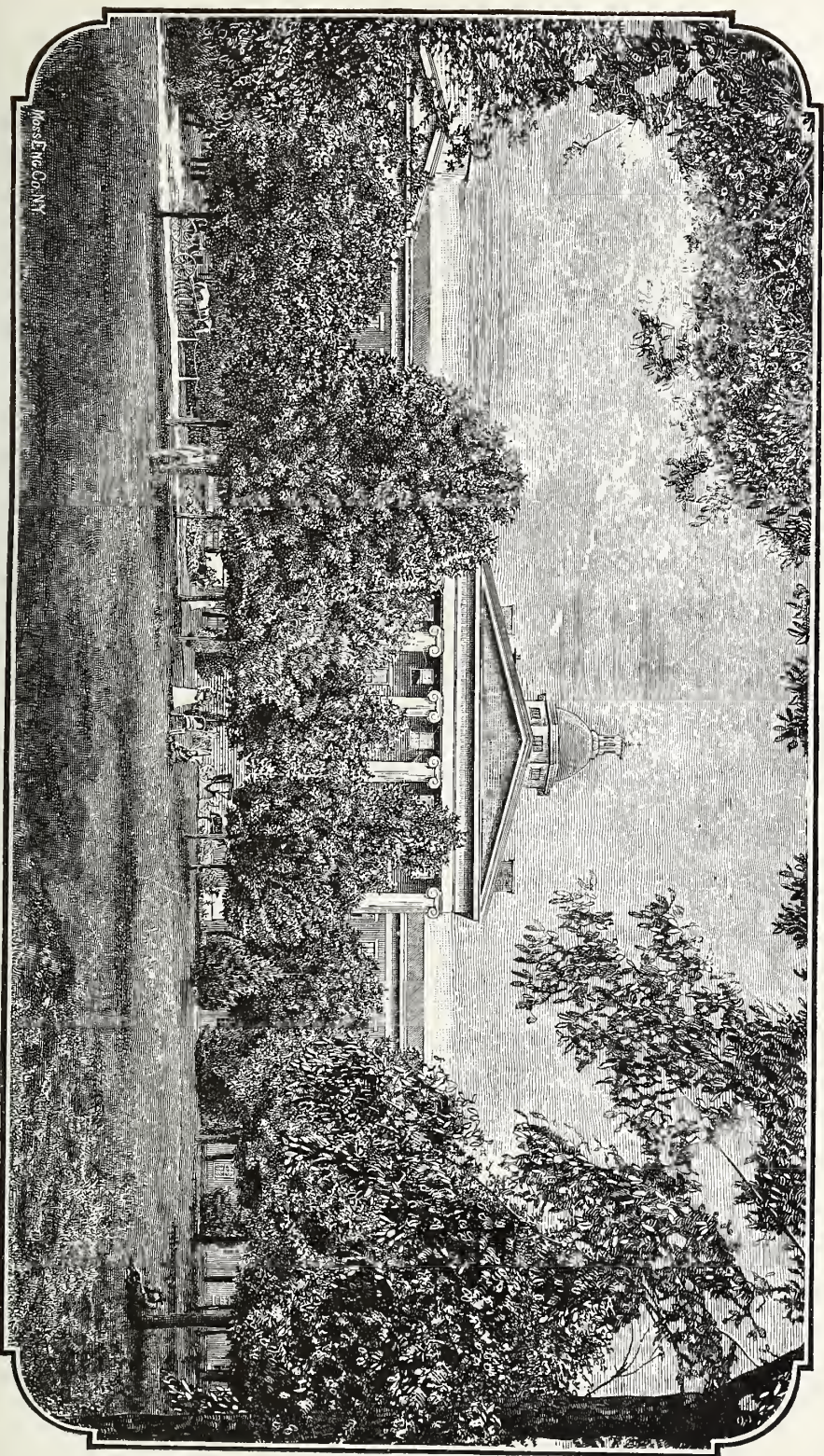
The futility of the purchase made at Fort Stanwix daily grew more apparent; the Iroquois, who sacrificed no substantial interest in this transaction, and who alone of the savages signed the treaty, were the only satisfied ones to the bargain. The

Delawares and Shawanees, who were only feebly represented at the conference, and who at best only partially sanctioned the treaty, when removed from the presence of their conquerors, or after sober second thought, began to view the "settlements with an uneasy and jealous eye," and declared "that they must be compensated for their right, if the people settled thereon, notwithstanding the cession of the Six Nations." Occasional fatal collisions between the two races intensified the hopeless hatred of the Indian toward the whites, and it only needed some new grievance, of importance sufficient to overcome the prudence of influential chiefs, to precipitate another bloody struggle upon the border.

This came at last, and the result is recorded in history as "Dunmore's war." This inconclusive contest had its origin in the assassination of the family of Logan, the Cayuga chieftain, and was determined by a single stubborn passage-at-arms near Point Pleasant. The promptness of the whites in anticipating the action of the Indians prevented the usual forays on the border, but the fear of the ordinary bloody consequences drove most of the settlers from Kentucky. The close of the war settled nothing but the armed contest, and gave rise to the suspicion that the governor meditated treachery to one of his subordinate officers, and that he was even then preparing for the Revolutionary struggle which was already foreshadowed in the minds of many.

In the war of the Revolution, which so closely followed these events that the battle of Point Pleasant is frequently called the first engagement of that memorable struggle, the Indians bore a prominent part. During the protracted contest between the French and English, they had been such important factors that many believed that a general war could not be carried on free of Indian alliances, and in this view Washington coincided, though congress for a time labored to keep the natives neutral. The action of the British rendered such efforts fruitless, and civilization once more joined hands with the savage to deface the product of its own labor.





Mess. E. & C. Co. N.Y.

WESTERN LUNATIC ASYLUM, HOPKINSVILLE.—SEE PAGE 585.





In the diplomacy of the forest, the British possessed great advantages over the Americans. They were represented by the same persons who had for thirty years exerted a great personal as well as official influence over the savages, and the natives, whose friendships were not fickle and whose hatred was implacable, had great difficulty in understanding the reasons or policy which set one part of the English against the other. There was scarcely a tribe in the Mississippi Valley, however, that was not embittered by the memory of a great wrong perpetrated by the colonists, and since the removal of the French, they had sullenly maintained a fitful peace, induced thereto only by a prudent regard for the power that had inflicted severe punishment on various fields; but they still cherished the vain hope of keeping their remaining lands free from the aggressive advance of the settlements, and were not slow to believe that this division in the ranks of the common enemy would bring them aid against those who were the source of their annoyance. The British agents, therefore, found their policy outlined for them, and promptly confirmed the Indians in their logical deductions.

It is a fact highly creditable to the Indian character that there were individuals and tribes among the natives who were favorable to the American side in the beginning of the war; and it was upon these that the Americans mainly depended to reach those less amicably disposed. Through this agency, the "pack-proverb" illustrating the issue between the colonists and the home government was industriously circulated in the west, and the natives counseled to observe neutrality in the impending struggle.

The main dependence of the English, at the onset, was Sir William Johnson, who had resided in the Mohawk Valley since 1738, and who, since 1746, had held in charge the important Iroquois confederation. In 1774, Johnson suddenly died, leaving his son, Col. Guy Johnson, to succeed him as Indian superintendent, and another son, John, to succeed to his estate and honors. Both sons shared their father's influence with the natives, and

with them joined, at this juncture of American affairs, the noted half-breed and Mohawk chieftain, Joseph Brant—all of whom were in sympathy with the royal cause. The colonists, from the first, entertained well grounded fears that the influence of this trio would be exerted against the Americans, and caused them to be watched with so close a scrutiny that, notwithstanding the moral and material support of the wealthy tories of the Mohawk Valley, they deemed it advisable to remove the center of their operations further westward. They first went to Fort Stanwix, and thence to Oswego, from whence they directed their murderous assaults, which subsequently fell with such cruel force upon the frontiers of the central colonies. Opposed to the machinations of the Johnsons, the colonists had a faithful and judicious friend in the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a missionary to the Oneidas, and through him, his charge and the Tuscaroras were persuaded to stand neutral.

Both parties to the war were early in approaching the Indians. The Massachusetts congress appealed to the Iroquois to aid them or stand neutral, as early as April, 1775; in the following June, the Virginia house of burgesses sent an agent to the western tribes; in August a congress was held at Albany to confer with the New York tribes; and in October another meeting was held at Pittsburgh to treat with the Delawares, Senecas, and certain of the Shawanese; but in each case the Americans found the English had preceded them, and gained the hearts of the tribes. Accordingly, less pacific measures having failed, congress authorized (June 17, 1776) Washington to employ the natives where and when he could, and to offer them rewards for prisoners.

The British were not less practical than prompt in securing Indian alliances. Through the Johnsons, the savages were employed in pursuance of carefully prepared military plans in conjunction with the movements of the regular troops, and each of the western forts were made stations from which the Indians were furnished for, and directed, in their nefarious work. To Detroit, which



early attained a bad eminence in this respect, and the forts in the Illinois country, was assigned the conduct of the war in Kentucky and on the Virginia frontier, and the Indians, stimulated by a reward for scalps, so filled the Kentucky forests with their straggling parties that none of the settlers felt safe when outside of the protecting palisades of their frontier forts. It should be observed, however, that in all this "troublesome time," when the imminent danger of an Indian war, with all its terrible barbarities was well understood, the flow of immigration into Kentucky was scarcely checked. And later, when hostilities had actually begun; when each day brought its tale of murder and destruction; when the incoming pioneer found the less stout-hearted crowding the homeward trails to the safer retreat of the older colonies—even then the decimated ranks of the Kentucky settlers were gradually reinforced by those whom all the terrors of an Indian invasion could not daunt. The situation cannot be more graphically portrayed than is done in a letter of John Floyd to Col. William Preston:

BOONESBORO, July 21, 1776.

*My Dear Sir:*—The situation of our country is much altered since I wrote you last. The Indians seem determined to break up our settlement; and I really doubt, unless it is possible to give us some assistance, that the greater part of the people may fall a prey to them. They have, I am satisfied, killed several whom, at this time, I know not how to mention. Many are missing, who some time ago went out about their business, of whom we can hear nothing. Fresh sign of Indians is seen almost every day. I think I mentioned to you before, some damage they had done in Lees' town. On the seventh of this month they killed one Cooper, on Licking Creek, and on the fourteenth, a man whose name I know not, at your salt spring on the same creek.

On the same day they took out of a canoe within sight of this place, Miss Betsey Callaway, her sister Frances and a daughter of Daniel Boone, the two last about thirteen or fourteen years old, and the other grown. The affair happened late in the afternoon. They left the canoe on the opposite side of the river from us, which prevented our getting over for some time to pursue them. We could not that night follow more than five miles. Next morning by daylight we were on their track; but they had entirely prevented our following them by walking some distance apart through the thickest cane

they could find. We observed their course, and on which side they had left their sign, and traveled upwards of thirty miles. We then supposed they would be less cautious in travelling, and making a turn in order to cross their traces, we had gone but a few miles when we found their tracks in a buffalo path—pursued and overtook them in going about ten miles, just as they were kindling a fire to cook. Our study had been how to get the prisoners without giving the Indians time to murder them after they discovered us. We saw each other nearly at the same time. Four of us fired and all rushed on them, by which they were prevented from carrying anything away except one shot-gun without any ammunition. Mr. Boone and myself had each a pretty fair shot as they began to move off. I am well convinced that I shot one through the body. The one he shot dropped his gun; mine had none. The place was covered with thick cane, and being so much elated on recovering the three poor little heart-broken girls, we were prevented from making any further search. We sent the Indians off almost naked, some without their moccasins, and none of them without so much as a knife or tomahawk. After the girls came to themselves sufficiently to speak they told us there were only five Indians—four Shawanese and one Cherokee. They could speak good English and said they should go to the Shawanese towns. The war-club we got was like some I have seen of that nation. Several words of their language which the girls retained, were known to be Shawanese. They also told them that the Cherokees had killed or driven all the people from Watauga and thereabout, and that fourteen Cherokees were then in Kentucky waiting to do mischief. If the war becomes general, of which there is the greatest appearance, our situation is truly alarming. We are about finishing a large fort, and intend to keep possession of this place as long as possible. They are, I understand, doing the same thing at Harrodsburg, and also on Elkhorn, at the Royal Spring. The settlement at Licking Creek, known by the name of Hinkston's, has been broken up; nineteen of the settlers are now here on their way in—Hinkston among the rest. They all seem deaf to anything we can say to dissuade them. Ten, at least, of our own people are going to join them, which will leave us with less than thirty men at this fort. I think more than three hundred men have left the country since I came out, and not one has arrived, except a few cabiners down the Ohio.

I want to return as much as any person can do; but if I leave the country now, there is scarcely one single man who will not follow the example. When I think of the deplorable condition a few helpless families are likely to be in, I conclude to sell my life as dearly as I can in their defense, rather than make an ignominious escape. I am afraid it is in vain to sue for any relief from Virginia; yet the convention encouraged the settlement of this country, and why should not the ex-

tre parts of Fincastle be as justly entitled to protection as any other part of the country. If an expedition were carried on against those nations who are at open war with the people in general, we might be in great measure relieved, by drawing them off to defend their towns. If anything under Heaven can be done for us, I know of no person who would more willingly engage in forwarding us assistance than yourself. I do, at the request and in behalf of all the distressed women and children and other inhabitants of this place, implore the aid of every leading man who may have it in his power to give us relief. I cannot write. You can better guess at my ideas from what I have said than I can express them.

I am, dear sir,

Yours most affectionately,

To my last moments,

J. FLOYD.

TO COL. PRESTON.

Happily, strength is not only in numbers, and assistance was nearer at hand than the author of the above letter dreamed. The year 1776 brought several valuable accessions to the sorely beset settlement in Kentucky, and most important of all was the arrival of George Rogers Clark, as a permanent settler. He was a native of Albemarle County, Va., where he was born in November, 1752;\* his early life was spent as a surveyor, a service which, at that day, demanded the highest qualifications of heart and brain. He took part in Dunmore's war, in which he served as commander of a company, and in the following year made a visit to Kentucky. Pleased with the prospect, he determined to adopt the newly opened country as his home, and accordingly, in 1776, he made his appearance on the frontier. "He fixed on no particular residence—was much in the wood; incidentally visiting the forts and ostensible camps, cultivated the acquaintance of the people, and acquired an extensive knowledge of the various objects presented to his curiosity or to his inspection." (Marshall.) His mind took a bolder flight than those of his contemporaries on the border, and looking beyond the present defense of isolated forts his plans contemplated the organization and protection of the whole region purchased at Fort Stanwix.

The immediate demand, which outweighed

all other considerations at this period, was the political organization of this border land. Fincastle County, of Virginia, was supposed to include the frontier posts of Kentucky, though of this the pioneers had no tangible evidence, as the scattered condition of the settlements and their remoteness from the seat of government gave them neither a voice in the constitution of the administration, nor the benefit of its provisions. At the same time, a great uncertainty prevailed, whether the country south of the Ohio River actually fell within the charter lines of North Carolina or Virginia; the Henderson Purchase still further complicated the situation, and the pioneers, affected both in their property and lives by these disintegrating influences, determined to settle their political relations by an appeal to Virginia.

In this movement Clark was a prominent factor, and in June, 1776, the convention at Harrodstown elected him and Gabriel John Jones as members of the Virginia legislature. The election obviously had no legal force, and was not what Clark contemplated; but he had been absent from the convention, and it was evidently too late to remedy its action when he was notified of his election. He accordingly accepted the result as constituting him an agent for the border community, and repaired at once to Virginia. Here he found the legislature adjourned, and the governor, Patrick Henry, lying sick at his residence in Hanover. Visiting the governor at once, Clark laid before him the necessities of the frontier and his plan for its relief. In this the governor heartily joined and gave him a letter to the council. Thus equipped, the envoy of the frontier settlements appeared before that body, presented his case and asked for 500 pounds of powder for the use of the various stations on the border. The legal status of the petitioners was not clear, however, and the council, rendered uncertain as to the political relations of these frontier settlements, felt constrained to act with great caution. With every desire to aid the distressed settlers, the council still felt impelled to refuse the gunpowder as a gift to fellow-citizens, but offered to lend it to them

\* Collins' Historical Sketches of Kentucky; the date given by Marshall is September, 1743.



as friends. But Clark wanted something more than gunpowder; he wanted recognition, and with a boldness that characterizes his whole career, he returned the order for a loan of gunpowder, with a letter setting forth his reasons for not accepting it on such terms, intimating that the Kentuckians would look elsewhere for assistance, and added "that a country which was not worth defending, was not worth claiming." This spirited course had its intended effect; the council re-assembled, and without reservation placed the required powder at Pittsburgh, subject to Clark's orders for the use of "Kentucki."

This important matter happily adjusted, Clark wrote to his constituents of the first results of his mission and prepared to present their interests before the legislature when it should meet in the fall. It is sufficient to say in this place that in this part of his mission he was equally successful, and the County of Kentucky was formed. He now prepared to return to the frontier, but fortunately at the moment of departure he learned that the powder had not yet been removed from Pittsburgh, and he determined to take this route in his return, to insure the safe and prompt delivery of the needed ammunition. This undertaking was attended with difficulties of no little importance, but with his usual happy fortune, Clark succeeded in getting the needed supply to its destination.

The following year (1777) was characterized by a more determined effort on the part of the Indians and English; the number of straggling parties of hostile savages was greatly augmented; determined attacks were made upon the strongest posts; and all but, the three principal stations were broken up and abandoned. But notwithstanding these forbidding experiences, the Kentucky settlement received frequent accessions, and the course of life ran on not unmixed with merriment in the midst of vicissitudes which made violent death a daily visitor. The good result of Clark's mission was soon seen by the arrival of meager but acceptable reinforcements; but that hero had not settled

down into inactivity. His mind was busy with larger plans, and observing the advantage the British derived from the possession of the Illinois forts he conceived the plan of striking a powerful blow in defense of Kentucky by the capture of these posts. The necessity for some such action had already been brought to the attention of congress, and commissioners had been appointed to confer with Gen. Hand, commanding at Fort Pitt, in regard to the subject, but the achievement of this object was reserved for Clark. In the summer of this year (1777), he had sent spies to reconnoiter the forts. On their return they brought intelligence of increased activity in this quarter, and such account of the whole situation as to convince Clark of the practicability of the meditated enterprise. Accordingly in August, he set out for Williamsburg to submit his project, but with no definite intention of asking the command of the expedition.

Under date of November 19, 1779, Clark wrote a letter from "Louisville, Falls of Ohio," to Hon. George Mason, in which he gives a short sketch of his enterprise and proceeding in the Illinois, and from this are taken the following extracts descriptive of the organization of the expedition:

I had just Reasons known to few but myself that occasioned me to resolve not to have any farther Command whatever, without I should find a very great call for Troops and my Country in danger, in such case I was determined to lose my Life rather (than) we should submit. \* \* \* \* But finding that we were in (an) alarming situation, the Indians desperate on one side, the Britains on the others, I immediately resolved to encourage an Expedition to the Illinois. But to make it publick was a certain loss of it. I proposed the plan of it to a few Gentlemen, they communicated it to the Governor, it was immediately determined on, to put in Execution as soon as a Bill could be passed to enable the Governour to order it; it accordingly pass'd, though but a few in the House knew the real intent of it. After giving the Council all the intelligence I possibly could, I resolv'd to pursue my other Plans. But being desired by the Governor to stay sometime in town, I wated with impatience he, I suppose, believing that I wanted the Command, and was determined to give it to me; But it was far from my inclination at that time. I was summoned to attend the Council Board, the instructions and necessary papers were ready for putting in the name of the Person to Command; I believed they expected

me to solicit for it, but I resolved not to do so, for reasons I hinted you before. However I excepted it after being told the Command of this little Army was designed for me. I then got every request granted, and (was) fully empowered to raise as many Men as I could, not exceeding a certain number; after being engaged I was then as Determined to prosecute it with Vigour, as I was before indifferent about the Command; I had since the beginning of the War taken pains to make myself acquainted with the situation of the British posts on the Fronteers, and since find that I was not mistaken in my judgement. I was ordered to attack the Illinois, in case of Success to carry my Arms to any quarter I pleased. I was certain that with 500 Men I could take the Illinois, and by my treating the Inhabitants as fellow Citizens, and show them that I meant to protect them rather than treat them as a Conquered People. Engaging the Indians to our Interests, etc., It might probably have so great an effect on their Countrymen at Detroyet (they already disliked their Master) that it would be an easy prey for me. I should have mentioned my design to his Excellency, but was convinced or afraid that it might lessen his esteem for me, as it was a general opinion that it would take several thousand to approach that Place. I was happy with the thoughts of a fair prospect of undeceiving the Publick respecting their formidable Enemies on our Fronteers. I left Williamsburg January the 18th, made as quick dispatch as possible to the fronteers, and by the end of the month had Recruiting Parties disposed from Pittsburgh to Carolina, had my little Army Recruited in half the time I expected.

Elivated with the Thoughts of the great service we should do our Country in some measure putting an end to the Indian War on our fronteers, it may appear to you to be near presumption in me, but I was always too jealous of myself to be far wrong in the plans that I had so long studied, and since find that I could have executed it with the greatest ease if it had not been (the) following Conduct of many leading Men in the fronteers, that had like to have put an end to the enterprise, not knowing my Destination, and through a spirit of obstinacy they combined and did everything that lay in their power to stop the Men that had Enlisted, and set the whole Fronteers in an uproar, even condescended to harbor and protect those that Deserted; I found my case desperate, and the longer I remained the worse it was—I plainly saw that my Principal Design was baffled—I was resolved to push to Kentucky with what Men I could gather in West Augusta; being Joined by Capts. Bowman and Helms who had each raised a Company for the Expedition, but two-thirds of them was stopped by the undersigned Enemies to the Country that I before mentioned. In the whole I had about one hundred and fifty men collected and set sail for the Falls. I had previous to this received Letters from Capt. Smith on Holdston

Enforming me that he intended to meet me at that place with near two hundred Men, which encouraged me much as I was enabled by that reinforcement at least to attack the Illinois with a probability of Success, &c.

I set out from Redstone the 12th day of May, leaving the Country in great confusion, much distressed by the Indians. General Hand, pleased with my intentions, furnished me with every necessary I wanted and the — of May I arrived at Canoway (Kanawha) to the Joy of the Garrison as they were very weak, & had the day before been attacked by a large Body of Indians.

Being Joined by Captain Oharrard's compy. on his way to the Osark; after spending a day or two, We set out and had a very pleasant Voyage to the falls of the Ohio, having sent Expresses to the Stations on Kentucky from the mouth of the River, for Capt. Smith to join me immediately as I made no doubt but that he was waiting for me; But you may easily guess at my mortification on being informed that he had not arrived, that all his Men had been stopped by the incessant labours of the populace, except part of a compy., that had arrived under the Command of one captain Dellands, some on their march being threatened to be put in Prison if they did not return; this information made me Desperate as I was before Determined.

Reflecting on the information that I had of some of my greatest opponents censuring the Governour for his conduct, as they thought ordering me for the protection of Kentucky only; that and other secret impulses Occationed me in spite of all Counsel to risque the Expedition, to convince them of their error until that moment, secret to the Principal officers I had. I was sensible of the impression it would have on many, to be taken near a thousand (miles) from the Body of their Country, to attack a People five times their number, and merciless Tribes of Indians their Allies, and determined Enemies to us.

I knew that my case was desperate, but the more I reflected on my weakness the more I was pleased with the Enterprise. Joined by a few Kentuckians under Colonel Montgomery to stop desertion I knew would ensue on the Troops knowing their Destination, I had encamped on a small Island in the middle of the Falls, kept strict Guard on the Boats, but Lieutenant Hutchings of Dillard's Compy. contrived to make his escape with his party after being refused leave to return, luckily a few of his Men was taken the next day by a party sent after them; on this Island I first began to discipline my little Army knowing that to be the most essential point toward success, most of them determined to follow me, the rest seeing no probability of making escape I soon got that subordination as I could wish for; about twenty families that had followed me much against my Inclination I found now to be of service to me guarding a Block-house that I had erected on the Island to secure my Provisions.



On the second of January, 1778, two sets of instructions were issued to "Lieut.-Col." Clark; the one for the public, authorized him "to enlist seven companies of men, officered in the usual manner, to act as militia; \* \* \* to proceed to Kentucky, and there to obey such orders and directions as you shall give them for three months after their arrival at that place," etc.; the other, for the guidance of the expedition, was secret, and designated the number of men for each company as fifty; directed him "with this force attack the British post at Kaskasky;" and stated that it was "in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio," for which the cannon captured at Kaskaskia might be available, etc.

The point against which the expedition was thus projected was the center of a considerable French settlement, and the oldest permanent European settlement in the valley of the Mississippi. In 1700, the French and Indians at old Kaskaskia had removed to a point on Kaskaskia River, near the Mississippi, 100 miles or more above the mouth of the Ohio. In 1702, Juchereau had gone across to the Wabash and founded Vincennes, and each of these points had been centers of active trade with the Indians. In 1718, Fort Chartres was erected on the Mississippi, sixteen miles above the village; about it sprang up the village of New Chartres; five miles away the village of Prairie du Rocher was founded; and some sixty miles above Kaskaskia was the village of Cahokia. During the ascendancy of the French power, the fort was an important *point d'appui*; it was from this point that a strong contingent went up the Ohio to the capture of George Washington and his forces at Fort Necessity; from here the detachment went out which destroyed Fort Granville, within sixty miles of Philadelphia; another body of its troops aided in the defeat of Maj. Grant at Fort Du Quesne; and another assisted in the vain attempt to raise the British siege of Niagara.

Though transferred by treaty to the English in 1763, the fort was the last place in North America to lower the white ensign of the Bourbon king, and it was not until the lat-

ter part of 1765 that the British formally accepted the surrender of this most remote citadel. Pontiac, the unwavering friend of the French, took upon himself, unaided by his former allies, to hold back the victorious English. Maj. Loftus, Capts. Pitman and Morris, Lieut. Frazer, and George Crogan, some with force, some in disguise, and others with diplomacy, sought to reach the fort to accept its capitulation, but each one was foiled and turned back with his mission unaccomplished, glad to escape the fate of that Englishman, for whom Pontiac assured them he kept a "kettle boiling over a large fire."

The subsequent defeat of the Indians finally gave this forest fortress into the hands of the English, thus projecting another nationality into this "neck of the woods." The secret treaty of 1762 had brought the Spanish to the west bank of the river, and it is suggestive of the different races and varying sovereignties of this locality "that a French soldier from the Spanish city of St. Louis should be married to an Englishwoman by a French priest in the British colony of Illinois." The English garrison occupied the old French fort until one day in 1772, when the river, having overflowed its banks, swept away a bastion and the river wall; at this, the occupants fled with precipitate haste to the high ground near Kaskaskia, where they erected a palisade fort.

Clark's original plan contemplated the capture of these outlying posts only as a step towards the capture of Detroit, but the difficulties under which he labored, as well as the fact that his "principal plan was baffled," have been noted in his letter. On reaching the falls of the Ohio, his plans were forced to undergo another change, which he thus describes in his journal: "As Post Vincennes at this time was a town of considerable force, consisting of nearly 400 militia, with an Indian town adjoining, and great numbers continually in the neighborhood, and in the scale of Indian affairs of more importance than any other, I had thought of attacking it first; but now found that I could by no means venture near it. I resolved to begin my career in the Illinois, where there were more inhabitants,

but scattered in different villages and less danger of being immediately overpowered by the Indians; in case of necessity we could probably make our retreat to the Spanish side of the Mississippi; but if successful we might pave our way to the possession of Post Vincennes."

Accordingly on the 26th\* of June, the expedition set out from Corn Island with 153 men, and proceeded day and night until the mouth of the Tennessee was reached. Here the troops were disembarked to prepare "for a march by land;" a few hours later a company of hunters, "but eight days from Kaskaskias," were taken, who on being questioned were found to be colonists favorable to the American cause. The intelligence they gave was not favorable to the expedition, but they asked permission to join its fortunes and showed their loyalty by giving out to the men only such reports as they had been instructed by Clark to do. The company was re-embarked, and on the evening of the same day ran their boats into a small creek about a mile "above the old Fort Massac." After resting one night, the invaders struck out for the northwest "and had a very fatiguing journey for about fifty miles," until the plains were struck.

Nothing extraordinary happened through the march except the guide's losing his way, which for a time put the "troops in the greatest confusion," and the commander in a great "flow of rage." The guide recovered his bearings, however, and on the evening of July 4, the little army reached a point within three miles of Kaskaskia. Marching after night to a farm-house on the same side of the river, about a mile above the town, boats were found to take them to the side on which the fort stood; and, at the same time, it was learned from the captured family that some suspicion had been entertained of an attack a few days before, when some preparations for defense were made, but the people, "making no discoveries, had got off their guard." The force was subsequently divided into two divisions; the one to cross the river again,

and surround the town, the other to follow the commander in the attack on the fort. Acting upon the information that the French had been taught to hold the Americans in deadly fear, Clark provided that if the attack on the fort should succeed, persons who could speak French were to be sent through the streets of the village to proclaim "that every man of the enemy who should appear in them would be shot down." The attack on the fort was successful, the Americans entering it by "a postern gate left open on the river side of the fortification," which was revealed by a hunting soldier, taken prisoner the evening before.\* The programme in reference to the town was successfully carried out, and in about two hours the inhabitants were disarmed; the whole having been accomplished without one drop of bloodshed. On the 6th, Cahokia fell in like manner without a blow.

"Post St. Vincent, a town about the size of Williamsburg," writes Clark, "was the next object in my view," but at this juncture of affairs new difficulties arose to vex the sorely beset commander. The term for which the troops had enlisted had expired, and the greater part of them were determined to return to their homes. The situation was most disheartening; by a happy stroke of diplomacy the horror and detestation of the French citizens had been turned to the most enthusiastic loyalty, but the peasantry were an unwarlike people, and still held the power of the British in great respect. Nothing, therefore, but a show of power could confirm them in their new attitude, and secure their hearty co-operation in the plans contemplated for the capture of Vincennes and the detachment of the Indians from the British interests. The retirement of the troops meant the tame surrender of all the valuable results of the ably planned and executed campaign—an issue which the bold leader did not concede possible for a moment. Acting upon implied powers bestowed by his instructions, Clark secured the re-enlistment of about 100 men for eight months, though not without the use of "great presents and promises."

\*Clark's letter to Preston. Butler places it on June 24, p. 50, note.

\* Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 53.



"To color my staying with so few troops," writes Clark, "I made a feint of returning to the falls, as though I had sufficient confidence in the people, hoping that the inhabitants would remonstrate against my leaving them, which they did in the warmest terms, proving the necessity of the troops at that place, in that they were afraid, if I returned, the English would again possess the country. Then, seemingly by their request, I agreed to stay with two companies of troops, and that I hardly thought, as they alleged, that so many was necessary; but if more was wanted I could get them at any time from the falls, where they were made to believe was a considerable garrison." In the meanwhile the French had shown their faith by their works; some had accompanied the troops to Cahokia to assure its citizens of the hearty co-operation of Kaskaskia; some days later, the priest, with others, proposed to carry a proclamation to Vincennes, and by their representations to secure the voluntary allegiance of that post; and now that troops were needed, sufficient of the citizens volunteered to complete the two companies which remained with Clark. These services were promptly accepted, and on August 1st, the deputation to Vincennes returned with the cheering intelligence that the people of that place had publicly taken the oath of allegiance, and raised the flag of the colonists.

"Domestic affairs being partly well settled, the Indian department came next the object" of Col. Clark's attention, and of the first importance, as his appearance in the country had put them in the greatest consternation. "They were generally at war against us," writes Clark, "but the French and Spaniards, appearing so fond of us, confused them; they counseled with the French traders, to know what was the best to be done, and of course was advised to come and solicit for peace." Capt. Helm was sent to Vincennes as commandant of that post and superintendent of the Indians thereabouts, and by him were "sent letters and speeches to the Kickapoos and Piankeshaws." In September negotiations were opened with the Illinois tribes at Cahokia, where Capt. Bowman commanded.

Here the remarkable diplomatic talent of Col. Clark shone with new luster; spending five weeks at this point, he negotiated treaties with ten or twelve nations; sent agents to all quarters and made his influence felt among the savages "even to the borders of the lakes." At Vincennes the wisdom of Clark's selection was abundantly confirmed by the tact and prudence displayed by Capt. Helm; the savages were speedily won, and joined with a small detachment of troops from Kaskaskia in attempting the capture of a British agent located near the site of Lafayette, Ind.

Such success on the part of the Americans was not likely to pass unnoticed on the part of the enemy at Detroit, and no precaution was omitted to guard against surprise. The result of the abortive campaign by McIntosh against the lake posts was learned by the capture of an English spy at Cahokia, and at the same time uncertain information was gained of Hamilton's intended descent upon the Illinois country. Supposing that Kaskaskia as the most important post would be first attacked, the scouts were increased and every approach guarded with increased vigilance. Some of these spies were captured by the enemy, but the force at Kaskaskia learned nothing certain of the movements of the British, until news was brought in the latter part of January, 1779, that Vincennes had been taken. The garrison at this place, consisting of Capt. Helm and *one* man, was surprised on the 17th of December, by the appearance of Hamilton at the head of 800 French, Indians and regulars, and forced to surrender, but not until the usual honors of war had been accorded by the over-anxious commander of the besieging forces.

The British plan contemplated the reduction of Kaskaskia also, to be followed by a vigorous attack upon the whole of Kentucky border, but the gallant behavior of Capt. Helm on this occasion gave the English general an impressive example of the character of the enemy he must expect to meet, and the rest of the fall's campaign was deferred, the season being so far advanced as to prevent any protracted movement. There was some alarm at Kaskaskia, caused by the approach

of a party of Indians to waylay and capture Col. Clark; this attempt was soon discovered and foiled, but the general situation was none the less critical. Hamilton, deciding on no further operations that season, dispersed his Indian allies to attack various points on the borders, but with orders to rejoin him in the spring, and sent messengers to the southern tribes, 500 of whom he expected to join him in time for the spring campaign.

Clark at once perceived the importance of checking these designs, and that the only probability of holding the country was to take advantage of the enemy's present weakness. He accordingly proceeded to concentrate his forces, which, all counted, numbered "only a little upwards of 200 men," and having prepared a large boat "mounting two four-pounders" and "four large swivels," he set out for Vincennes with an "inward assurance of success." "But I had some secret check," writes Clark;\* "we had now a route before us of 240 miles in length, through, I suppose, one of the most beautiful countries in the world, but at this time in many parts flowing with water and exceeding bad marching; \* \* \* the first obstruction of any consequence that I met with was on the 13th (February), arriving at the two little Wabachees; although three miles asunder, they now make but one, the flowed water between them being at least three feet deep, and in many places four. \* \* \*

"This would have been enough to have stopped any set of men that was not in the same temper as we were. But in three days we continued to cross, by building a large canoe, ferried across the two channels—the rest of the way we waded—building scaffolds at each to lodge our baggage until the horses crossed to take it; it rained nearly a third of our march, but we never halted for it; on the evening of the 17th we got to the lowlands of the river Umbara (Embarrass), which we found deep in water, it being nine miles to St. Vincent's, which stood on the east side of the Wabache, and every foot of the way covered with deep water; we marched down

the little river in order to gain the banks of the main, which we did in about three leagues, made a small canoe and sent an express to meet the boat and hurry it up; from the spot we now lay on (it) was about ten miles to town, and every foot of the way put together, that was not three feet and upward under water, would not have made the length of two miles and a half, and not a mouthful of provision. \* \* \* But to our inexpressible joy, on the evening of the 23d we got safe on *terra firma* within half a league of the fort, covered by a small grove of trees where we had a full view of the wished-for spot. \* \* \* We had already taken some prisoners that was coming from the town. Laying in this grove some time to dry our clothes by the sun, we took another prisoner known to be a friend, by which we got all the intelligence we wished for."

At this point Clark determined to act with his accustomed boldness. Writing a letter to the inhabitants that he was before the town, and of his designs, he expressed the wish that those who intended to support the English would repair to the fort, while others should keep close to their houses, "other ways there should be no mercy shown them." He also sent the "compliments of several officers that was known to be expected to reinforce me"; and with this he dispatched the prisoner to the beleagured village. As it was an open plain from his point of cover to the fort, Clark timed his approach so as to bring his lines in sight of the place just before dark, and taking advantage of the undulations of the land, "disposed the lines in such a manner that nothing but the pavilions\* could be seen, having as many of them as would be sufficient for a thousand men." The houses so obstructed the view from the fort that the garrison was not apprised of the presence of the foe until the Americans had full possession of the town, and a soldier was wounded while looking out of a port-hole to learn the cause of the disturbance, supposing it to be occasioned by drunken Indians.

With this the battle began; the artillery of the fort "played briskly but did no execu-

\*Letter to Col. Preston.

\*Flags.



tion;" the Americans, "shielded by houses, palings and ditches," got up within eighty or a hundred yards of the fort, and maintained a continuous fire all night; but "never was a heavier fire kept up for eighteen hours with so little damage done." The boldness of Col. Clark had not been without its effect, however, and notwithstanding the "little damage done," the English commandant seemed to delay his surrender only for a fitting opportunity. About 9 o'clock on the following morning (February 24), Clark sent a flag to the garrison, demanding its immediate surrender, warning the officer in command against the destruction of any papers in his possession, and adding: "For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer."

To this Hamilton returned a dignified refusal, whereupon the besiegers began a hot fire upon the fort, killing or wounding several of the garrison through the port-holes. The English commander's apprehensions rapidly getting the better of his dignity he soon proposed a truce for three days; this Clark peremptorily declined, and reiterated his demand for an immediate and unconditional surrender. After a conference in which the fears of the English lieutenant-governor were raised to the highest point, articles of surrender were agreed upon. About 10 o'clock on the 25th, the American flag rose over the fort, and the American troops took possession. With this surrender ended all English pretensions to this region.

On the official announcement of Clark's first success in the Illinois country, the Virginia legislature took prompt action to secure the dominion thus acquired, and in October, 1778, passed "an act for the establishing of the County of Illinois, and for the more effectual protection and defense thereof." This act, after reciting the facts of the expedition, projected and carried to success by Virginia militia, provided that all citizens of Virginia settled west of Ohio should be included in the new and distinct county, and authorized the governor to appoint the usual officers for the administration of civil affairs. For the important post of county-lieutenant, Gov. Henry selected John Todd, and on the 12th of December indited upon the opening pages of a record-book, his letter of instructions to the newly appointed officer. This also constituted his commission and reached him at Vincennes, shortly after its surrender, in February, 1779, whither Col. Todd had accompanied the expedition which had effected its capture. The adjustment of private affairs engaged his attention for the time, and it was not until the following May that he arrived at Kaskaskia, and assumed the duties of his new office, in the discharge of which he continued until his death at the battle of Blue Lick, in 1782. No successor to him seems to have been appointed, the cession of the Northwest having been made by the Virginia assembly in December of the following year.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE DARK AND BLOODY GROUND—ITS PREHISTORIC ANNALS.

**K**AN-TUCK-KEE, pronounced, according to Marshall, with "a strong emphasis," is a word of Indian origin, applied by the savages to a "long deep-channeled, and clifty river," emptying into the Ohio from the South about midway between Louisville and Cincinnati, and was very early used by this people to designate a considerable scope of country lying adjacent to its banks. It is said to signify "river of blood," and to refer to that prehistoric age of which there are few scientific data save those found in certain mounds found here and there in the country—"casual relics of antiquity, thus left upon this distant shore of time, telling no tale but that such things had been and had perished." Of these mementoes of a forgotten past, Kentucky divides with Ohio and Illinois the distinction of possessing the larger share of those found in North America.

It was not to be expected that these ancient monuments should long escape the exploring eye of science, and their discovery, with the presence of the Indian, early gave rise to numerous hypotheses to account for the peopling of the "New World." In the early history of scientific investigation, however, these relics formed but a minor part of the evidence relied upon to support the various theories entertained in regard to the origin of the Americans. Philological and ethnological peculiarities of the various peoples on the earth, with more or less mythical traditions current in every nation, supplied a more tangible and accommodating material with which to eke out preconceived theories, and from such materials arose hypotheses that, while they did not answer all the conditions of the problem, yet possessed so many half truths as to make them for years not untenable in the dawn of scientific progress.

Even now, in the brighter light of recent investigations, however much later developments may disallow the authority of their data, or the justness of their conclusion, these early fancies still possess a fascination for the speculative student that will not let them utterly die.

Geologists have long believed that there was a time when the "lands now called Italy and Spain were joined to Africa, and in place of the Mediterranean Sea were only a few land-locked basins; when the British Islands as far north as the Shetlands were a part of the continent; when the present bottom of the North Sea was a low, wide plain covered probably by magnificent forests, through which the Rhine, with the Elbe and the Thames as its tributaries, wound its way to discharge its waters at length into the ocean north of Scandinavia; and when the western boundary of Europe was far out in the Atlantic beyond the present coasts of Ireland and France, extending in an unbroken line from the Arctic Ocean to Africa."\* Bolder theorists, accepting the suggestions of Humboldt that the summits of the Madeira and Canary Islands may once have been a part of the chain of the Atlas Mountains, have extended this hypothetical range to the West Indies, and constructed a continent which once joined Africa with Central America.

It would be impossible to note within ordinary limits the philological and ethnological comparisons which afford the data from which are drawn the plausible arguments arrayed in support of these early theories, or the legends which form so important a feature in the chain of evidence relied upon. Prominent among the latter, however, is the story of the lost Atlantis,

\*Prehistoric man; Bryant's History U.S.; *vide* Rafinesque, *et al.*



which Plato records as related to Solon by an Egyptian priest; some 9,000 years before his time, the priest said, a great insular continent, including the Azores, Madeira, Canary and Cape Verde Islands, and reaching far out into the ocean, was destroyed by an earthquake and submerged, with all its powerful and warlike race of inhabitants.

Of these early archæological speculations, one which possesses the additional interest afforded by a local coloring is found in the introductory pages of Marshall's "History of Kentucky," published in 1824. In this article the learned Prof. Rafinesque\* has briefly noted the regular succession of the principal events which preceded the advent of the modern nations upon this continent. He adopts a theory which harmonizes the various suggestions as to a derivative origin of the Americans, and makes the "Atalan" and "Cutan" nations, which found their way thither from the east, the pioneers of human existence in America; subsequently the "Iztacan" and "Oghuzians" coming from the west invaded the first settlements, and eventually became masters of the situation. The periods which cover the evolution of this prehistoric society are, (1st) from the dispersion of mankind to the first discovery of America, including several centuries; (2nd) from the discovery of America to the founding of the western empires, including some centuries; (3d) from the foundation of these empires to the Pelegian revolution of nature, including several centuries; (4th) from the Pelegian revolution to the invasion of the Iztacan nations, including about twelve centuries; (5th) from the Iztacan invasion to the decline and fall of the Atalan and Cutan nations in North America, including about thirty centuries to the present time.

It will be observed that these periods are

entirely arbitrary, good for this theory and theorist only, and begin with the cessation of the Biblical flood. To the first period is assigned the primary activities of the second era of human existence; the repeopling of the earth; the dispersion of mankind; the expansion of patriarchal families into the first colonies of primitive nations; and the growth of these nations into independent historical factors. Then followed those social convulsions that find expression in revolution, conquest and predatory wars, eventually resulting in the consolidation of many of the national fragments into one powerful empire by the prowess of the warlike "Atlantes" of Africa. The sway of this empire which "lasted many ages" extended from North Africa to the British Islands; and to the splendor of its power was added the glory of discovery.

Of the islands which now lie off the northwestern coast of Africa, Prof. Rafinesque constructs "one or more" prehistoric islands called "Atlantic Islands, which have given the name to the Atlantic Ocean." From these certain bold navigators are supposed to have found their way to the West Indies, driven by trade winds; and from thence to have discovered the mainland. This discovery found the people of the whole empire ready to seek new fortunes and adventure in the new land, and a great throng of immigrants soon spread over the American continent, the "marshy plains" bordering the large rivers, and the active volcanoes of South America, no less than the fertile spots of North America, determining the site of the new settlements. The "Atlantes" of America became known as "Atalans," from "Atala," a name given to the newly discovered land, while the emigrants of many subject nations contributing to the population of the New World were generically designated as "Cutans." The Atlantic shore, it is said, was then an arid waste but recently emerged from the sea, and the "Great White Land (Mahaswe-ta-Bhumi of Hind)" beyond the Alleghanies "became the seat of a great empire." This wonderful expansion does not seem to have endangered

\*Prof. C. S. Rafinesque was a gentleman of great and very versatile talent. He was one of the pioneers in scientific research, and much of his work has been superseded by more recent investigations. His "Annals of Kentucky," of which extended notice is made in these pages is entitled to consideration only as a curious speculation which the vague ideas entertained at his time alone could warrant. He was born at Galata, Turkey, in 1784; came to America in 1802; in 1819 was made Professor of Natural Sciences in the Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky., a position he held for seven years. He died in Philadelphia, in 1840. He published several works on scientific subjects, none of which survive save his writings on "Recent and Fossil Conchology," edited by W. G. Binney and G. W. Tryon, Jr.

the existence of the great aggregation of empires, the limits of which now touch the Ganges on the south and the Mississippi and Lake Ontario on the north. While the empire of the western continent had its own rulers, and a long succession of them, the African emperors were "acknowledged generally as lords paramount."

Such was the situation of affairs when occurred that wonderful cataclysm in which the traditional island of Atlantis was lost, and the whole face of the world materially changed. This fearful convulsion of nature severed all connection between the hemispheres, each survivor among the nations believing the other destroyed. Thus isolated, and the cohesive power of the government destroyed by the abolition of the object of common allegiance, the empire became divided into numerous nations, of which the "Talegans," occupying Kentucky and contiguous States, and the "Apalans, south of them, were two of the most powerful empires of that period." Then followed (5th period) the attack of the "Iztacans," named from their ancestor "Iztac." These people correspond to those of the "Mongolian immigration," to which many theorists assign the first peopling of America. According to Prof. Rafinesque, they may have crossed the Behring Strait before the "Pelegian" cataclysm, but it was some centuries before they came in contact with the older occupants of the Mississippi Valley. Of this race, the "Olmecas or Hulmec" first came in contact with the "Talegans," but, unable to subdue them, passed into Tennessee, and finally went to Anahuac. Other Iztacan nations followed; came in collision with the "Talegans" with no better success, and followed in the footsteps of their predecessors, with whom they formed alliances, and constituted the great "Natchez" confederation or empire. This empire was found, more or less firmly established, northward from Anahuac to Alabama, Tennessee and Missouri, and waged frequent wars with the "Talegans."

About five centuries later occurred the "Oghuzian" invasion. The Natchez empire had gained some success in its wars with the

"Atalans," and at this time held the country from "the Ohio to Florida, and from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. \* \* \*

The nations forming this empire or league, were civilized and cultivators; they became polished by their intercourse with the Atalans, and borrowed many customs from them. They worshiped the sun and fire, but did not build circular temples, erecting instead pyramids and high altars, generally of a square or angular form. \* \* \* \*

At the Oghuzian invasion, the Taencas, a Natchez tribe, occupied West Kentucky, the Huasiotos were in East Kentucky, and some Talegans still held the banks of the Ohio, etc.

"The Cherokees or Zulocans, an Atalan nation dwelling west of the Mississippi, being driven by the Oghuzians, came to Kentucky and Tennessee, and settled at last after many wars in the mountains of Carolina, where they became a nation of hunting mountaineers, and gradually destroyed the Huasioto nation of the Cumberland Mountains. The Shawanees, an Oghuzian tribe, came then in contact with the Natchez and expelled them from Kentucky, which the victors occupied for a long time. The Talegans north of the Ohio were partly destroyed or driven south through Kentucky to join the Apalachians, or down the Mississippi toward Louisiana and Mexico." And with these peoples, the Natchez (Iztacans) and Oghuzians, divided by various influences into numerous petty tribes, were waging their internecine wars when the Europeans came upon the scene.

Such confusions of fact and fable are certainly not history; but while the result of the latest and most exhaustive examination\* of these theories, that "no man at the present day can tell the origin of the American," may be accepted as the truth of the matter, yet it is considered not impossible by a well informed essayist (Bryant's Hist. U. S.), that "in them may yet be found some aid in putting together the unwritten story of the early human race on this continent." But the true relation between these speculations and the teachings of true science does not yet ap-

\*Native Races of the Pacific States. H. H. Bancroft.



pear. The developments of science during the past half-century have not been few nor unimportant, but they have supplied little of detail, and have rather widened than restricted the field for speculation. Thus far, scientific deductions have been largely negative in their conclusions, destroying confidence in old systems of chronology, and in the value of the various historical traditions formerly relied upon, without supplying anything definitive in their place. Here and there disconnected discoveries establish the fact that man existed in a period so remote, that, in its contemplation, a thousand years are "as a watch in the night," and in the archaeological calendar, his career is marked by the chipped flint (Palæolithic) and the polished stone periods (Neolithic) of the stone age, the bronze and iron ages; but of the centuries involved in each or any age the scientist knows scarcely more of the number than the school-boy.

If, however, the later developments of science have only vaguely outlined the great problem of man's antiquity, they have been none the less radical in their influence upon the earlier deductions. Little more than twenty-five years ago, the Biblical chronology constructed by Bishop Usher had the supposed sanction of divine revelation as well as of science, and followers of this system had placed "the various migrations of men, the confusion of tongues, the peopling of continents, the development of types, the whole evolution of human society, within the narrow compass of little more than 4,000 years," and yet, upon this settled state of security the revelation of the caves in England, Germany and France, and the lakes of Switzerland, came like an ominous lightning flash from a clear sky. Incredulous and pious people saw, in the new assumption of science, the covert attack of infidelity upon the validity of the Bible, while the scientist welcomed the new light, and sought in geology the only safe basis of antiquarian research. The receding echoes alone are left of this short-lived contest between dogma and discovery; attempts at constructing prehistoric chronologies are at least suspended; and

without surrendering anything of biblical confidence, mankind is slowly acquiring a faint conception of the stupendous work of creation.

Whether the "elder man" was a resident of this continent is still an open question with scientists, but which the general belief expects to be decided in the affirmative. To this solution America's greatest geologist has paved the way in assigning to the Western Hemisphere an antiquity which was formerly believed not possible. "First-born among the continents, though so much later in culture and civilization than some of more recent birth, America, so far as her physical history is concerned, has been falsely denominated the New World. Hers was the first dry land lifted out of the waters; hers the first shore washed by the ocean that enveloped all the earth beside; and while Europe was represented only by islands here and there above the sea, America already stretched an unbroken line of land from Nova Scotia to the far West." (Agassiz.) If this high antiquity of the Western Hemisphere be true, it is obvious that communication between the two hemispheres may have been effected some ages earlier than the period heretofore assigned; and if the suggestion of early geologists that the continents once approached nearer to each other than now, or that the two worlds were once connected by a continental causeway, be accepted, speculation and science may unite to provide the primitive American a derivative origin in the Palæolithic age.

It is to geological research that science now turns for a solution of this question, and the principal obstacle in achieving unquestioned results is not so much the lack of evidence as the difficulty of its verification. In the absence of the cave and lake testimony, which has so authoritatively established the former existence of the primitive man on the Eastern Hemisphere, dependence is here placed upon the testimony of superficial deposits and natural or artificial exhumation of fossil remains. Of the superficial deposits, the more common are the stone relics found strewn broadcast over the land. These are seriously invali-

dated as evidence, however, by the fact that the Indians were discovered here in the stone age of development, and so similar are the implements of this age in all countries and times, that in a confused collection of these remains no scientist professes ability to distinguish with certainty the modern product from the ancient, save as their original situation and surroundings mark the probable period of their origin. Other evidence of this character is supplied by the shell-heaps which are found along the Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Florida. These have been classed by Sir Charles Lyell as identical with the garbage heaps (*Kjökken-Möddings*) of Denmark, which have given such satisfactory evidence of the presence of the primitive man. The American shell-heaps are much less positive in their testimony: they are evidently the refuse of shell-fish eaten by some race of men, and their number and frequent large size clearly indicate the presence of a large population. These relics have scarcely received merited attention from scientific explorers, though such examinations as have been made seem to justify the eminent English geologist's classification. The late Prof. Jeffries Wyman examined the structure and contents of some of these heaps and found no evidence of their having originated with the Indians, while trees growing upon them "showed, by their annular growth, an age antedating from one to three centuries the landing of Columbus."\*

In addition to this evidence, several remarkable discoveries of human remains are recorded which, if only well authenticated, would seem to settle any doubt that may exist as to the presence of the "elder man" on this continent. Of these the earliest was made by Dr. Koch, of St. Louis (1839), who dug up from the bottom-land of the Bourbeuse River, in Missouri, the bones of a mastodon, about which were found weapons of the stone age "in such juxtaposition as to show that man and beast had met there in deadly hostility." There is no serious in-

congruity in the claims of this discovery, which would scarcely be questioned if the presence of the "first inhabitant" had been settled before this exploration. But science is very jealous for the truth and will accept nothing upon which a shadow of doubt can rest. It is considered remarkable "that subsequent deposits of earth should have so completely covered these frail remains, without disturbing them, that they could be exhumed in their original condition so long afterward." The discoverer proved to be an unscientific enthusiast, and notwithstanding his integrity is vouched for by respectable witnesses, the "find" is robbed of much of its scientific value by the doubt in which Dr. Koch's scientific ability is held. Other discoveries by the same explorer, equally remarkable and valuable if authenticated, share the fate of the former.

Some five years after Dr. Koch's first discovery, the fragment of a human bone was found at Natchez, Miss., in association with the bones of the extinct *megalonyx* and other extinct animals. These relics were found in a fissure in the earth caused by the memorable earthquake of 1811-12, and were examined by Lyell in 1846. There is no question as to the genuineness of these remains, but with an excess of caution the celebrated geologist suggests that these bones may have been brought into their discovered relation by the human bone falling from the surface. This opinion is now generally adopted, though Lyell subsequently held that "had the pelvic bone belonged to any recent mamifer other than man, such a theory would never have been resorted to." In 1852, a human skeleton was exhumed from a depth of sixteen feet, in New Orleans, while workmen were making an excavation for the foundation of gas works. Above the remains were found evidences of "four successive buried forests of cypress," and competent judges suggest that these bones may have rested there 50,000 years. On the Petit Anse Island evidences of man's activities have been discovered in close association with bones of the mastodon and elephant, but the erratic character of the river makes this

\*These shell-heaps, it should be added, are not confined to the Atlantic border. They are also found at various points along the more important rivers of the country. P. 14, Bryant's History of the United States. See Note 1, Appendix A.



association of relics less conclusive, as it is suggested that the wash of the hills may have mingled the remains of various periods.\*

Similar testimony is to be derived from discoveries made in Illinois, South Carolina, and especially in the gold drift of California. Of the contributions of the latter, the most notable is the "Pliocene skull," the popular conception of which is derived more widely, perhaps, from a characteristic poem by Bret Harte, than from scientific publications. A reputed discovery of a fragment of a human cranium "180 feet below the surface of Table Mountain, in association with fossil bones of extinct animals," was made in 1857. Some ten years later, "the Pliocene skull" was discovered, which the state geologist, Prof. Whitney, as well as other scientists, believes to be an authentic discovery. "The shaft in which the bone was buried is 150 feet deep, and was sunk through five beds of lava and volcanic tufa, and four beds of gold-bearing quartz. In this superincumbent mass no crack or crevice was apparent through which the bone could have fallen to so great a depth, and the inference, therefore, is that it was deposited in the place where it lay when that was on the surface of the earth's crust, and that over it in subsequent ages were piled up the successive beds of gravel and volcanic cinders. If this be true of these skulls, then the man they represented lived before the human race appeared in Europe, so far as yet ascertained." (Hist. U. S., Bryant.) Such evidences raise a strong presumption that the primitive man was once a resident of this continent, but the fact can be demonstrated only by such a recurrence of "finds" as will

remove professional doubt from the scientific mind.

Coming down to a later time—one probably falling within the historic period, according to Prof. Foster—are found the more tangible traces of an early race of men. Of this people, named from the character of their remains, the Mound-Builders, the evidences are found vastly multiplied, and of such a character as to afford means of a reasonable conjecture as to their mode of life, their advancement in civilization, and final destiny. These evidences, though first accepted with great distrust, have been so amplified and confirmed by more recent researches, as to leave no room for intelligent dissent to the former existence of this race. The remains upon which this conclusion is based "consists," says Mr. Foster,\* "of tumuli symmetrically raised and often enclosed in mathematical figures, such as the square, the octagon and circle, with long lines of circumvallation; of pits in the solid rock, and rubbish heaps formed in the prosecution of their mining operations, and of a variety of utensils, wrought in stone, copper or molded in clay."

In the theory of Prof. Rafinesque, the origin of these works are assigned to two different periods and peoples; those of "circular, elliptical and conical shapes" are referred to the "Atalans" and kindred nations, while those of pyramidal form and "high altars, generally of square or angular form," are referred to the succeeding "Iztacans," who may have been allied by origin to the Pyramid-Builders of other parts of the world. Though the professor claims that the earlier structures "may be easily distinguished from the subsequent Iztacan monuments by a greater antiquity," and the difference in form, later investigators have not accepted such a theory as supported by the evidence. All these remains are assigned to a single race, the different forms of the structure being held to indicate only the different uses for which they were designed.

The traces of the Mound-Builders' occupation are found throughout the broad expanse

\*The recent discovery of pipes fashioned in the unmistakable form of the elephant seems to afford reasonable ground to believe that the people to whom they originally belonged had been co-existent with the elephant on this continent, and affords strong confirmation of the judgment of scientists, who assign this animal as the object which is symbolized in the Wisconsin mound. The first of these pipes was accidentally discovered about 1873, by a German farmer, in Louisa County, Iowa. He knew nothing of the importance of his discovery, and used it in his smoking, subsequently presenting it to a relative, who also used it. It was not until about 1880 that it came to the attention of scientists. The owner was then loth to part with what he esteemed a curious trinket, but it subsequently being broken he sold it for \$2 or \$3, to be placed in the State museum. This pipe stimulated the prosecution of explorations in mounds in the county in hope of discovering others, and Mr. Blumer was so fortunate as to find another equally good specimen of this rare relic. A full description of the pipes, with an account of their discovery, may be found in the *American Naturalist* for April, 1882, Vol. XVI, No. 4.

\*"Prehistoric Races of the United States." Chicago, 1873.

of the Mississippi Valley, reaching as far north as the lakes, indicating the former existence of a great empire, the center of which, as marked by the more important works, being located on the Ohio River and on the Mississippi near the same latitude. There is a wide diversity of form and character in these remains, but a careful examination of all the evidences justifies the belief that a fixed principle underlies their construction, and that a different form indicates a different object to be attained in its erection. Typical mounds, therefore, have been classed by Squier and Davis\* with reference to their supposed use as follows: Inclosures—1, for defense; 2, sacred; 3, miscellaneous. Mounds—1, of sacrifice; 2, for temple sites; 3, sepulture; 4, observation. Both enclosures and mounds belong to the same system, but instances are not wanting where each is found without the other.

Inclosures which are generally referred to the military operations of the Mound-Builders consist of simple earth-works thrown up to the height of from five to twenty-five feet, and upward of twenty-five feet thick at the base, inclosing an area of from five to about 50 acres. At the foot of these lines of circumvallation is a moat or ditch of a width varying from twenty-five to fifty and eighty feet, the relative location of which is an important feature with many in determining the character of the structure. By some writers the ditch on the outside is considered essential to characterize the inclosure as a fortification; but to this demand Prof. Foster has pointed out the fact that the attack of savages and the natural defense are both quite different from the military operations of civilized people; and that in the fortifications of the Mandans, the ditch is constructed on the *inside*, an arrangement that would facilitate the mode of defense which certain circumstances suggest, *i. e.*, of rolling stones from the summit of the embankment upon the attacking party. Writers general, however, disregard this distinction, and works with ditches on either side

are classed as defensive, the location being the decisive feature in the investigation. In this connection an author remarks: "But when in addition to this (exterior ditch), we find a line of simple or bastioned works occupying a peninsular terrace or a precipitous height 'covering' an important region of country, commanding every position, guarding every approach, served by protected lines of communication, and convenient to points of supply, there would seem to be no further room to doubt."\*

Other inclosures do not readily fall into any strict classification. Those classed as sacred differ from the defensive structures principally in being located on level plateaux, and including within their walls mounds of sacrifice, temple sites and sepulture, as all of these uses were undoubtedly sacred to the Mound-Builders. In the miscellaneous class are placed a large number of inclosures, the purpose of which there are no data to explain; the areas thus defined are irregular in form and vary greatly in size; and suggestions as to their use have assigned them a varying importance, from the demesne of a primitive lord to the site of a walled town. "There can be little doubt," suggests Prof. Foster, "that the Mound-Builders had their national games which were celebrated within these inclosures. They had, too, their religious observances, their funeral services, and their grand councils; but no clear line, I think, can be drawn in reference to the different purposes of these structures."

Mounds of sacrifice, or altars, as they are variously termed, are generally characterized by the fact "that they occur only within the vicinity of the inclosures or sacred places; that they are stratified, and that they contain symmetrical altars of burned clay or stone, on which were deposited various remains,

\*Thomas E. Pickett, M. D., in Collins' Historical Sketches of Kentucky. A remarkable stone fort situated on an elevated narrow ridge at the mouth of Fourteen-mile Creek, in Clarke County, Ind., is referred to this class of structures. The highest part of the ridge is 280 feet above the level of the Ohio, and its summit is guarded partly by an abrupt natural escarpment of rock and partly by an artificial stone wall. The latter is constructed of loose stones regularly laid up but without mortar, and in one place is about 150 feet long. "It is built along the slope of the hill and had an elevation of about seventy-five feet above its base, the upper ten feet being vertical. The inside of the wall is protected by a ditch." Another much longer interval unprotected by the natural escarpment was defended by a similar artificial stone wall, "but not more than ten feet high." See Report of Geological Survey of Indiana for 1873, p. 126.

\*"Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge," Washington C., 1848, Vol. I, p. i.



which in all cases have been more or less subjected to the action of fire." (Squier and Davis.) These characteristics are not all uniformly present, however. In the "American Bottom," where the mound system reached its highest development, the mounds of this class are not inclosed; and others are found with unmistakable evidences of being used for sacred purposes, but with no symmetrical structure answering to the typical altar. The remains found in these mounds consist of the manufactures of the people, beads of shell, pipes, tubes of copper, etc., etc. What the ceremonies were that were performed before these altars, archæologists are at a loss to conjecture. From certain evidences it is believed that human sacrifice found a place in their worship, but the data relied upon may only prove that the Mound-Builders practiced cremation. Fire was undoubtedly used in their worship, as "the altars or basins found are almost invariably of burned clay, although a few of stone have been discovered." These altars are elevated basins seldom exceeding a height of twenty inches, and are generally found resting on the surface level beneath a mound regularly heaped over it in layers of different materials, though in a few exceptions they are found on a thin layer of sand. They are symmetrical in their construction, but not uniform in size nor shape, varying in these respects from a circle of a two-foot diameter to a parallelogram of 50x15 feet.

Temple-Mounds are described by Squier and Davis as "distinguished by their great regularity of form and general large dimensions. They consist chiefly of pyramidal structures truncated, and generally having graded avenues to their tops. In some instances they are terraced, or have successive stages. But whatever their form, whether round, oval, octangular, square or oblong, they have invariably flat or level tops," upon which the temples are supposed to have been erected, but being constructed of perishable material they have decayed and left no sign of their former existence. Mounds of this class are found much less numerous toward the north, traces of them at Aztalan, Wis.,

being the northernmost limits of those discovered; they are not found in the lake region, nor on that line which seems to mark the farthest advance of these people.

The principal of these structures are found at Cahokia, Ill.; near Florence and Claiborne, Tenn.; at Selzartown, Miss.; at Marietta, Newark and Chillicothe, the only places where the temple-mound is found in southern Ohio, and at St. Louis, Mo. Some very remarkable mounds of this class occur in Kentucky, on the "Long Bottom" of Cumberland River, in Adair County, also near Cadiz, Trigg County, near Mount Sterling, and in Hickman and McCracken Counties. In Whitley County is one 360 feet long, 150 feet wide, and 12 feet high, with graded ascents, and at Hopkinsville, Christian County, is one of great size, upon which the court house is built. (See Squier and Davis, p. 175.)

The mound at Cahokia, "the monarch of all similar structures in the United States," may well serve as a type. When unimpaired by decay, this mound formed a huge parallelogram, with sides at the base respectively 500 and 700 feet in length, and reaching to the height of 90 feet. On the southwest there was a terrace, 160x300 feet, which was reached by a graded way; the summit was truncated, affording a level area of 200x400 feet in extent. This great mound covered an area of six acres, and, it is conjectured, bore up a great temple, perhaps the principal one of the Mound-Builders' empire. In close proximity to this mound were four other elevated platforms, varying from 250 to 300 feet in diameter. The great mounds at St. Louis and Marietta reach a height of thirty-five feet, and the one at Claiborne, Tenn., reaches nearly fifty feet in height.

The pyramidal form of this class of structure has given rise to a speculation which attempts to connect the Mound-Builders with the ancient Egyptians, but such an attempt seems to proceed upon hasty generalizations to conclusions which are generally rejected by archæologists. The relation of this form of the temple mound to the Teocallis of Central America appears to be well defined, and constitutes, according to Prof. Foster, "one of

the strongest links in the chain which connects the ancient inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley with those of Mexico and Central America."

"Sepulchral mounds," says Mr. Foster, "consist often of a simple knoll, or group of knolls, of no considerable height, without any definite arrangement. Examples of this character may be seen at Dubuque, Merom, Chicago and Laporte, which, on exploration, have yielded skulls differing widely from the Indian type. \* \* \* The corpse was almost invariably placed near the original surface of the soil, enveloped in bark or coarse matting, and, in a few instances, fragments of cloth have been observed in this connection. Sometimes a vault of timber was built over it, and in others it was inclosed in long, and broad flags of stone. Sometimes it was placed in a sitting position, again it was extended, and still again compressed within contracted limits. Trinkets were often strung about the neck, and water jugs, drinking cups, and vases, which probably contained food, were placed near the head. Over the corpse, thus arrayed, a circular mound was often raised, but sometimes nothing more than a hillock."

There seems to have been a wide diversity in the burial customs of this people; a large number of mounds are found to be the depository of a single body; others seem to indicate that some distinguished person had been accompanied in death by his personal attendants, who were placed about him in the tomb; and still others indicate a miscellaneous burial of large numbers without particular arrangement. The use of fire in the disposition of the dead is apparent, though not in every case; nor is it clear that when used it was for the purpose of cremation. A thin coating of moist clay was applied to the body, nude or wrapped in a coarse fabric, and upon this a fire was maintained for a time, more or less prolonged, but in most cases the heat was not sufficient to destroy the cloth, which has sometimes been found in a good state of preservation. This, evidently, was not the result of inattention, as "all the circumstances seem to indicate that burial was

a solemn and deliberate rite, regulated by fixed customs;" cremation and urn burial were also practiced.

"Mounds of observation," is rather a fanciful classification intended to mark isolated mounds found on elevated sites, the character of which generally discourages the idea that they could have been considered desirable places of residence. This theory of special purpose, however, has not been accepted as supported by any particular evidence; the Mound-Builders undoubtedly had need of such signals as the Indians still use, a flame by night and a smoke by day, and certain mounds have been found in positions where such a signal could be seen for a score of miles about.

There are also a large number of mounds found that do not fall into any of these classes. Of these, the widest divergence from the typical mound is found in Wisconsin. Here, instead of the circular or pyramidal structure, are found forms, for the most part consisting of rude, gigantic imitations of various animals of the region, such as the buffalo, bear, fox, wolf, etc.; of the eagle, and night-hawk, the lizard and turtle, and in some instances the unmistakable form of man. These, though not raised high above the surface, and even in some cases represented in *intaglio*, attain the largest dimensions; one representing a serpent extending 700 feet, and another representing a turtle, had a body fifty-six, and a tail 250 feet long. The significance of these peculiar forms has not been determined, but unmistakable evidences have been discovered, which mark them as the work of the same race whose structures are found elsewhere, so numerous throughout the Mississippi Valley.

The "Garden Beds of the Northwest" are found in lower Wisconsin, northern Indiana, and Michigan—all in the region bordering on Lake Michigan. Their resemblance to the beds of a garden suggests the name applied to them, though their lines are not uniformly regular. Some of the plats form a parallelogram, others are variously curved, while others are in the form of parallel ridges "as if corn had been planted in



drills." The beds in Wisconsin suggest an age more recent than the mounds, "as they sometimes extend across them in the same manner as over the adjoining grounds."

There is, in addition to these mounds, a large number which—following Mr. F. W. Putnam—whom Mr. Foster quotes at length, may be called "habitation mounds." A large number of these are described as located at Merom, Ind., and a group of fifty-nine mounds at Hutsonville, Ill., a few miles above the former place and across the Wabash River. These mounds were carefully examined, to ascertain if they were places of burial, without discovering a single bone or implement of any kind, but, on the contrary, the excavation showed that the mounds had been made of the various materials at hand, and in one case ashes were found, which had probably been scraped up with other material and thrown upon a heap. In the ancient fort at Merom, in depressions observed within the earth works, were found striking evidences of food having been cooked and eaten there, and the conclusion drawn by Mr. Putnam is that these pits were the houses of the inhabitants or defenders of the fort, who were probably further protected from the elements and the missiles of assailants by a roof of logs and bark, or boughs. Another writer,\* in a paper read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at their Boston meeting, August, 1880, says: "There is in this region a peculiar class of mounds, that was for a long time a puzzle to me. They are usually found in groups of from two or three to twenty or thirty, and even more, and are generally on some knoll or rising ground in the vicinity of a spring or water course, especially in the vicinity of our prairies or level areas of land. These mounds are from one to three, and, in a few instances, even four feet in height, and from twenty to fifty feet in diameter. One mound of the group is always larger than the rest, and always occupies a commanding position. Sometimes the group is arranged in a circle; other groups have no apparent design in arrange-

ment. Numbers of these mounds can be seen in the cultivated fields. Although I have made excavations in them, and dug trenches entirely through them, I have found nothing but ashes, charcoal, decayed portions of bones of fishes and animals partially burned, shells from the adjacent streams, flint chippings, and in one or two instances a flint implement of a rude character.

"After examining many of these structures I am induced to believe that they are possibly the remains of ancient dwellings, made by placing in an upright position the trunks of young trees in a circle, or in parallel rows, the tops of the poles inclining inward and fastened together, the whole being covered with earth and sod to form a roof, or in the same manner as many Indian tribes make their mud lodges; as, for instance, the Mandans and the Omahas. Such a structure, after being repaired from time to time by the addition of more earth on top, would, finally, by the decay of the poles, fall inward, and the ruins would form a slight mound. Conant and Putnam describe such mounds in Missouri and Tennessee, some of the largest of these ancient towns being provided with highways and streets. They are also found in southern Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. Putnam has described an enclosed town in Tennessee, in which were many low mounds, or rather, as he calls them, earth circles, that he has pretty conclusively shown to be sites of the lodges or houses of the people."

The traces of the Mound-Builders are very numerous in Kentucky, and Prof. Rafinesque estimated that, of more than 1,000 of their towns on the waters of the Ohio, about 200 were found in this State, with "half a million of inhabitants at least." Temple sites of terraced mounds, are said to be more numerous here than in the States north of the Ohio, and notable examples of this class have been discovered and described\* as located in the counties of Adair, Trigg, Montgomery, Hickman, McCracken, Whitley, Christian, Woodford, Greenup and Mason. Of these,

\*Hon. William McAdams, Jr., Otterville. Ill.

\*Collins' Historical Sketches, 1882. Also Dr. Pickett's article in same work; "Memoir of the Kentucky Geological Survey," Frankfort, 1883; Vol. II, by L. Carr, etc.

the structures found near Lovedale, in Woodford County, and in Montgomery and Greenup Counties, have excited unusual interest.

The latter Dr. Pickett describes as a "part of a connected series of works communicating by means of parallel embankments and embracing the chief structural elements peculiar to this class of works. On a commanding river terrace stands one of the groups of this series—an exact rectangle, 800 feet square, with gateway, bastion, ditch and hollow-way, with out-works consisting of parallel walls leading to the northeast, and to the southwest, from opposite sides of the rectangular inclosure. The work has many of the salient features of an extensive fortification, and appears to have been designed for purpose of military defense; and yet there is nothing to forbid the supposition, that its sloping areas were also devoted to the imposing rites of a ceremonial worship. There is a corresponding group on the opposite bank of the Ohio River, which is obviously sacred or superstitious in its origin and design.

"The third group of this series consists of four concentric circles, intersected at right angles by four broad avenues, conforming very nearly to the cardinal points of the compass. In the center is a large mound, truncated and terraced, with a graded way leading to the summit. This group rests upon a lofty terrace at the base of the hills, which border the beautiful river valley. About a mile to the west of this is a small circular work with a central mound, which is approached from the exterior by a narrow gateway, through the parapet, and a causeway over the ditch. There seems to have existed a connection originally by parallels, between the several groups of this unique and enigmatical series of works. The total length of the embankments now (1871) traceable is about eight miles."

Structures which are clearly assignable to the military operations of this people are also found in great numbers in the State. These are invariably situated along the large water-courses, and are especially marked in Allen, Bourbon, Boone, Fayette and Pendleton Counties, and suggest a confirmation of

Indian traditions, that on the borders of the Ohio was waged the decisive battle for national existence.

These monuments of the Mound Builders bear undoubted evidence of a great but indeterminate antiquity, and in attempting to form any conception of the period in which they had their origin, the student is met with obstacles that leave anything save vague results impossible. Inferences drawn from the physical character of the mounds and their surroundings, are especially unsatisfactory as to particulars. It is evident that these structures were built long after the country resumed its present topographical features, but the absence from the last formed terrace of those works which were undoubtedly designed to occupy the margin of the streams, suggests that the present river limits have been assumed since the construction of such works, if not since their abandonment.

Trees found growing upon these mounds are another source of indefinite suggestion. An examination of the concentric layers displayed in the trunk of these trees, indicates an age of four or five centuries, but this proves only that the works were not occupied at the time these trees took root. There must have been a long period after the abandonment of these works before the forest growth sprang up in the deserted haunts of man, and it is by no means certain that the trees now discovered standing were the first to occupy these ancient sites.

It is estimated on good authority\* that it takes from 54 to 130 years for trees to increase their diameter by one foot, and that few individuals of the present standing timber were in existence at the time of Columbus' discovery of America. There seems to be a natural limit to the life of a tree, even when it is spared the ravages of destructive tempests and fire; the forests everywhere exhibit evidence of natural waste and repair. But once prostrated, the trunk rapidly disintegrates and leaves no trace of its former existence save in the humus, which forms so prominent a part of the forest soil. So far

\* Dr. I. A. Lapham; calculation is made for Wisconsin, and would vary somewhat in more southern latitudes. Quoted by Foster.



as this evidence goes, therefore, the trees found growing upon these abandoned works may be the second, third, or an indefinite ordinal in the succession of arborescent occupants, and the period thus indicated is one of complete indefiniteness, though undoubtedly very remote.

Inquiries into the ethnical peculiarities of the Mound-Builders confirm this high antiquity. Only a few authentic crania have been discovered in such a state of preservation as to offer data for scientific deductions, but so far as these establish a typical character, they link these people with the Autochthones of the Western Hemisphere, and assign them a kinship with the Toltecs, of Mexico, who, according to the uncertain estimate of Clavigero, arrived at Anahuac in 648 A. D. Whatever date may be assigned to this immigration, the civilization indicated by the ruins in Central America was undoubtedly the result of the slow increment of many centuries, "and yet these ruins," says Prof. Foster, "I am disposed to believe are more recent than the mounds of the Mississippi Valley."

If it be accepted as science, and traditions seem to agree in pointing out that the Mound-Builders and the Toltecs were of the same race, an almost incredible vista of antiquity is opened up to conjecture, when the civilization of the primitive portion of the race is considered. "Their monuments indicate that they had entered upon a career of civilization; they lived in stationary communities, cultivating the soil and relying on its generous yield as a means of support; they clothed themselves, in part at least, in garments regularly spun and woven; they modeled clay and carved stone, even of the most obdurate character, into images representing animate objects, including even the human face and form, with a close adherence to nature; they mined and cast copper into a variety of useful forms; they quarried mica, steatite, chert and the novaculite slates, which they wrought into articles adapted to personal ornament, to domestic use, or to the chase; unlike the Indians, who were ignorant of the curative properties

of salt, they collected the brine of the salines into earthen vessels molded into baskets, which they evaporated into a form which admitted of transportation; they erected an elaborate line of defense, stretching for many hundred miles, to guard against the sudden irruption of enemies; they had a national religion, in which the elements were the objects of supreme adoration; temples were erected upon the platform mounds, and watch-fires lighted upon the highest summits; and in the celebration of the mysteries of their faith, human sacrifices were probably offered up. The magnitude of their structures, involving an infinitude of labor, such only as could be expended except in a community where cheap food prevailed, and the great extent of their commercial relations reaching to widely separated portions of the continent, imply the existence of a stable and efficient government, based on the subordination of the masses." (Foster.) To reach such a pitch of power from an autochthonic barbarism implies a lapse of time for which science and experience afford no chronometric guide.

The question still remains in regard to the origin and fate of this people, and to it neither science nor tradition gives a satisfactory answer. As to their origin, speculation is divided between an autochthonic and derivative beginning, though the latter obtains the more general endorsement. Upon this theory are based two general hypotheses: the one supposes that the Mound-Builders reached the South American continent or Central America from the "Atlantic Islands," that, moved by natural causes, they immigrated northward to the Mississippi Valley, from whence they were subsequently driven by an irresistible foe, or a powerful political eruption among themselves, and that they found refuge in the "more congenial climate of Central America, where they developed those germs of civilization, originally planted in their northern homes, into a perfection which has elicited the admiration of every modern explorer."

The other supposition suggests that the Indian is a degenerate descendant of these

ancient people, and that the far-famed Montezuma, whose "halls" have furnished so rich a store of romantic illusion, was nothing but a dirty Indian, in a mud hut. This theory rests largely upon a comparison of the physical character of the remains found in the Mississippi Valley, Colorado and New Mexico; but notwithstanding the force of the argument thus derived, it is safe to say that by the great mass of evidence the Indian still stands an independent race. As suggested elsewhere, the conformation of such skulls as appear to be the well authenticated remains of the Mound-Builders closely allies this people with the Toltecs, while the distinctive character of their structures, as well as the mass of traditions presented, strongly confirms this relation. At the same time these evidences, as well as the character of their civil institutions, create a "well marked line of division from the Indian."

The two races are, nevertheless, historically closely connected, the traditions of both peoples raising a strong presumption that the Indian was the foe that dispossessed the Mound-Builders of their ancient sites in the Mississippi Valley. Writers generally agree that the physical character of their remains indicates that the empire of the extinct race expanded from the South, and that the line of defenses, "extending from the sources of the Alleghany and Susquehanna in New York diagonally across the country, through central and northern Ohio to the Wabash," marks the farthest limit of their domain. This line seems also to accurately indicate the region from whence the attacks were looked for and probably made. The traditions of the Mexican tribes are less definite than those of the northern Indians and relate only that their ancestors were overwhelmed in their northern home by the Chichimecs (barbarians) after a struggle protracted through some years; and that to escape annihilation the whole nation took flight southward, led by their chiefs. While these traditions are vague and little trusted by scientists, there are so many independent partial confirmations of their truth, that this

theory in the absence of a better one, seems to be gaining ground.

Of the Indian traditions, the one most widely quoted is that current in the Delaware nation. According to this, many hundred years ago, when this nation boasted in the title of Lenni-Lenape—original or unmixed men—they occupied a country in the far West. From thence the whole nation set forth toward the rising sun, sweeping through the land in a great flood of migration, until their progress was stayed on the bank of a river by a race of giants, whom they called Allegewy, for whom the river was subsequently named Alleghany. Whether the river referred to be the one now bearing the name, or the Mississippi, writers do not agree. According to Davidson,\* the starting point in the wanderings of the Algonkin tribes on the continent as determined by tradition and the cultivation of maize, their favorite cereal, was in the Southwest. Passing up the western side of the Mississippi Valley, they turned eastward across that river, the southern margin of their broad tract reaching about to the 35th parallel, while the center probably covered the present territory of Illinois.

Wherever the point may be that marked the meeting of these races, the contact gave rise to immediate hostilities, Delaware traditions assigning the perfidious conduct of the Mound-Builders as the *casus belli*. The Lenni-Lenape sought and gained permission to continue their journey eastward, but being assailed by the treacherous Allegewy, when in the act of crossing the river, the former were severely handled, though not destroyed. The Iroquois nation was engaged in a similar migration eastward at the same time, but along a higher line of latitude, and to them the defeated Delawares appealed for assistance against the Allegewy. Thenceforth the two migrating nations made persistent war upon the race of giants, until, after a struggle continued through many years, the giants were utterly defeated and driven from their homes.

The Delawares are not alone in the possession of traditions pertaining to this event in

\* History of Illinois; Davidson and Stueve, 1877.



the prehistoric annals of their race. The most positive and explicit confirmation of this story is found in the tales of other tribes, some of which Dr. Pickett has compiled in an article of which mention has been made in the preceding pages. It is said that an old Indian told Col. James Moore, of Kentucky, that the original inhabitants of this State were destroyed by the Indians; that the decisive battle was fought near the falls of the Ohio, where the Indians succeeded in driving their foes on to a small island in the river and in slaughtering them to the last man. This the Indian declared was a tradition of undoubted authenticity in his tribe, and that the occurrence to which he referred was accepted as an unquestioned fact. But farther than this, the Indian sage declared that the island afforded ocular proof of the truth of the tradition, which a low stage of water would reveal. Subsequently Mr. Moore took occasion to examine Sandy Island and discovered a multitude of human bones.

The celebrated Indian chief, Tobacco, gave a similar confirmation of this tradition in a conversation with Gen. Clark, and it is said that Cornstalk told substantially the same story to Col. McKee. The latter chief said that the country on both sides of the Ohio was originally possessed by a white race, who were familiar with the arts of which the Indians were entirely ignorant; that this people had been entirely destroyed by the Indians, and that the earth-works found in the State were the remains of this "very long ago" people.

This Indian lore receives incidental corroboration from the character of the Mound-Builders' remains found along the Ohio border. The vast system of defensive works found on this line, admirably disposed to cover points most exposed to a general attack, as well as the evidences found in the counties of Bracken, Pendleton and Bourbon indicating siege operations, and a determined struggle, suggest that the Ohio River may have marked the site of the last obstinate stand of the doomed race. These closing contests were evidently attended with

immense loss of life on the part of the vanquished people, and doubtless, as has been suggested, the familiar appellation of the "dark and bloody ground" originated in the gloom and horror with which the Indian imagination naturally invested the traditional scenes and events of that strange and troubled period.

Another suggestion in reference to the ominous name the State bears, is that the Kentucky River formed the natural route taken by the northern and southern tribes to reach their enemies on either side of this neutral land. But whatever authority may be assigned to the one or the other of these suggestions, the fact remains, that a wide scope of country "where every prospect pleases" was originally shunned as a place of residence by the Indian nations. The larger portion of the State was certainly a land of ill-repute to the savages; to their superstitious imagination, the land was filled with the ghosts of its slaughtered inhabitants, and they repeatedly expressed their surprise that the whites could make it their home.

This ineligibility does not seem to have extended to the western confines of the State, as the lower valley of the Cumberland River is marked by the earliest French authorities as the home of the Shawanese or Shawanee nation. How long they had occupied this region is unknown, but they were finally overtaken by the all-conquering rage of the Iroquois about 1672, and being defeated by these redoubtable warriors, the Shawanese fled up the valley, the principal bands finding new homes in South Carolina, on the head-waters of the Santee River. In the precipitation of their flight, the nation was broken into fragments, and a portion numbering some 450 souls wandered for years in the wilderness west of the Cherokees, who occupied the Tennessee Valley as far west as Muscle Shoals. This band subsequently found its way to the head of the Alabama River. In 1698, having obtained consent of the Pennsylvania authorities, part of the nation settled on the banks of the Susquehanna, where they attracted other bands un-

til, in 1732, their braves numbered fully one half of the fighting Indians of that section of the country. In 1751 this restless nation turned again westward, and located just below the mouth of the Scioto River. It was some years before the nation again united within the limits of the State of Ohio, the great unoccupied scope of country through which this people wandered from the Cumberland to the Alabama, and from the Santee to the Susquehanna, affording the various detachments a temporary home. A discontented portion of the nation, it is said, breaking off from the fragment sojourning in Virginia, came again in 1730 to Kentucky, and made a town in Clark County, near Winchester, which they called Lulbegrud. This party left about twenty years later, and joined their kinsmen in Ohio.

After the expulsion of the Shawanese the greater part of Kentucky remained the hunting ground of the Cherokees, though the Indian claims to this region were various and conflicting. The reputed conquest of the Shawanese, Delawares, Twigtwees and Illinois nations by the Iroquois, was made the basis of comprehensive claims by the victorious confederation. There is little question that this powerful nation carried their successful forays as far as the Tennessee River about 1672, but that this gave them any substantial claim to this region thus run over is opposed to the subsequent actual status as well as to all theories of conquest entertained by civilized nations. The Iroquois did not occupy this country and did not defend it, but it was occupied without the payment of tribute or homage, and tenaciously defended by other tribes, during upward of a century after the foray which is made the basis of Iroquois claims. That such a claim ever received serious recognition, is sufficiently explained by the obvious advantage which such a construction would yield the English in their diplomatic dealings with the French.

In 1684 the Iroquois voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of the English; in 1701 this relation was reaffirmed or

renewed; in the treaty of Utrecht (1713) this action was emphasized and recognized by the French, and in 1726 a formal deed of all the Iroquois lands conveyed them in trust to the English, "to be protected and defended by his majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs." In the contest for the Ohio Valley it was obviously to the interest of the English to cover as much as possible of the coveted territory by this deed of trust, and hence they placed the most liberal construction upon the Iroquois claims. That such a construction would have stood the test of judicial examination may well be doubted, but the question between the rival powers was finally arbitrated not by law, but by might.

In 1768, when the English sought to acquire lands in western Virginia and Kentucky, they were met by the exaggerated pretensions which they had themselves fostered and urged against the French. In quieting these claims by purchase, the authorities undoubtedly acted with wisdom, but it was something worse than folly to press a title thus acquired against the occupying claimants of this region. It was well understood that the "Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes of Ohio, and other dependent tribes," rejected these pretensions of the eastern confederacy; and notwithstanding the presence of a single representative of the Shawanese, and two of the Delawares, at the Fort Stanwix conference—a fact upon which much stress is laid—it will be observed that the negotiations were had solely with the Iroquois; the treaty was signed alone of the Indians by their chieftains, and the whole price of the purchase placed in their hands. That the "dependent tribes" ever received any part of the consideration paid for the ceded territory was subsequently denied by these tribes, and this was accepted by the whites as the truth of the matter. Under such circumstances, to insist that the purchase of Fort Stanwix covered all just claims to this territory was simply to invite the murder of such settlers as should occupy the land, relying upon the validity of this treaty. As a matter of fact something of such a result did follow, culminating in the "Dunmore



war." This outbreak was summarily checked, and a short-lived peace consummated in a treaty negotiated by Lord Dunmore in 1774; in this it is said, though not supported by the circumstances attending the event, that the Stanwix Purchase was confirmed by the Ohio tribes.

Beside the claims thus recognized and presumably extinguished, the southern Indians made pretensions to this region. The justice of their claim was of course strenuously denied by the Iroquois, but in 1770, by a treaty with the Cherokees, at Lochaber, S. C., the whites recognized it, and the territory east of a line drawn from a point six miles above Big Island, in the Holston River, to the Kanawha, was purchased. In running this line, however, it is said that on reaching the head of the Kentucky, Little Carpenter, a Cherokee chief, observed that his people preferred to have their lands marked by natural boundaries, and proposed instead of the treaty line that the course of this river should be followed, including a much larger scope of country to be ceded. This was agreed upon, and the royal sanction obtained;

the Virginia assembly voted the sum of £2,500, and paid it to the Cherokees for the additional territory thus granted. In 1775 the portion of Kentucky lying between the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers was purchased of the Cherokees by Richard Henderson and others, for the sum of £10,000. This transaction was subsequently invalidated by the Virginia assembly as respected the grantees, but not as respected the grantors.

The Indian title to Kentucky was therefore extinguished by the treaty of 1768, which included all of its territory east of the Tennessee River; the treaty of 1770, which included the claims of the Cherokees to the region east of the Kentucky River; the treaty of 1774, by Lord Dunmore with the Ohio tribes, which, it is said, sanctioned the treaty of 1768; the treaty of 1775, between Henderson and the Cherokees, which included their claims to territory between the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers; and the treaty of 1818 with the Chickasaws for that portion of the State west of the Tennessee River, and known since as the "Jackson Purchase."

## CHAPTER V.

### EXPLORATION AND FIRST SETTLEMENTS OF KENTUCKY.

THE year 1763 saw the close of the French and English war, the issue of which, in America, had settled the right of possession to the country lying east of the Mississippi in the English. The Virginia frontier, however, was restricted by treaty with the Indians to the line of the Alleghanies. During the terrible vicissitudes of the preceding years, this line had practically fluctuated between the Blue Ridge and the more western ranges, but as the brunt of hostilities was removed to the Canadian border, settlers, emboldened by the comparative peace which prevailed, pushed westward to the line of Fort Pitt, and a few hardier adventurers extended their explorations into

the unknown country beyond the Big Sandy. Though contrary to the express stipulations of unquestioned treaties, and against the earnest protest of the natives, the Virginia authorities did not hesitate to encourage this intrusion, granting some 3,000,000 of acres west of the mountains as early as 1754, the Virginia assembly, in 1758, going so far as to enact a law to stimulate the growth of these settlements.

The natural consequences followed this unwise action. The Indians, finding their grievances unredressed, refused to lay aside their weapons on the defeat of their French allies, and rekindled the flame of war which swept over the western country with resist-

less fury, destroying all but the three principal ones of the newly-gained outposts, and visiting the border with frightful carnage. The campaigns of Bouquet and Bradstreet succeeded, and were followed by the treaty at Niagara and the subsequent conference at German Flats. While neither of these conferences effected any change in the frontier of Virginia, the latter was designed to prepare the way for such a change, and the too eager settlers, taking for granted what had only been proposed, rapidly regained the ground lost by the onslaught incident to Pontiac's conspiracy, and were once more endangering the general peace by their unwarrantable intrusion upon the Indian territory.

Accordingly, on the 1st of May, 1768, the president of the Virginia council, acting as governor, was found addressing the sessions in a speech, from which the following statement of the situation is taken: "By letters from his excellency, Gen. Gage, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces, and from Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs (which I shall cause to be laid before you), it will appear that a set of men, regardless of the laws of natural justice, unmindful of the duties they owe to society, and in contempt of royal proclamation, have dared to settle themselves upon the land near Redstone Creek and Cheat River, which are the property of the Indians; and notwithstanding the repeated warnings of the danger of such lawless proceedings and strict and spirited injunctions to them to desist, and quit their unjust possessions, they still remain unmoved, and seem to defy the orders and even powers of government." The gravity of the situation was fortunately not unknown in England, and instructions were therefore received which led to the purchase that made the Tennessee River the western boundary line.

The territory thus secured was practically, at this time, an undiscovered country. The Indian traders, who were the first explorers, and who long before had become familiar with every trail in the region between the Ohio and the Lakes, knew nothing of it. But this obscurity, strange as it appears, is

simply accounted for by the fact that long before the approach of the whites, the last wigwam-blaze within its limits had been extinguished; and these adventurous merchants, attracted by the prospect of barter, had naturally been led northward to the valleys of Scioto and Miami in quest of the villages of the savages. The country west of the Big Sandy was not entirely unknown, however. As early as 1730, a white captive among the Indians had visited the southwestern portion of this newly acquired territory. This was John Salling, "a bold weaver," of Williamsburg, whom John Marlin induced to join him in an exploring expedition to the then undeveloped middle valley of Virginia. Marlin was a pack-peddler, who drove a thriving trade in small articles with the settlers on the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge and over the mountains in the vicinity of Winchester, but, attracted by the half-disclosed beauties of the unsettled country beyond, he planned this expedition.

The two prosecuted their enterprise with safety until they reached the waters of the Roanoke, where they were met by a roving party of Cherokees. Marlin was so fortunate as to escape, but Salling was made captive and carried to the Indian towns upon the upper Tennessee. He remained with his captors, it is said, some three years, when he proceeded with a party for the salt licks of Kentucky in quest of buffalo. Here his party, falling in with a band of savages from Illinois, was attacked and beaten, Salling being made prisoner by the victors. Returning with his new captors to Kaskaskia, he was adopted by an old squaw as her son, a relation he sustained for some two years. In the meantime he became quite identified with his adopted tribe, and accompanied its parties on various expeditions, at one time reaching the Gulf coast in his wanderings. Salling was subsequently purchased from the squaw by an exploring party of Spaniards, who soon tired of their bargain and returned him to his Indian masters. Shortly afterward, accompanying a party of his tribe to Canada, Salling was generously redeemed by the French governor and sent to New York, from whence he found his



way back to Williamsburg. Here the story of his adventures was listened to with the keenest interest, and his description of the valley gave a new and vigorous impulse to the settlement of that portion of Virginia. But Kentucky profited little by this early visit; the region was too remote to excite permanent interest, even if Salling's opportunities for observation and description had been much better, and it was destined to rest in the obscurity of the "great woods" until another quarter century should bring it nearer, and develop grander interests in this unexplored wilderness.

The first exploration, and perhaps the next visit of the whites to this country, was that conducted by Dr. Thomas Walker, of Virginia, a gentleman prominently identified with early Indian affairs. This excursion was made in the year 1750, by a small party of Virginians from Orange and Culpeper Counties, of which, next to the leader, Ambrose Powell was the most prominent member. Their course led southward between the Alleghanies and Laurel Ridge to the valley which lies on the eastern side of the latter range, where, on a beech tree, Powell carved his name, which is still borne by the river and valley. Turning to the west, they crossed the rocky ridge which forms the dividing line between Kentucky and Virginia, by a gap, to which Walker\* gave the name of Cumberland for the English duke, who was a favorite character with the Doctor—a name which still adheres to the range and a river as well. Crossing into the confines of Kentucky, the party found its way to the "hazel patch in Laurel County," where it divided. From this point, Walker, with such of the company as followed him, struck northward for the Ohio River. "Under the impression that the Ohio was to be found east of north" says Marshall, "he took an erroneous course which kept him in a rough and mountainous country until, having passed the Kentucky River—which he named Louisa—he came upon Big Sandy." Thence the party took its homeward course

by way of the New River Valley, not pleasantly impressed with the country examined.

The result of this exploration did little to bring this region into public favor. The course traversed passed principally through a broken country, forbidding in every practical view, and exacting a prodigious expenditure of resolution and endurance to accomplish the journey. Such an experience was not calculated to give rise to a report that would excite public interest sufficient to lead any to brave the privations and dangers of the wilderness, and more than a decade passed before another attempt was made to penetrate the obscurity of this western country.

If the tour of Gist, which has been noted elsewhere, be excepted, no further visits to Kentucky were probably made by the whites until the expedition in 1761, recorded by Judge Haywood, in his "History of Tennessee." In this year a party of nineteen men from the northern part of Virginia, and the adjacent portions of Pennsylvania, set out for the southwest on a hunting excursion. Establishing a station on a branch of Powell's River, in Lee County, Va., the company remained in this vicinity hunting for eighteen months. Subsequently they passed through Cumberland Gap into the country beyond, but no record of their exploration has been preserved. It is to this party that Judge Haywood assigns the distinction of being the nomenclators of this region, though probably this claim should properly be restricted to the name of Clinch River and sundry "ridges" named for members of the company. In 1763, the same persons, save two or three who remained at home, again visited Powell Valley, crossed the mountains at Cumberland Gap, and spent the hunting season on Cumberland River. In the following year they carried their hunting operations to the vicinity of the present site of Crab Orchard, Ky., where they found such profitable sport as induced them to repeat their visit in several successive years.

In 1765, occurred the conference at German Flats; and the following year, stimulated by the rumor that Sir William Johnson had purchased the lands west of the Alleghanies,

\*Judge Haywood, in his history of Tennessee, credits the origin of these names to a party of hunters, who followed in 1761; the text follows the authority of Marshall and Butler.

lying between the Ohio and the Tennessee, for the king, a party of four whites, accompanied by a young mulatto slave and led by James Smith—variously titled as colonel or captain—set out from North Carolina to examine the new purchase. Passing through Cumberland Gap they first explored the country south of the Kentucky line as far as the present site of Nashville; thence following the course of the Cumberland River, they explored the country adjacent to the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers to the Ohio. Here the company divided—Smith determining to return home, while his companions proposed to extend their tour to the Illinois country. On separating, Smith sent his horse with his companions, “as it was difficult to take a horse through the mountain,” and they, providing him with a generous supply of ammunition, left him to pursue his homeward journey on foot, accompanied by the slave boy whom his owner had loaned for the purpose.

Smith has left a record of this adventure, in which he relates its various incidents with laborious minuteness. He regained his native State after an absence of eleven months, in a most destitute condition; “my clothes,” he writes, “were almost worn out, and the boy had nothing on him that ever was spun. He had buckskin leggins, moccasins, and breech-clout, a bear skin, dressed with the hair on, which he belted about him, and a raccoon-skin cap. I had not traveled far after I came in before I was strictly examined by the inhabitants. I told them the truth, and where I came from, etc.; but my story appeared so strange to them that they did not believe me. They said that they had never heard of any one coming through the mountains from the mouth of the Tennessee, and if any one would undertake such a journey, surely no one would lend him his slave. They said that they thought all I had told them were lies, and on suspicion they took me into custody, and set a guard over me.”\*

In 1767, a party from South Carolina—Isaac Lindsey and four others—explored the valley of the Cumberland, following its

course nearly to the site of Nashville, where they met James Harrod and Michael Stoner (men prominent in the early history of Kentucky), on a hunting expedition from Illinois, having made their way thither from Fort Pitt down the Ohio.

A more important arrival in Kentucky, the same year, was that of the ubiquitous Indian trader in the person of John Finley, who came hither with several companions for the double purpose of hunting and trading with such wandering bands as he might meet. Finley came from the settlements on the Yadkin, and made his way across the Holston and Clinch to the head-waters of the Cumberland; thence following the warrior's path, “leading from the Cumberland ford along the broken country lying on the eastern branch of the Kentucky River, and so across the Licking to the mouth of the Scioto,” he reached the Red River, an affluent of the Kentucky, in Montgomery County. Here he met a band of roving Indians with whom he traded; but, save that he was subsequently the pilot of Boone, nothing more is known of this first pioneer of Kentucky. “Were it permitted to indulge the imagination in drawing a portrait for this man,” remarks the historian, Marshall, “strength of body and vigor of intellect, the necessary basis of bold conceptions and successful enterprise, would form the prominent features of its foreground. But to the historian destitute of facts, silence supersedes commentary.”

Notwithstanding the extended explorations and visits noted, “the great body of the people in the colony knew nothing about the real situation of the country now called Kentucky. And they heard it spoken of as though its existence were doubtful, or as a tale told in romance to amuse the fancy, rather than to inform the judgment, or stimulate the mind to enterprise.” (Marshall.) But while the net result of these explorations had done so little to increase popular information, they had not been lost upon the leading minds in the colonies, and the project of forming an independent colony south of the Ohio, long urged as a defense against the encroachments of the French, and since

\*Drake's Captivities; 1839.



the war supported by cupidity and ambition, seemed now likely to succeed.

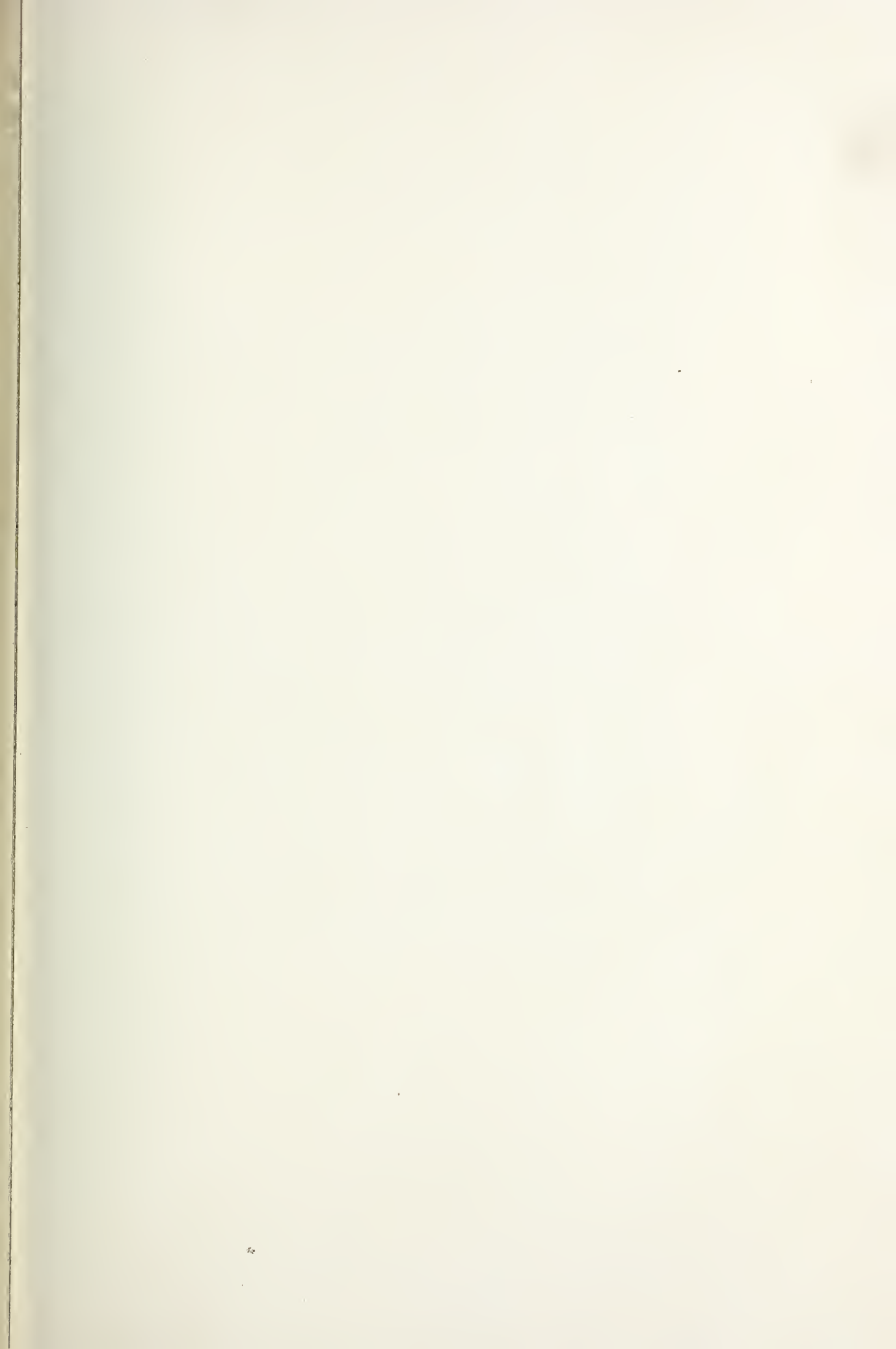
The history of the original colonies had not passed unnoted, and the various companies formed about this time undoubtedly originated in an ambition to repeat the early experience of the London Company, Lord Baltimore and others, under more favorable circumstances. Nor was this ambition confined to the existing corporations; certain of the royal officials, apparently moved by personal considerations, were not less interested in this movement, though less open in their efforts, and among these, circumstances have pointed to Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia and Sir William Johnson, Indian agent for the Northern District, as most prominent. With the latter this inland colony was a dearly cherished object, and to his ambition may be assigned the responsibility for much of the bloodshed which characterized the early settlement of Kentucky. How early he conceived such a design is uncertain, but as early as 1766 he secured the endorsement of Gov. Franklin, of New Jersey—son of Benjamin Franklin—for his scheme. The plan contemplated was the purchase of the desired territory from the Iroquois, for which a grant was then to be procured from the king, and a colony, of which Johnson was to be governor, planted thereon. Through Gov. Franklin the project was brought to the favorable attention of his father, then colonial agent at the court, and through Johnson to the notice of the ministry. Nothing could have been more ill-advised at this time, as the Indians were already in a vacillating temper, prepared to attack the border at the first fresh grievance.

The attitude of the savages hastened matters somewhat out of the proposed order; the treaty of Fort Stanwix followed, and in fixing upon the boundary line, Sir William was influenced more by the necessities of his project than by the equities of the case. "Had it stopped at the mouth of the Kanawha, the Indian frontier would have been marked all the way from northern New York to Florida. But instead of following his instructions, Sir William Johnson, assuming

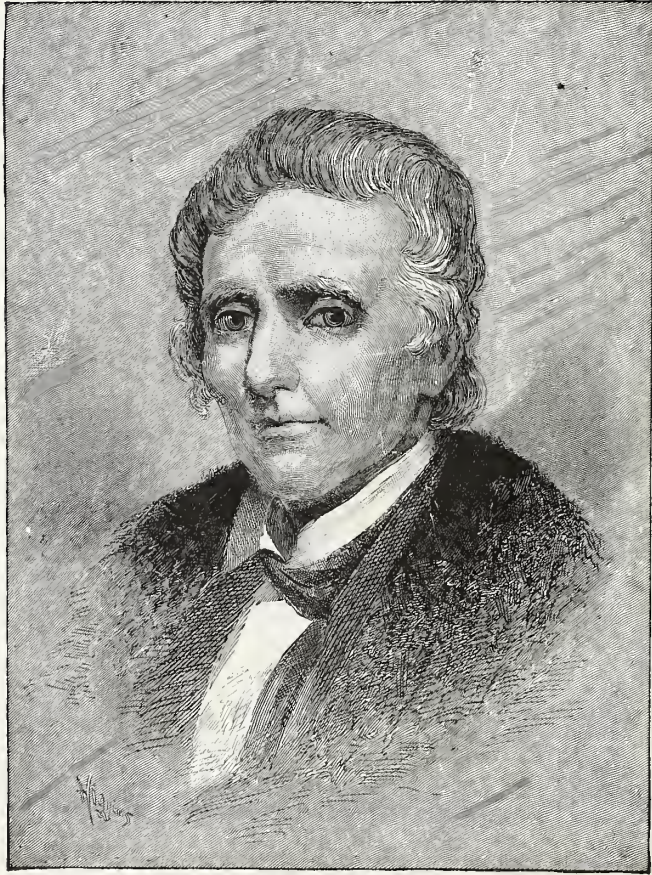
groundlessly a right of the Six Nations to the largest part of Kentucky, continued the line down the Ohio to the Tennessee River, which was thus constituted the boundary of Virginia." (Bancroft.) "The fact that such a country was ceded voluntarily, not after a war, not by hard persuasion, but at once and willingly,"\* affords striking evidence that the cession was previously arranged for by Johnson in view of another contingency, and that the Iroquois were alone consulted and won by such blandishments as the experienced Indian agent knew well how to employ. However, the territory was thus secured; but the royal government gravely suspected the wisdom of adding to the number of the colonies, the growing insubordination of which was already giving it no little cause for uneasiness, and there were enough prior demands for grants before the cabinet to delay any examination of this new one, until the opening difficulties of the revolutionary rupture forced every other consideration out of mind, and rendered all such planning vain. But the wind had been sown in Johnson's unauthorized action, and the frontiersmen of Kentucky were to reap the whirlwind.

In the meantime, while royal officials schemed, and the royal ministry wearily sifted the numerous and conflicting propositions to colonize this newly purchased region, silent forces were preparing to solve the question of its settlement without the sanction of charter or the tinsel of government. The return of Finley to the North Carolina settlements was fraught with the most important influences for good or ill to the new country he left behind him, and it is difficult to conjecture when its settlement would have been effected had not this visit happily ended in enlisting the interest of the hardy settlers on the Yadkin. The story of his adventures and the tidings of the land fell with various effects upon his different auditors; curiosity struggled with doubt and a prudent regard for the difficulties of the enterprise, and for two years none appeared disposed to undertake the arduous journey. In the meanwhile, the description of Kentucky, with its

\*"Annals of the West," by J. H. Perkins, 1846.







DANIEL BOONE.

noble stretch of untouched forest, its beautiful rivers swarming with their finny tribes, its picturesque landscapes, its fertile valleys, and more than all the exhaustless throng of "beasts of every American kind" came to the appreciative notice of Daniel Boone, a resident of one of the valleys of South Yadkin.

But little is known of the previous history of this remarkable man. He was now about thirty-eight years of age; "his manners were simple and unobtrusive—exempt from the rudeness characteristic of the backwoodsman. In his person there was nothing remarkably striking. He was five feet, ten inches in height, and of robust and powerful proportions. His countenance was mild and contemplative, indicating a frame of mind altogether different from the restlessness and activity that distinguished him."\*

Possessed of an inordinate passion for hunting and adventure, the story of this distant country acted on him like carnage upon the charger, that "smelleth the battle afar off;" and on Finley's proposing to revisit it, he promptly determined to accompany him.

Accordingly, on the 1st of May, 1769, a party consisting of Boone, John Stewart, Joseph Holden, James Mooney and William Cook, under the guidance of Finley, set out from the "peaceful settlements" on the Yadkin for Kentucky. The season proved exceedingly wet, a circumstance that caused the travelers extreme discomfort, and added to the tedious character of the laborious journey. Their route lay across the broad Appalachian Range, which defines the tributary valley of the Atlantic on the west, across the valleys of the Holston, Clinch and Powell Rivers to the head-waters of the Cumberland, and thence toward the north by the warrior's path. On the 7th of June they reached the Red River, where Finley had met the natives in his former visit, and here, at the end of a fatiguing journey of thirty-eight days, pursued through a perfect wilderness—"a land of precipices, of rugged hill-sides, of deep, narrow valleys, of tangled wood and impen-

etrable thickets"—they ceased their march and prepared a permanent camp to shelter them from the storms.

Hunting and the examination of the country next occupied their time, which was thus passed, without recorded incident, until the latter part of December. In making this visit Finley doubtless intended to renew his trading relations with the savages, and the others joined him for the sport and profit of hunting. None were yet adepts in Indian warfare, and it is certain that they had no reason to expect hostilities. The natives had treated Finley with kindness on the occasion of his first visit; the present company had made their entrance to this region and their more than six months' stay, without thought of disguise or concealment, unmolested; and whatever danger was to be apprehended from the discontent of the Indians previous to the Fort Stanwix treaty, that compact, they were certainly authorized to suppose, had removed all such fear. Whether any of the party had any conference with the Indians or early knowledge of their presence is unknown, but it is manifestly improbable that six hunters could unreservedly ply their vocation for so long a period in the favorite Indian hunting-ground of the continent, and escape the lynx-eyed observation of the savages. This the event proved; but how long the party had been a subject of surveillance, or what the cause of the attack to be recorded was, can only be conjectured.

The author of "Annals of the West" suggests the probable explanation: "the Indians were always extremely jealous of any white man that showed the faintest intention of residence on or near their hunting-grounds; if, therefore, the observation of several months satisfied them that the new-comers meant to lay equal claims with themselves to the game of their choicest forests, instead of being mere transient traders, we need not be surprised that they seized the first opportunity of making any of them prisoners." Whatever the reason, on the 22d of December, as Boone and Stewart were returning from a hunting expedition near the Kentucky River, they were seized by a party of In-

\*Gov. James T. Morehead's address, 1840. See Appendix A, Note 2.



dians, who had concealed themselves in a cane-break.

In this emergency the captives displayed the ready tact that seems instinctive in the frontiersman. The savages offered them no violence, and affecting to accept the situation as final, they soon had the satisfaction of observing that they had disarmed the watchfulness of their captors. Encamping by a fire one night, at the end of a week's captivity, Boone discovered that the Indians had all fallen asleep, and carefully arousing his companion they made their escape unobserved. Repairing at once to their camp on Red River, they found it deserted and dismantled, their companions having returned to the settlements in alarm. But Boone and Stewart were not so easily disheartened; changing their camp, it is said, to a cave, now in Mercer County, they determined to brave the increased dangers and continue their hunting. A few days later they were unexpectedly joined by Squire Boone, a younger brother of Daniel, who, with a single companion, had followed the same route from Carolina, and fortunately chanced upon the site of their camp. But this auspicious reinforcement was closely followed by disaster; a little later, in another excursion, the elder Boone and Stewart were again attacked by Indians, the latter being shot and scalped. This occurrence so alarmed the companion of Squire Boone that he started forthwith and alone for the Carolina settlements.

The two brothers were now alone in a wilderness where danger lurked in every shadow. Surrounded by a vigilant and savage foe, of whose prowess they had had fresh and terrible evidence, separated by hundreds of miles of difficult travel from the nearest settlement, they found themselves destitute of every resource but their rifles and woodcraft. Undaunted by the terrors of the situation, these men determined to stay, but soon the small supply of ammunition warned them that the country must be abandoned or measures taken to increase the supply. The first alternative was not to be seriously thought of, and it was decided that the younger brother should return to the settlement and bring

back the necessary supplies, while Daniel remained and extended his explorations.

To be thus absolutely alone in such a wilderness, might well shake the resolution of the stoutest heart, and Boone records that the departure of his brother left him for a time dejected and lonesome, but the situation afforded him too many distractions for this state of mind long to continue. He soon regained his usual buoyant confidence and roved far and near, hunting without concern and with great success. During the interval of his brother's absence, Boone seems to have abandoned his former camp, and to have rested no two successive nights in the same locality. Wandering wherever his fancy led him he explored the whole central portion of the territory which now forms the State of Kentucky, reaching the hills which overlook the "beautiful river" Ohio. His experience in Kentucky appears to have been his first intimate relation with hostile Indians, but, "uniting in an eminent degree the qualities of shrewdness, caution and courage, with great muscular strength," he succeeded in escaping the vigilance of his savage foes, though he must have been in constant proximity with one or another of the numerous Indian parties that frequented this region. That he should have been preserved untouched for three months, beset by such dangers, is little short of a miraculous interposition of Providence, and goes far to confirm the old pioneer's belief in his divine appointment "as an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness."

It is pointed out by the author of "Annals of the West," however, that "the woods of Kentucky were at that period filled with a species of nettle, of such a character that being once bent down it did not recover itself, but remained prostrate, thus retaining the impression of a foot, almost like snow; even a turkey might be tracked in it with perfect ease. This weed Boone would carefully avoid, but the natives, numerous and fearless, would commonly pay no regard to it, so that the white hunter was sure to have palpable signs of the presence of his enemies, and the direction they had taken." But to avail

himself of such an advantage required a consummate woodcraft, which was the outgrowth of natural gifts, rather than instruction, and one is at a loss whether most to admire the courage and capacity of Boone amid the perils of the wilderness, or that of his brother in his scarcely less hazardous exploit of obtaining supplies.

But the time approached when the return of Squire Boone was to be expected; he had been gone since the 1st of May, and as July came on, Daniel directed his way toward the old rendezvous, where he was joined on the 27th of the same month by his brother, who brought horses and a full line of necessary articles. The brothers thenceforward remained together, hunting and exploring without remarkable incident until the following March (1771), when they returned to the settlements on the Yadkin, the elder with the intention of removing his family to the country, with the natural attractions of which he had become enamored.

It was September, 1773, before the completion of his arrangements permitted him to set out, but on the 25th of this month "he and his household left his Eastern home forever," and, accompanied by five other families, took the route to Kentucky. On reaching Powell Valley the party was happily reinforced by forty well-armed men who were seeking the same destination. Pressing forward without anticipation of trouble they had just reached the threshold of the State when they were surprised by a sudden attack on their rear by the savages. The whites soon recovered from their surprise, and responded with a spirited resistance, quickly beating off the enemy, but not without the loss of six men killed and wounded, the eldest son of Boone being numbered with the dead. This ominous introduction to the "dark and bloody ground" checked the buoyant spirits of the company; the women, not yet inured to the bloody scenes of border warfare, were panic-stricken; and the men, seriously impressed with the unexpected strength and determination of the Indian opposition, did not feel prepared to face such perils with their families. It was without

much dissent, therefore, that the party retraced its steps, the emigrants taking up their residence in the valley of the Clinch, where they remained until 1775, separated from their future home by a double mountain range.

But the Boones were not alone in their knowledge of and desire to enjoy this region. As early as June, 1769,\* a party of hunters, variously estimated from twenty to forty in number, and organized in Rockbridge County and New River Valley, Va., and Holston Valley, in North Carolina, set out by way of Powell Valley and Cumberland Gap, for the hunting grounds along the line of the Cumberland River. The company was thoroughly equipped for a long stay, each man taking, besides "rifles, traps, dogs, blankets," etc., one or more horses. Reaching the meadows near the site of Monticello, Wayne County, they made a camp and depot in which to store the peltry and game. From this point they ranged "to the west and southwest through a country covered with high grass," until the following summer, when the sport was abandoned. Here the company divided; ten of the hunters, constructing means of conveying their booty and themselves by water, went down the Cumberland and Mississippi Rivers to the French fort at Natchez, and thence home; the remaining members of the party returned by the outward route.

In the preceding fall (1769) several hunters, under the lead of Col. James Knox, separated from the main party, then hunting on the Laurel River, and following up the course of one of its western branches, Skegg's Creek, the little party met a band of Cherokees, under the lead of a chief known as "Captain Dick." A mutual recognition followed between some of the hunters and the chief, and the latter, learning the whites were in search of meat, directed them to follow the direction of the creek across the dividing ridge, when "they could come on his river,† where they would find meat plenty; to kill and go home." It is not recorded whether they obeyed the latter part of the chief's in-

\*Marshall and Butler say 1770; Haywood and Collins, 1769.

†Hence, since called Dick's River.



junction; it is probable that they did not, and that in 1771 they were joined by some of the earlier party and a few recruits, raising the number to a total of twenty-two persons. The hunting in this season (1771) was excellent, and, extending their excursions to the barrens of Green River, they found themselves embarrassed by their success. Securing more skins than they could carry away, they constructed a "skin house" on Caney Creek, in Green County, where they stored their surplus booty. The Indians subsequently capturing two of the party, the remaining members temporarily abandoned the locality; on their return after a two months' absence, they found their dogs, which had "stayed by the stuff," gone wild, and their depot despoiled, a loss that one of the party expressed in a laconic inscription on a tree near by, "2,300 deer skins lost; ruination, by God." A station, subsequently made by this party on a creek, which takes its name from the occurrence (Station-Camp Creek), was also rifled by a band of Cherokees, the hunters losing all their pots and kettles, surplus clothing, and 500 deer skins.

At length the thought of returning began to suggest itself. The Indians were becoming serious obstacles in the way of securing the results of their hunting, and some of the party had been absent from home for upward of three years. Accordingly, late in 1772, they set their faces toward the settlements, where they arrived in safety, to the joy of their families who were prepared to give them up as lost, and where the story of their adventure gained for them the *sobriquet* of "The Long Hunters," and gave the new land a more widespread celebrity than it had hitherto enjoyed.

Another force now added its powerful influence to develop the "distant land beyond the mountains." The purchase of 1768, followed by that of 1770, had prepared the way for the sale of lands, and notwithstanding the inhibitory proclamation of 1763 had not been revoked, the keenest activity in land speculation ensued, surveyors pushing their lines to the mouth of the Kanawha as early

as 1770.\* The soldiers of Virginia in the French war, to whom a land bounty had been promised by Gov. Dunmore, and whose title had been recognized by the crown and land companies, were also clamorous for the satisfaction of their claims. It was provided that the bounty lands should be located on the waters of the Ohio, and in 1772 the settlements having reached the New River Valley, considerable surveys of these lands were made on this affluent of the Ohio. But the fame of Kentucky becoming rapidly noised abroad and the selection of bounty lands being confided to the beneficiaries, the demand for locations in Kentucky became general.

In 1773, therefore, a number of surveyors were appointed to make selections in Kentucky for such claimants. Of these appointees, Thomas Bullitt, whose gallantry saved the remnant of Maj. Grant's troops from that officer's unauthorized and disastrous attack on Fort Du Quesne in 1758, was the more prominent. Accompanied by James Harrod and others,† he set out from Fort Pitt for the falls of the Ohio. On reaching the mouth of the Kanawha, he was joined by the McAfee company intent upon a similar mission for themselves. The McAfees had left Sinking Creek, in Botetourt County, on May 10, and striking across the country had reached the Kanawha about four miles above the mouth of Elk River. Here they had sent their horses back, and constructing two canoes, had descended the river, by previous arrangement meeting Hancock Taylor, a surveyor, and his company, on their way down. Reaching the Ohio, they met Bullitt's party, and the three parties thus united elected Bullitt captain.

Deeming it prudent, in consideration of the

\*The first authorized survey made in Kentucky is placed at a somewhat earlier date than the above would indicate. Collins (Vol. II, p. 460) speaking of "one of the oldest patents probably now in Kentucky," says: "It was issued by the crown of Great Britain in 1772, to John Fry, for 2,084 acres of land, embracing the town of Louisa in Lawrence County. Nearly one-third of the land lies on the Virginia side of Big Sandy River. The survey upon which the patent issued was made by Gen. Washington between 1767 and 1770, inclusive, and upon the beginning corner he cut the initials of his name. Another survey was made by him for John Fry, on Little Sandy River, eleven miles from its mouth, and in the present county of Greenup." The fact that none of his papers so far as published mention these surveys, has given rise to a doubt whether Washington did the work in person.

† Appendix A, Note 3.

hostility manifested by the Indians, to negotiate with the most troublesome of the Ohio tribes, Bullitt left the company here and set out alone to visit the Shawanese town of "Old Chillicothe." He reached his destination undiscovered by the Indians, whose first intimation of his presence was the sight of his white flag waving in token of peace. They were at once eager to learn the cause of his presence; was he from the Long Knife? and if on a peaceful errand, why had he not sent a runner? Bullitt, undaunted by the situation, replied that he had no bad news, that he was from the Long Knife, that he had no one swifter than himself, and being in haste could not wait the return of a runner. "Would you" said he, "if you were very hungry and had killed a deer, send your squaw to town to tell the news and wait her return before you ate?" Such adroitness soon put the savages in good humor, and with the deliberate custom of the Indians, deferred further conference until the following day. The surveyor then told the Shawanese that he wished to settle on the other side of the Ohio; made the strongest assurances of friendship on the part of the whites, and acknowledged that neither they nor the Delawares got "any of the money or blankets given for the land which I and my people are going to settle. But it is agreed by the great men, who own the land, that they will make a present to both the Delawares and Shawanese the next year, and the year following, that shall be as good." A delay of another day was made before they would reply, when they made answer to the effect that "he seemed kind and friendly, and that it pleased them well;" that as to "settling the country on the other side of the Ohio with your people, we are particularly pleased that they are not to disturb us in our hunting. For we must hunt to kill meat for our women and children and to get something to buy our powder and lead with, and to get us blankets and clothing."

Parting thus, Bullitt rejoined his companions, who had in the meantime reached the mouth of Limestone Creek, where Mays-

ville now stands. Putting out from here in one boat and four canoes, the company proceeded to the mouth of the Kentucky River, where the McAfee party turned aside to ascend this stream: the rest went forward to the falls, where they arrived on the 8th of July. On their way down the river the united party stopped occasionally and made surveys here and there; several small plats were made in Lewis County, and on July 5, "a tract of very good land on Big-Bone Creek"\* was marked out. Arriving at their destination and pitching camp above the old mouth of Beargrass Creek, the party under Bullitt began their appointed work and continued for about six weeks exploring and surveying lands in what is now Jefferson and Bullitt Counties. In August, Bullitt made the first plat of Louisville,† probably on lands surveyed for John Connolly, but no record was made of this allotment, and it was subsequently supplanted by legislative action.

On parting from Bullitt, the McAfee company ascended the Kentucky River as far as Drennon's Creek; here they found one of their party—his name is perpetuated in that of the creek—who, crossing the country from Bone Lick, had preceded them one day. At this point the party abandoned their canoes, and following a buffalo trail along the west bank to a point opposite the site of Leestown, they forded the river and on the 16th of July made their first survey in the bottom-lands where Frankfort has since been built. "They then went up the ridge along the present Lexington Road, until 10 or 11 o'clock of the 17th, when they again crossed the Kentucky River seven miles above Frankfort, passed a little east of the present Lawrenceburg, and camped near the remarkable spring which is situated under a rock, on the road between Frankfort and Harrodsburg—then called the Cave spring, and now known as Lillard's. After surveying some land, the party hunted westwardly, until they discovered Salt River, but which they called Crooked Creek; they then went down this

\*Appendix A, Note 5.

†Ibid; Note 6.



creek to the mouth of Hammond's Creek, surveying from this point to the mouth of the branch, on which Harrodsburg now stands." (Butler.)

This party now broke up, Taylor and his two assistants going to the falls to join Bullitt, and the McAfees proceeding across the country for their homes. They started on the 31st of July; rains were frequent and game unusually scarce; and reaching the broken country at the forks of the Kentucky about the 5th of August, they found their stock of provisions exhausted, and not a living animal in sight save themselves. Bruised by the stony paths, torn by the briars and underbrush that thickly beset their way, and famished for the want of water which could nowhere be found, they pushed on until the 12th, when, as some of them laid themselves down to die, a more resolute member of the party fortunately succeeded in killing an elk. This timely supply of food, happily supplemented by the discovery of water, revived their drooping spirits, and the party, once more refreshed, pushed on until they reached the warrior's path, and following this regained their home by way of Powell Valley. Taylor reached Bullitt about the 3d of August, and soon after, James Douglas, deputy surveyor for Fincastle County, joined them from Virginia.

There were several surveying parties in the northeastern part of Kentucky this year. Of these, a party of ten under Capt. John Hedges, with Capt. Thomas Young and Lawrence Darnall as chain-carriers, was earliest. They came from Virginia by way of Fort Pitt and the Ohio River, landing on the site of Maysville; they gave the name of Limestone to the stream which empties into the Ohio at this point, and linked the name of Darnall with the first large creek below, calling it Lawrence. This party made several surveys in what is now Bracken County; built an improver's cabin and cleared a small piece of land on the Ohio River, about five miles below Augusta. Gen. William Thompson, of Pennsylvania, at the head of another party, landed at the mouth of Cabin Creek in July, and made extensive

surveys on Licking River and its tributaries, remaining as late as the 20th of November.

The year 1773 was further signalized by the advent of Simon Kenton in Kentucky. He was a native of Fauquier County, Va.; born April 3, 1755, of mixed Irish and Scotch parentage. He grew to the age of sixteen entirely without the education of books or teachers, living a careless, uneventful life until an unfortunate love affair turned him into the wilderness, a heart-broken outlaw. He loved a maiden who did not reciprocate his passion, but bestowed her affection upon his friend and companion. Attending their wedding uninvited, in his utter despair and recklessness, Kenton thrust himself between the happy pair whom he found sitting together, whereupon their friends set upon him and gave him a good drubbing. Soon after, meeting his successful rival alone in a retired spot, he attacked him and was so far carried away in his rage as to beat him unmercifully. Kenton was finally brought to his senses by observing the apparent fatal result of his attack, and leaving his antagonist for dead, he fled beyond the frontier, his only refuge from personal and legal vengeance. Traveling by night and lying concealed by day, he reached the Cheat River settlement some time in April, 1771, and assumed the name of Simon Butler. Remaining here long enough to earn a good rifle by his labor, he joined a party destined for Fort Pitt. Here he was engaged to hunt for the garrison, and while thus employed formed a friendship with Simon Girty, who as a renegade subsequently ran such an infamous career.

While at Fort Pitt he also met George Yeager, who, when a boy and prisoner among the Indians, had visited Kentucky. Kenton's enthusiasm being kindled and fed by Yeager's description of the scenery, fertility and game of this "cane-land," he determined to explore it for himself, and in the autumn, 1771, accompanied by Yeager and John Strader, he went down the Ohio, exploring the southern bank as far as the mouth of the Kentucky for cane. Disappointed in not finding this growth as described by Yeager, the party

retraced their journey to the Kanawha, where they continued their search without success. They remained in this region, however, engaging in hunting and trapping during this winter and the one following, until the spring of 1773.

Hitherto they seem to have escaped the observation of the Indians, at least of such as were inclined to hostilities, but one night in March, while sleeping in their rude camp unguarded and unsuspecting of danger, they were rudely awakened by a party of savages who had crept near enough to fire upon them with considerable accuracy. Yeager was killed, but Kenton and Strader escaped to the woods unhurt, but without clothing, save the shirts they had on. The survivors made good their escape from the Indians, but in their pitiable plight, without food or the means of procuring it, their unprotected bodies lacerated by the briars and underbrush that filled the forests, death only seemed deferred. Their camp was on one of the upper western branches of the Kanawha, and for six days they toiled on their painful journey with a scarcely defined destination, and living one can hardly conjecture how. On the last day, the two unfortunate trappers could only travel six miles, and this progress was made between the vacillations of hope and despair, the exhausted men repeatedly lying down to die. Their determined exertions, however, were happily rewarded; at the close of the sixth day they reached a hunter's camp on the Ohio, where they were considerably fed and clothed. With this party they ascended the river to the mouth of the Kanawha, where Kenton engaged with one of the settlers until he had earned enough to procure another rifle and outfit.

In the summer, he joined a party going down the Ohio in search of Bullitt's party, and on their way, some time in July, Kenton 'with Michael Tyger and others' made some surveys and "tomahawk improvements" along and near the river in what are now Boyd and Greenup Counties. Not finding Bullitt, and alarmed by the attitude of the Indians, the party abandoned their canoes and under the guidance of Kenton returned to Virginia

through the country. On reaching the mouth of the Big Sandy, Kenton's services as guide being no longer necessary, he decided to make this his hunting-ground for the season, and, in company with William Grills, Jacob Greathouse, Samuel Cartwright and Joseph Lock, remained here during the winter of 1773-74 trapping and hunting. In the spring, selling their peltries to a Frenchman and general Indian hostilities appearing inevitable, Kenton and his comrades returned to Fort Pitt, and eventually took part in the campaign of Lord Dunmore against the Shawanese.

In 1774, Col. William Preston, the surveyor of Fincastle County—in which was included all this new addition to Virginia—sent out three deputies, with their assistants, to continue the locating of military lands. Col. John Floyd was the first to arrive in the field, and on May 2, made his first survey in what is now Lewis County, opposite the mouth of the Scioto, for Patrick Henry—200 acres, binding one and one-eighth miles on the Ohio. On the same day he made another survey four miles below the first, and continued until July, so far as ascertained,\* as follows: May 7, in Mason County, below where Dover now is; May 11, in Kenton County, about nine miles below Covington; May 12, in Boone County, including Big Bone Lick and vicinity; May 16, in Carroll County, three miles above the mouth of the Kentucky River; May 24, in Trimble County, about eleven miles below the mouth of the Kentucky; May 27, in Jefferson County, nineteen miles above the falls of the Ohio; June 2, in same county, five miles below the falls; June 6, in same county, at the mouth of Beargrass Creek; and going thence to the Elkhorn River, he made surveys in the counties of Scott, Fayette and Woodford.

Floyd's colleagues, James Douglass and Hancock Taylor, were not much later in reaching Kentucky. Douglass probably began his work on the waters of the Licking; on June 14, he is recorded as making a survey of 1,000 acres for James McDowell on a "south fork of Licking Creek," probably in

\*See Collins, Vol. II, p. 238.



Montgomery County; subsequently he proceeded westward to what is now Jessamine County, where he executed numerous surveys on Jessamine and Hickman Creeks; and then turning northward met Taylor on the head waters of the south fork of Elkhorn, where the latter had made extensive surveys. Obtaining notes of the distances and courses he had run, Douglass surveyed here 3,000 acres for Edward Ward; a similar tract, July 8, "for Henry Collins, Esq., as a lieutenant in his majesty's navy in the late war;" and, July 11, 2,000 acres for Alexander McKee. Following the course of this stream into Scott County, he located several thousand acres in the vicinity of where Floyd was operating.

Taylor seems to have wandered over less country than his colleagues; he began his surveys, probably, in Fayette County, where he located thousands of acres and remained until July. He then proceeded to the lower part of the Kentucky River, to survey a tract of land for Col. William Christian not far from the mouth of the river, and while thus employed was attacked and seriously wounded by the Indians. Two of his assistants attempted to extract the bullet with a pen-knife, but were unsuccessful; the wound proved fatal on the way to the settlement, and Taylor was buried in Madison County on a fork of Silver Creek, which bears his name.

In the meantime, a notable event was occurring near the vicinity of these surveys. In May, James Harrod, who had been in one of the surveying parties of the preceding year, led a company of thirty-one\* men into what is now Mercer County, and laid the foundation of the first settlement and village in Kentucky. The party came from the Monongahela Valley, by way of the Ohio, to the mouth of the Kentucky, and ascended the stream "to the mouth of a creek called (from that fact) Landing Run (now Oregon), in the lower end of the present county of Mercer, and east of the village of Salvisa; thence across the Salt River, and up to Fountain Blue, and to the

place where Harrodsburg now stands. In two or three weeks this was followed by Isaac Hite's company of adventurers of eleven men. Capt. Harrod and his company encamped at the Big Spring, on the east of the place where it was agreed to lay off a town. Thence the men scattered in small companies to select locations, improve lands and build cabins, which they divided among themselves by lot—and as 'the lottery cabins' they were known as long as they lasted. John Crow's lottery cabin was near the town spring of Danville. James Brown's, on Clark's Run three-fourths of a mile southeast of said spring, and James Blair's, a mile and a quarter southwest; William Field's a mile and a third west of Danville; John Crawford's, four miles south of Danville; and James Wiley's, three miles east of Harrodsburg. There is good reason to believe that cabins were not built for all of the company, and therefore those built were apportioned by lot. The men of Hite's company 'improved,' but generally without building cabins. James Harrod found what he called the Boiling Spring, which subsequently became the site of 'Boiling Spring settlement,' six miles south of Harrodstown; here he cut down brush and made his improvement." (Collins.)

On the 16th of June, the company united to lay off a town, in which was assigned to each man a half-acre lot, and a ten-acre outlot. While this work was in progress, Boone having been sent to Kentucky on a special mission, reached this place and assisted in laying out the lots, one of which was assigned him. This lot adjoined one laid off for one Hinton, upon which a double log house was built, which was known indiscriminately so long as it existed as Boone's or Hinton's cabin. Several other cabins were built here, which afforded quarters for the party until July 10th, when a band of Indians attacked five of the settlers, who were attending a piece of corn, planted about three miles from Harrodsburg. One of the number, Jared Cowan, was engaged in drying some papers in the sun, and was instantly killed. This sudden and fatal attack di-

\*Appendix A, Note 7.

persed the squad; Jacob Sandusky, with two others, supposing the main party destroyed, struck out for the Cumberland River, which they reached in safety, and thence by canoe to New Orleans. The other survivor hastened to Harrodsburg, from whence a strong party was sent out, and the murdered man's papers recovered. This confirmation of the report of general Indian hostilities, which Boone had brought, quickly determined their action; the scattered men were recalled at once, and the whole company speedily conducted by way of Cumberland Gap to Virginia.

Until the middle of 1774, the dissatisfaction of the Ohio Indians with the Fort Stanwix treaty found expression in open hostilities only within the precincts of the disputed territory. The existence of this dissatisfaction, and the reasons therefor, were well known, and as early as 1770, the fact found record in Washington's journal. In 1773, Bullitt probably expressed the calm judgment of the leading minds, when he recognized the justice of these Indian complaints, and promised that their claims should be satisfied; but it did not require a revelation to teach these untutored savages that "fine words butter no parsnips." The blankets and presents were not forthcoming, but it did not escape their attention, meanwhile, that thousands of deer and buffalo were falling a prey to the white hunter's rifle, and that over thousands of the choicest acres in their hunting-grounds could be seen the surveyor's fatal trail. Accordingly, irresponsible bands of the Ohio tribes gave deadly expression to the general feeling, and there were few who ventured into this forbidden ground but experienced the weight of Indian resentment. This feeling was undoubtedly encouraged by the French traders, who were still welcome among the natives, and who had not yet recovered from the smart occasioned by the discomfiture of their nation; for some little time longer, however, a prudent regard for the power of the English delayed a general war, but with the opening of the year 1774 events occurred which precipitated the Shawanese, "the very head and front of the offending," into open war.

The earlier settlements west of the Alleghanies were planted along the Cheat River in 1754, and along the Monongahela two years later. Here their extension was checked for a time by the hostile activity of the Indians, but directly this was ended the progress of the settlements led toward the Ohio. The Zanes settled on the site of Wheeling, in 1770, considerably in advance of others, but in 1772 settlements began to be marked in the country between the Monongahela and the Laurel Ridge, and in the succeeding year the main line had reached the Ohio. The rallying point for all this region was at Fort Pitt, at the forks of the Ohio, where a vigorous settlement had sprung up under the name of Pittsburgh.

During the French war there was considerable doubt as to the jurisdiction within which the forks of the Ohio came, neither Pennsylvania or Virginia caring to incur the responsibility and expense of defending it against the French. Circumstances, however, devolved the task principally upon Virginia, though both provinces contributed to its final capture and defense. When the geography of this country became better known, it was found that Pennsylvania had profited most by the exertions of their joint efforts—a result by no means pleasing to the Virginians. As early as 1763, therefore, a growing feeling existed in Virginia that the possession of this point rightfully belonged to that province, and in the course of the succeeding ten years, this feeling matured into a demand.

Accordingly, early in 1774, Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, sent his nephew, Dr. John Connolly, to Pittsburgh to assert the claims of the province. Connolly's first act, under this authority, was to issue a proclamation to the settlers in this region to assemble on the 25th of January, to be enrolled and mustered as Virginia militia. The proprietors of Pennsylvania were represented in the West by Arthur St. Clair, and he promptly caused the Virginian representative to be arrested before the date of the meeting. Notwithstanding this marked challenge of Virginia's authority, the people assembled according to the call, only to be peaceably dis-



persed by the dominant authority. Soon after this, upon his own authority and the promise of Connolly to return to his bond, the sheriff released his prisoner, who straightway collected a band of followers, and in March returned to Pittsburgh to reassert the claim of Virginia. Too strong to be re-arrested, the usurper repaired the fort which had been dismantled, named it Fort Dunmore, and garrisoned it, remaining for the time master of the situation.

His proceedings thus far had been carried forward upon the sanction of the governor, but it became a serious question with Connolly whether the assembly would grant the means of paying the large expense involved, and it is gravely charged that he sought secretly to provoke a rupture with the Indians to give the color of necessity to his profuse expenditure. However this may be, in the latter part of April, Connolly dispatched a letter to the settlers along the Ohio warning them that the Shawanese were not to be trusted, and that the whites should be prepared to revenge any outrages perpetrated by the savages.

On June 17, 1798, Gen. Clark wrote a letter to the *Louisville Literary News Letter*, discussing the responsibility for what followed the events mentioned above, and from it is taken the following account of the situation: "This country\* was explored in 1773. A resolution was formed to make a settlement the spring following, and the mouth of the Little Kanawha appointed as the place of general rendezvous, in order to descend the river from thence in a body. Early in the spring the Indians had done some mischief. Reports from their towns were alarming, which deterred many. About eighty or ninety men arrived at the appointed rendezvous, where we lay some days.

"A small party of hunters, that lay about ten miles below, were fired upon by the Indians, whom the hunters beat back, and returned to camp. This and many other circumstances led us to believe that the Indians were determined on war. The whole party was enrolled and determined to

execute their project for forming a settlement in Kentucky, as we had every necessary store that could be thought of. An Indian town called the Horsehead Bottom, on the Scioto and near its mouth, lay nearly in our way. The determination was to cross the country and surprise it. Who was to command? was the question. There were but few among us that had experience in Indian warfare, and they were such that we did not choose to be commanded by. We knew of Capt. Cresap being on the river about fifteen miles above us, with some hands, settling a plantation; and that he had concluded to follow us to Kentucky as soon as he had fixed there his people. We also knew that he had been experienced in a former war. He was proposed; and it was unanimously agreed to send for him to command the party. Messengers were dispatched and in half an hour returned with Cresap. He had heard of our resolution from some of his hunters, that had fallen in with ours, and had set out to come to us.

"We now thought our army, as we called it, complete, and the destruction of the Indians sure. A council was called, and to our astonishment our intended commander-in-chief was the person that dissuaded us from the enterprise. He said that appearances were very suspicious, but there was no certainty of a war; that if we made the attempt proposed, he had no doubt of our success; but a war would, at any rate, be the result, and that we should be blamed for it, and perhaps justly; but if we were determined to proceed, he would lay aside all considerations, send to his camp for his people, and share our fortunes.

"He was then asked what he would advise. His answer was, that we should return to Wheeling, as a convenient port, to hear what was going forward. That a few weeks would determine. As it was early in the spring, if we found the Indians were not disposed for war, we should have full time to return and make our establishment in Kentucky. This was adopted, and two hours later the whole were under way. As we ascended the river we met Kill-buck, an Indian

\*Kentucky.

chief, with a small party. We had a long conference with him but received little satisfaction as to the disposition of the Indians.

\* \* \* \* \* On our arrival at Wheeling (the country being pretty well settled thereabouts), the whole of the inhabitants appeared to be alarmed. They flocked to our camp from every direction; and all that we could say could not keep them from under our wings. We offered to cover their neighborhood with scouts, until further information, if they would return to their plantations; but nothing would prevail. By this time we had got to be a formidable party. All the hunters, men without families, etc., in that quarter, had joined our party.

"Our arrival at Wheeling was soon known at Pittsburgh. The whole of that country at that time being under the jurisdiction of Virginia, Dr. Connolly had been appointed by Dunmore captain-commandant of the district, which was called West Augusta.\* He learning of us, sent a message addressed to the party, letting us know that a war was to be apprehended, and requesting that we should keep our position for a few days, as messages had been sent to the Indians, and a few days would determine the doubt. The answer he got was that he had no inclination to quit our quarters for some time; that during our stay we should be careful that the enemy did not harass the neighborhood that we lay in. But before this answer could reach Pittsburgh, he sent a second express, addressed to Capt. Cresap, as the most influential man amongst us, informing him that the messengers had returned from the Indians; that war was inevitable, and begging him to use his influence with the party to get them to cover the country by scouts until the inhabitants could fortify themselves. The reception of this letter was the epoch of open hostilities with the Indians. A new post† was planted, a council was called, and the letter read by Cresap, all the Indian traders being summoned on so important an occasion. Action was had, and war declared in the most sol-

emn manner; and the same evening two scalps were brought into camp.\*

"The next day some canoes of Indians were discovered on the river, keeping the advantage of an island to cover themselves from our view. They were chased fifteen miles down the river, and driven ashore.† A battle ensued; a few were wounded on both sides; one Indian only taken prisoner. On examining their canoes, we found a considerable quantity of ammunition and other warlike stores. On our return to camp, a resolution was adopted to march the next day and attack Logan's camp on the Ohio, about thirty miles above us. We did march about five miles, and then halted to take some refreshment. Here the impropriety of executing the projected enterprise was argued. The conversation was brought forward by Cresap himself. It was generally agreed that those Indians had no hostile intentions, as they were hunting, and their party was composed of men, women and children, with all their stuff with them. This we knew, as I myself and others present had been in their camp about four weeks past, on our descending the river from Pittsburgh. In short, every person seemed to detest the resolution we had set out with. We returned in the evening, decamped, and took the road to Redstone."‡

Connolly's ill-advised letter was destined to bear still further bitter fruit. The settlers everywhere in this region seemed to have been put on the alert by this warning, and with a "zeal not according to knowledge," were betrayed into acts which warranted the bloodiest reprisal. Two days later than the events narrated by Gen. Clark, a company of thirty-two men under the command of Daniel Greathouse, hastily assuming that the action of Cresap would inevitably precipitate a war,

\*The Indians, whose murder is thus noted, proved to be friendly natives in the employ of a Pittsburgh trader, and sent on a special mission. Notwithstanding the favorable character Clark assigns to Cresap, the great mass of evidence shows him to have been an "Indian hater," and the special evidence relating to this murder, makes it clear that he attacked the unsuspecting Indians against the earnest protest of the Zancs, who clearly showed him that his premeditated attack was unjustifiable, and ominous of wide-spread evils.

†At Captina Creek.

‡Brownsville, Penn. Clark was the apologist of Connolly and Cresap; the latter was, through a natural misapprehension, charged with the additional dastardly murder at Yellow Creek, but fortunately his repentance is saved this additional reproach by abundant sworn testimony.

\*West Augusta, i.e., western part of Augusta County.

†Fort Henry.



proceeded up the Ohio to a point forty miles above Wheeling. The avowed object of this movement was the protection of a family (Baker's) whose cabin stood opposite the mouth of Big Yellow Creek, where Logan's hunting party was then encamped.

Arriving at their destination, "the party was concealed in ambuscade, while their commander went over the river, under the mask of friendship, to the Indian camp, to ascertain their number; while there an Indian woman advised him to return home speedily, saying that the Indians were drinking and angry on account of the murder of their people down the river, and might do him some mischief. On his return to his party, he reported that the Indians were too strong for an open attack. He returned to Baker's and requested him to give any Indians who might come over, in the course of the day, as much rum as they might call for, and get as many of them drunk as he possibly could. The plan succeeded. Several Indian men, with two women, came over the river to Baker's, who had previously been in the habit of selling rum to Indians. The men drank freely and became intoxicated. In this State they were all killed by Great-house and a few of his party, for it is but justice to state, that not more than five or six of the whole number had any participation in the slaughter at the house. The rest protested against it, as an atrocious murder. From their numbers being by far the majority, they might have prevented the deed; but alas! they did not. A little Indian girl alone was saved from the slaughter, by the humanity of some one of the party, whose name is not now known.

"The Indians in the camp, hearing the firing at the house, sent a canoe with two men in it to enquire what had happened. These two Indians were both shot down as soon as they landed on the beach. A second and larger canoe was then manned by a number of Indians in arms; but, in attempting to reach the shore some distance below the house, were received by a well-directed fire from the party, which killed the greater number of them, and compelled the survivors

to return. A great number of shots were exchanged across the river, but without damage to the white party, not one of whom was even wounded. The Indian men who were murdered were all scalped. The woman who gave the friendly advice to the commander of the party, when in the Indian camp, was amongst the slain at Baker's house."\*

Comment upon these atrocious crimes is unnecessary; and they have been thus specifically pointed out because the massacres at Captina and Yellow Creeks were the undoubted cause of the outbreak which ensued. None on the frontier doubted that war would follow. The settlers were hastily notified and gathered at places best suited for defense, and an express was sent to Williamsburg with tidings of affairs on the border. Lord Dunmore quickly took measures to meet the emergency; the organization of an armed force to rendezvous at Wheeling was expeditiously undertaken, and Boone was summoned from his retirement to proceed to Kentucky and warn the several surveying parties engaged there. In company with Michael Stoner he set out in June, and it was on this trip that he visited Harrodsburg and assisted in laying out the lots. He found the surveyors already alarmed, and conducted them in with complete success and safety, making the tour of 800 miles in sixty-eight days.

The Indians, however, had not generally determined upon war. The friends of the murdered savages took vengeance on the whites within their reach, and several traders were sacrificed to their fury in a terrible manner, but the tribes were still reluctant to take up the bloody gauntlet thrown down by the whites. In this unsettled state of affairs the force rendezvoused at Wheeling, determined to march against the Indian town, Wappatomica, on the Muskingum. The Indians frustrated in their attempt to surprise this invading army, sued for peace, and gave five of their chiefs as hostages. Two of these were subsequently released to collect the head tribesmen to ratify a peace, but the

\*Notes on early settlement of western Virginia. Rev. Joseph Doddridge, 1824.

whites, after waiting until it seemed evident that the only object of the savages was to gain time for organization, laid waste the town and crops, and retired with their prisoners. The Delawares, still anxious for peace, and the Shawanese, influenced by their sagacious leader, Cornstalk, went so far in their efforts to avert the threatened conflict as to secure some wandering traders from the wrath of the Mingoes whose friends had been murdered. And Logan, who had taken ready vengeance upon the scattered settlers, while the rest of his race hesitated, now that he had secured a scalp for each of his thirteen relatives murdered, expressed himself satisfied, and ready to treat with the Long Knives. But Connolly, who had been the prime instrument in embroiling the races, was possessed of a spirit scarcely less than fiendish, and seemed determined that war should follow. He accordingly attempted to seize the Shawanese whose errand of friendship had brought them within his reach, and when foiled in this attempt, sent his base emissaries to waylay them.

Under such circumstances it would have scarcely been in accord with civilized human nature, and certainly not with Indian nature, if no border attacks had succeeded; and so from June to September the frontier was harried by numerous independent incursions, which were especially directed against the Virginians. These devastations called out the renewed efforts of Gov. Dunmore, and a large force was raised, consisting of two wings, one under Dunmore from the northern and eastern counties of Virginia, and the other from the southern and western counties under Gen. Lewis. These were to unite at Point Pleasant, and together proceed to the Indian country in Ohio. Lewis reached the appointed place on the 6th of October, and while waiting for the other wing was attacked by about an equal number of Indian warriors, drawn from the Shawanese, Delaware, Mingo, Wyandotte and Cayuga tribes. The battle began about sunrise on the 10th, and continued until near sunset with unabated fury and determination.

The savages were under the leadership of

the famous Cornstalk, who inclosed the troops in the angle formed by the Kanawha and the Ohio, resolved to annihilate them if fortune favored his efforts. "Never," says Withers, "did men exhibit more conclusive evidence of bravery in making a charge, and fortitude in withstanding an onset, than did these undisciplined soldiers of the forest in the field at Point Pleasant." The Virginians were not less valiant; here Greek met Greek, but the "anointed children of education were too powerful for the tribes of the ignorant." Taking advantage of the sheltering banks of Crooked Creek, which flows in a course parallel with the Ohio into the Kanawha, a detachment of the troops gained the rear of the savages, who disconcerted by this unexpected attack gave way and retreated to their homes. The whites remained victors, but at a fearful cost. About one-fifth\* of their number lay dead or bleeding upon the ground, among whom were ten of the leading officers.

As early as practical the command proceeded across the Ohio to secure the fruit of this hard-won victory, but before much progress had been made, a message from Dunmore brought the intelligence that the governor had proceeded direct from Pittsburgh, that he was then engaged in negotiating a treaty, and that the advancing troops were ordered to return to Point Pleasant. Gen. Lewis, entertaining grave suspicions of Dunmore's fidelity, declined to obey the orders thus received, and only stayed his march when ordered by the governor in person, in presence of an Indian town. The treaty agreed upon by Lord Dunmore has never been published, and it rests only upon that officer's word that the Shawanese agreed to forego their hunting in Kentucky; it is certain that the treaty effected no lasting settlement of the vexed question of the time, and gave assurance to existing suspicions that that officer desired to placate the savages in the interests of the part that the British were to play in the conflict which he dimly saw impending.

"The Dunmore war," though conducted outside of Kentucky limits, was none the less a marked event in its history, and was ear-

\* Seventy-five killed and 140 wounded.



nestly engaged in by most of those who have been noted as its earlier pioneers. Harrod, with thirty of his company, served under Gen. Lewis; Kenton acted as spy in both wings of the army; and Boone, after his return from the mission to Kentucky, commanded three frontier posts under appointment from the governor.

The retreat of the explorers and surveyors from Kentucky, in 1774, and the warlike activities which followed, served to spread the report of the new country's attractions in ever widening circles, and at the close of the brief struggle, public attention immediately reverted with increased interest to the disputed territory. The succeeding year, therefore, witnessed not only the return of former explorers to their improvements, but also the advent of many new adventurers.

Of the previous year's explorers, Kenton was probably the first to return. Discharged from the army in the fall, he repaired with a single comrade, Thomas Williams, to his old hunting-ground on the Big Sandy; here they spent the winter, and in the spring, having disposed of their peltries, Kenton led the way in quest of the "cane-land" which had been the object of his former fruitless search. They accordingly set out down the river, but night overtaking them they were obliged to put in to the shore. They landed at the mouth of Cabin Creek, about six miles above Maysville, and next morning, while hunting some miles back in the country, Kenton discovered the object of his persistent pursuit. From a little eminence his gaze took in a wide stretch of country, containing a large cane-brake and presenting a landscape that enraptured the young hunter. Rejoining his companion, he related the glad tidings, and, sinking their canoe, the two started inland on a tour of discovery.

In the month of May, 1775, within a mile of the present town of Washington, in Mason County, having built their camp and finished a small clearing, they planted about an acre of land with the remains of the corn bought for food. The spot chosen by them for their agricultural attempt, was one of the most beautiful and fertile in the State of Kentucky. Here, in due season, they ate the first roasting ears that ever grew, by the care of a white man, on the north side of the Kentucky River.

Before this they had discovered the upper and lower Blue Lick and the immense herds of buffalo, elk, etc., that frequented these places, covering the hills and valleys of the Licking. The land was a hunter's paradise, and our adventurers were completely happy in their new, undisputed home. They soon had cause, however, to apprehend that others would contend with them for the mastership of the soil.

Happening one day at the lower Blue Lick, they discovered two white men. Approaching them with due caution, they found them friendly, and learned that they had wandered without guns or food far into the country, their canoe having upset in a squall on the Ohio. Fitzpatrick and Hendricks (so these strangers were named) were invited by Kenton to join his station near Washington. Hendricks acceded to the proposal, but Fitzpatrick insisted on returning to Virginia. Accordingly, Kenton and Williams (having left Hendricks at the Lick) accompanied Fitzpatrick to the Ohio, gave him a gun and took leave of him on the other side from where Maysville now stands. Returning quickly as possible, they were surprised and not a little alarmed to find the camp where they had left Hendricks abandoned and in disorder. Looking around they observed a smoke in a low ravine, and at once comprehended the whole affair. They were satisfied that a party of Indians had captured their friend, and they at once fled to the woods.

Next morning, cautiously approaching the still smoking fire, they discovered that the savages had departed, and with feelings that may be easily imagined, they found what they did not doubt were the skull and bones of the unfortunate Hendricks. He had been burned to death while they were so cowardly flying. Filled with shame and remorse that they had so basely abandoned him to his fate without an effort to rescue him, they went back to their camp near Washington. They had the good fortune themselves to escape the notice of the Indians who prowled through the country. In the fall Kenton, leaving Williams at the camp, took a ramble through his rich domain. Everywhere he saw abundance of game, and the richest and most beautiful land. At the lower Blue Lick he met with Michael Stoner, who had come to Kentucky with Boone the year before. He now learned that himself and Williams were not the only whites inhabiting the cane-land. Taking Stoner to his camp and gathering up his property, he and Williams accompanied him to the settlements already formed in the interior. Kenton passed the winter of 1775-76 at Hinkston's Station, in the present county of Bourbon, about forty miles from his corn patch.\*

There was less activity in the location and survey of military lands in this year, but Floyd and Douglass were both early in returning to Kentucky. The latter came back

\*Sketch of Simon Kenton, in Collins, Vol. II, p. 442.

to the scene of his former labors, with a "party of about ten or twelve," and spent the summer in this work. Under date of July 12, 1775, Henderson writes from Boonesboro, to his colleagues in the Transylvania Colony scheme, that this party, "employed in searching through that country, and laying off officers' lands, have been for more than three weeks within ten miles of us, and will be for several weeks longer, ranging up and down the country."

Floyd came to Kentucky in April, with thirty-one men from Virginia, and pitched his camp on Dick's River, engaging in surveying, during most of the year, all through central Kentucky. In May, he visited Boonesboro on behalf of his company to learn on what terms they might settle colonial lands; upon which Henderson remarks in his journal: "Was much at a loss on account of this gentleman's arrival and message, as he was surveyor of Fincastle County under Col. Preston." Later in the month, Floyd was a delegate to the Boonesboro Legislature from St. Asaph, and subsequently so far identified himself with the colonial enterprises as to become Henderson's principal surveyor.

In this year, Benjamin Ashley also made some surveys in Nicholas County for the Ohio Company—a part its first 200,000 acres; and in May, ten young men came from Virginia to what is Mason County, who, after exploring, surveyed upward of 20,000 acres. They also made improvements for each one, but their visit is chiefly remarkable "for a bout of fisticuffs in which two of them engaged with such bitterness as for some time to give the name of "Battle Creek" to a stream now known as Well's Creek.

There was in this year, however, a marked activity among settlers, new explorers vying with older ones in their preparations to reach Kentucky early in the spring. March or April was as soon as it was practicable for the members of the older settlements to reach this destination, but in May, 1775, a close estimate places the number of prospective citizens then in Kentucky at 300, who already had 230 acres under cultivation.

Save Kenton, the McAfees were probably the first settlers to reach Kentucky in the spring, preceding Harrod by four, and Boone by twenty days. The Indian hostilities, which followed their return to Virginia in the previous year, prevented them from carrying out their intention of returning to make a settlement that year, but early in the succeeding spring they were once more in the cane-brake. They reached their claim on Salt River on March 11th, cleared two acres of ground, planted peach stones and apple seeds for an orchard, and in April started back to Virginia, leaving two of their number with Harrod to protect their improvement from the intrusion of other settlers. On their homeward journey they met Henderson and his company, when, persuaded by the leader of the party contrary to the advice of their elder brother James, Robert, Samuel and William McAfee turned back and united their fortunes with the colony. The family party accordingly divided, the three brothers returning to Boonesboro, where they entered land with Henderson, and put it in cultivation. That fall, when the colonial scheme proved abortive, the family party was reunited, and under the protection of the newly erected Harrod Station, cleared and cultivated some fifteen acres near the mouth of Armstrong Branch, in Mercer County.

On March 15th, James Harrod returned to the village which had been laid out on Salt Creek under his auspices in the previous year, and which was now called Harrodstown. He brought with him about fifty men, most of them young and without families, whom he had enlisted in the enterprise in the Monongahela Valley. The company at once occupied the cabins previously erected, and set about "improving" various sites for future settlements, sixteen fields of corn being planted in the neighborhood. In April, however, the alarm created by the Indian depredations in the preceding month robbed this settlement of more than half of its numbers, who set off for the protection of the older settlements. Harrod remained and pushed his improvements at Boiling



Spring, while a sufficient number remained in the village to give it a busy air; in fact it was never subsequently entirely deserted, and in September gained an accession of several families to its population. In the succeeding winter a fort was begun here, though not completed until the next year, and was one of the noted outposts during the unsettled period, from the beginning of the Revolutionary war to the general pacification at Greenville.

The next and by far the most important accession to the frontier forces, in this year, was Boone and his company. The close of the "Dunmore war" had no sooner placed him at his own disposal, than he was solicited to lend his experience and efforts in behalf of an enterprise which sought to plant a colony in Kentucky. Little is known of the early growth of this project, but Richard Henderson seems to have been the leading spirit. He was a man of marked ability, and had occupied the position of associate supreme judge of North Carolina. Led by ambition and a spirit of speculation to emulate the early colonial enterprises, he privately sought the Cherokees under the pretense of viewing some back lands, and having ascertained their readiness to negotiate for the sale of a large portion of Kentucky, returned to his home to organize a company to effect the purchase.\*

Accordingly, Thomas Hart, Nathaniel Hart, David Hart, John Luttrell, William Johnston and James Hogg, of Orange County, and John Williams, Leonard Hendly Bullock and Judge Richard Henderson, of Granville County, N. C., associated themselves for that purpose, and in a conference on the Watauga branch of the Holston River, between certain of the newly formed company, assisted by Boone, and the principal chiefs of the Cherokees, the natives, on March 17, 1775, sold to the company the fairest portion of Kentucky, as well as a large tract in North Carolina, for £10,000 sterling.

The boundaries of the tract in Kentucky were as follows: "Beginning on the Ohio

River at the mouth of the Cantuckey Chenoe, or what, by the English, is called Louisa River; from thence running up the said river, and the most northwardly fork of the same, to the head spring thereof; thence a south-east course to the top of the ridge of Powell's Mountain; thence westwardly, along the ridge of the said mountain, unto a point from which a northwest course will hit or strike the head spring of the most southwardly branch of Cumberland River; thence down the said river, including all its waters, to the Ohio River, and up the said river as it meanders to the beginning."

Boone had been engaged to cut a road to the territory thus purchased, and prepare for the colony to be transferred thither; and before the consummation of the treaty, which was delayed by tedious Indian ceremonials for twenty days, he was on his way marking the route which has since been known as Boone's Trace. Boone had a party of twenty-one men, which included Squire Boone, Richard Calloway, John Kennedy, and others, and at Long Island, in the Holston, he was joined by Capt. Twetty with seven men. They began at this point to mark the trace, blazing their way with hatchets until they reached Rockcastle River. Thence their course lay for twenty miles through a country covered with dead brush; the next thirty miles lay "through thick cane and reed; and as the cane ceased, they began to discover the pleasing and rapturous appearance of the plains of Kentucky. A new sky and strange earth seemed to be presented to their view; so rich a soil they had never seen before—covered with a clover in full bloom; the woods abounding with wild game—turkeys so numerous that it might be said they appeared but one flock, universally scattered in the woods. It appeared that nature, in the profusion of her bounty, had spread a feast for all that lived, both for the animal and rational world."\*

This bold approach to the favorite hunting grounds of the savages was not to be made with impunity. No evidence of the presence of Indians had been observed, how-

\* Gov. Morehead is authority for the assertion that Col. Nathaniel Hart took these preliminary steps.

\* Narrative of Hon. Felix Walker in Collins, Vol. II, p. 497.

ever, during their progress; the company had reached a point in Madison County within fifteen miles of the Kentucky River, and they went into camp on March 24th, therefore, without any of those precautions which would otherwise have been considered necessary. The pioneers had not been unobserved, as they thought; about daybreak the next morning the sleeping whites were aroused by a sudden volley of rifles, but fortunately the attacking band of savages was too weak to follow up the advantage afforded by the surprise, and retreated. This assault, brief as it was, entailed serious consequences upon the pioneers. Capt. Twetty received wounds in both knees, from which he died three days later; his black servant was killed outright, and Felix Walker was dangerously wounded. Some of the party refusing to brave further danger in advancing, followed the newly made trace homeward, while the rest of the company, erecting a slight fort\* on a little eminence, about 100 yards from the road, remained here until April 1st. In the meantime the same Indians discovered a party of six whites encamped near the Kentucky River, and only a few miles from Boone's company, though unknown to them. These the savages attacked, killing and scalping two of their number; the rest escaped, a son of Samuel Tate being discovered by some of Boone's hunters. Having buried Twetty's remains in the fort, and leaving a small party with Walker, who was too seriously wounded to be moved at once, the main party proceeded to the mouth of Otter Creek, where Boone had sent a messenger to invite the members of the lower settlements to meet him. Arriving at their destination, selection was made of "a plain on the south side, wherein was a lick with two sulphur springs strongly impregnated," and here the company built a couple of cabins, "having some of the advantages of a stockade fort," which was subsequently named Fort Boone.

Before leaving "Little Fort," Boone had dispatched a letter to Col. Henderson, in-

forming him of their progress and experience, and added: "My advice to you, sir, is to come or send as soon as possible. Your company is desired greatly, for the people are very uneasy, but are willing to stay and venture their lives with you, and now is the time to frustrate the intentions of the Indians, and keep the country, whilst we are in it. If we give way to them now, it will ever be the case." This letter found Henderson already on the road for Louisa, as the Kentucky River and Valley were sometimes called. He had taken prompt and practical measures to plant the proposed colony, the details of which will appear in the following extract taken from his "Journal of an Expedition to Cantuckey in 1775."

*Monday, March 20th*.—Having finished my treaty with the Indians at Watauga, set out for Louisa. *Thursday, 30th*.—Arrived at Capt. Martin's in Powell Valley. *Friday, 31st*.—Employed in making a house to secure our wagons, as we could not possibly clear the way any farther.

*Saturday, April 1st*.—Employed in making ready for packing [*i. e.*, loading horses with the baggage]. *Sunday, 2d*.—Mr. Hart came up [this was Capt. Nathaniel Hart, one of the proprietors of Transylvania, who had made the treaty at Watauga. In 1779, he brought his family to Boonesborough. In August, 1782, while carelessly riding out in the vicinity of the fort, he was killed and scalped by a small party of Indians]. *Wednesday, April 5th*.—Started with our pack horses. *Friday, 7th*.—About break of day, it began to snow. About 11 o'clock received a letter from Mr. John Luttrell's camp, that there were five persons killed by the Indians on the road to Cantuckey. Same day received a letter from Daniel Boone, that his company was fired upon by Indians, who killed two of his men, though he kept the ground and saved the baggage, etc. *Saturday, 8th*.—Started about 10 o'clock, crossed Cumberland Gap. About four miles from it, met about forty persons returning from the Cantuckey on account of the late murders by the Indians. Could prevail on only one to return. Several Virginians who were with us turned back from here. *Monday, 10th*.—Dispatched Capt. William Coeke to the Cantuckey, to inform Capt. Boone that we were on the road. *Sunday, 16th*.—About 12 o'clock, met James McAfee with eighteen other persons returning from Cantuckey. *Thursday, April 20th, 1775*.—Arrived at Fort Boone, on the mouth of Otter Creek, Cantuckey River, where we were saluted by a running fire of about twenty-five guns, all that were at the fort. The men appeared in high spirits and much rejoiced at our arrival. *Friday, April 21st*.—On viewing the fort, finding

\*This structure, formed of logs six or seven feet high, and probably not roofed, was known in the early annals of Kentucky as Little or Twetty's Fort, and was the first ever constructed in the State.



the plan not sufficient to admit of buildings for the reception of our company, and a scarcity of ground suitable for clearing at that advanced season, was at a loss to proceed. Capt. Boone's company having laid out most of the adjacent good land into lots of two acres each, and taking as it fell to each individual by lot, was in actual possession and occupying them. After some perplexity, resolved to erect a fort on the opposite side of a large lick, near the river bank, which would place us at the distance of 300 yards from the other fort—the only place where we could be of any service to Capt. Boone's men, or *vice versa*. *Saturday, 22d*.—Finished running off all the lots we could conveniently get, fifty-four in number. Gave notice of our intention of having them drawn for in the evening, but Mr. Robert McAfee, his brother Samuel, and some more, were not well satisfied whether they would draw or not. They wanted to go down the River Cantuckey, about fifty miles, near Capt. Harrod's settlement, where they had begun improvements and left them on the late alarm. I informed them myself, in the hearing of all attending, that such settlements should not entitle them to land from us. They appearing much concerned, and at a loss what to do, the lottery was put off till next morning, at sunrise, thereby giving them time to come to a resolution. *Sunday, April 23d, 1775*.—Drew lots and spent the day without public worship. The interval was employed in building a magazine, sowing seeds, etc.

*Sunday, May 7th*.—Went into the woods after a stray horse, stayed all night, and on our return found Capt. Harrod and Col. Thomas Slaughter, from Harrodstown, on Dick's River. It is in fact on the head of Salt River and not on Dick's River. Col. Slaughter and Capt. Harrod seemed very jocose and in great good humor. *Monday, May 8th*.—Was very much embarrassed by a dispute between the above. \* \* \* After much dispute about the respective claims of Slaughter and Harrod, for land to be apportioned to their respective companies, in order to divert the debate on this irritating subject, a plan of government by popular representation was proposed. The reception this plan met with from these gentlemen, as well as Capt. John Floyd, a leading man on Dick's River, gave us great pleasure, and therefore we immediately set out about the business. Appointed Tuesday, May 23d inst., at Boonesborough, for the meeting of delegates, and accordingly made out writings for the different towns to sign. For want of a little obligatory law, or some restraining authority, our game—nay, as soon as we got here, if not before—was driven off very much. As short a distance as good hunters thought of getting meat was fifteen, nay, sometimes they were obliged to go thirty miles; though by chance, once or twice a week, buffalo were killed within five or six miles of the camp. The wanton destruction of game gives great uneasiness. *Saturday, May 13th*.—No scouring of floors, sweeping of yards, or scalding bedsteads here. About fifty

yards from the river, behind my camp, and a fine spring a little to the west, stands one of the finest elms that perhaps nature has ever produced. The tree is produced on a beautiful plain, surrounded by a turf of fine white clover, forming a green to the very stock. The trunk is about four feet through to the first branches, which are about nine feet from the ground. From thence it regularly extends its large branches on every side, at such equal distances as to form the most beautiful tree the imagination can suggest. The diameter of the branches from the extreme end is 100 feet, and every fair day it describes a semi-circle on the heavenly green around it of upward of 400 feet in circuit. At any time between the hours of ten and two 100 persons may commodiously seat themselves under the branches. This divine tree, or rather one of the many proofs of the existence from all eternity of its divine author, is to be our church, council-chamber, etc. Having many things on our hands, we have not had time to erect a pulpit, seats, etc., but hope by Sunday seven-night to perform divine service in a public manner, and that to a set of scoundrels, who scarcely believe in God or fear a devil, if we may judge from most of their looks, words or actions. *Tuesday, May 23d, 1775*.—Delegates met from every town, pleased with their stations, and in great good humor. *Wednesday, May 24th*.—Convention met (under divine elm) for the colony of Transylvania; sent a message acquainting me that they had chosen Col. Thomas Slaughter as chairman, and Matthew Jouett, clerk, of which I approved, and went and opened business by a short speech, etc. *Thursday, May 25th*.—Three of the members waited on the proprietors with a very sensible address, which they asked leave to read; read it, and delivered an answer in return. Business went on. This day four bills were fabricated: (1) for establishing tribunals of justice and for recovery of debts; (2) for establishing a militia; (3) for preventing the destruction of game, etc.; (4) a law concerning fees. The delegates are very good men, and much disposed to serve their country. *Saturday, May 27th*.—Finished the convention in good order; everybody pleased. *Sunday, May 28th*.—Divine service, for the first time in Kentucky, was performed by Rev. John Lythe, of the Church of England. Most of the delegates returned home.

*Monday, June 5th*.—Made out commissions for Harrodsburg, Boiling Springs settlement, and St. Asaph's, both military and civil. *Friday, June 16th*.—Continued eating meat without bread. *Sunday, June 18th*.—Michael Stoner, our hunter, not returned; was expected yesterday; no meat.

*Wednesday, July 12*.—Horses being almost worn out, went up the river (Kentucky) in a canoe to get meat, if possible. Our salt quite out, except about a quart which I brought from Harrodsburg. Times a little melancholy, provisions very scarce; no salt to enable us to save meat at any distance from us. No accounts or arrivals from within; weather very dry; the springs being scarce, water was rarely to be

gotten. We were not able to raise above fourteen or fifteen fighting men at one time, unless they were all summoned, which could not easily be done without long notice, they being much dispersed hunting,\* etc.

In the meanwhile the cane-brakes, elsewhere in Kentucky, were rife with the busy activity of settlers. Benjamin Logan had heard of the rich lands to be secured in Kentucky, and starting out from his farm on the Holston, unaccompanied, save by three of his bondsmen, he made his way as far as the Powell Valley, intent upon exploring the newly opened country for himself. Here he fell in with Henderson's company, with which he proceeded to his destination. In journeying thither, he learned of Henderson's plans, which ill suited his independent spirit, and gaining the interior, he parted company with his fellow-travelers, and struck out for himself. He selected a site about a mile west of the present town of Stanford, in Lincoln County, and there, with one Michael Galaspy, raised a crop of corn and built a small defensive cluster of cabins. He did not remain long alone; his many excellent qualities of head and heart attracted others, and the settlement thus formed single-handed was of such importance, in May, as to be represented in the colonial assembly on an equal footing with the more pretentious one at Harrodstown.

At the same time, some seventy-five miles northeast of Logan, the Hinkston company of fifteen explorers were making improvements on the Licking. Coming down the Ohio in March and April, they ascended the Licking to the mouth of Willow Creek, four miles above Falmouth, and landed; here they remained two nights and a day on account of high water and continued rains, and then proceeded to a spot near the lower Blue Lick. At this place they fell in with the Miller company of fourteen persons, which had followed the same course, but had passed them unobserved in the journey. Each party sent explorers to spy out the land, who brought in their reports to the united company. The two parties traveled together

until the buffalo trace leading toward the site of Lexington was reached, when they separated. Hinkston and his company took this trace to the region lying between Cynthiana and Paris, where they made several small clearings and built a cabin for each member of the company. From members of this company, Hinkston and Townsend's Creeks, and Cooper's Run take their names, and on the last two, corn was raised in this year. The Miller party encamped on a creek bearing the same name, and selected sites for improvement for each one of the company, one of the members planting a patch of potatoes. In June, however, the whole company returned home.

Contemporaneous with these were the parties of McConnell and Lindsay, which arrived on the Elkhorn from the Monongahela Valley in April. The first named party, under the lead of William McConnell, who had been in Kentucky the year before, remained here until June, making various "improvements" in what is now Fayette County. Some of these persons returned by water, the others going by land to the mouth of Lawrence Creek on the Ohio, six miles below Maysville, where the company was reunited. Reaching their destination before the arrival of the canoes, the land party busied themselves in making "improvements" and building cabins on that stream. In the succeeding November, John McClellan, with his family and six young men, returned, bringing their movable goods in canoes and driving their stock, nine horses and fourteen head cattle, overland. The site of Leestown was the appointed place of rendezvous, where the land party arrived first; on the arrival of the canoes, the party proceeded to the Royal Spring, where Georgetown has since been founded, and erected a cabin, where the company resided until April of the next year. This done, the young men went within two miles of the site of Lexington, and built a cabin.

"In April, 1775, Joseph Lindsay, William Lindsay, Patrick Jordan, Garrett Jordan, John Vance and others, met at Drennon's Lick and came up together to Elkhorn,

\*These extracts have been taken from the portion quoted by Mr. Collins in his excellent sketches. Reference is made to another "stitched book," but this, that indefatigable compiler, after a long and pains-taking search, was unable to find.



where John Lee and Hugh Shannon joined them, thence up Elkhorn to the forks; from the forks to the place now called Georgetown, and thence to, or near, the place where Lexington now stands—their business, to explore the country and make improvements. The morning after they encamped here, the company remained in camp on account of the rainy weather. Patrick Jordan went alone down the fork on which they were encamped, and discovered a large spring of water on the north side of and a short distance from the fork. When he returned to camp and told of the spring, Joseph Lindsay, the only one of the company who had not made choice of an improvement said he would have it, and promptly offered Jordan two guineas to go with him and show it. They went together, taking axes, and made an 'improvement,' cut poles and built a cabin, three or four logs high and about ten feet square, girdled some trees, and made a brush heap or two, and cut the initials J. L. on a tree at the head of the spring. After that, several of the company went over to Harrodsburg, and the others down to the forks of the Elkhorn after their provisions, working tools, etc., which had been left there with the canoes. In a few days, the brothers Jordan returned with Joseph Lindsay to his spring, assisted him to plant between a quarter and a half acre of land in corn, and then left him, Lindsay declaring he meant to live there. In September, 1775, Patrick Jordan went by and found Lindsay living there, in a camp he had built; besides the plow-irons, wedges, hoes, axes, etc, which he had gotten from Elkhorn, Lindsay had roasting ears of corn and snap beans, the first Jordan had seen in the country. In July, 1776, he called there again, and saw two acres of corn, and some fruit trees growing, and about a quarter of an acre of land inclosed with a fence. Lindsay was not there; 'it was growing troublesome times on account of the Indians, the people were scary, and had generally left their improvements and gone into the stations for security.' Lindsay had gone to Harrodsburg." (Collins.)

In his historical address, Governor Morehead states that "in the year 1775, intelli-

gence was received by a party of hunters, while accidentally encamped on one of the branches of the Elkhorn, that the first battle of the Revolution had been fought in the vicinity of Boston, between the British and provincial forces; and in commemoration of the event they called the spot of their encampment Lexington." There are some considerations which lead one to believe this suggestion as to the origin of the town's name a romance, but the evidences are strongly in favor of its probability; and it appears quite as evident that one of these parties—McConnell's or Lindsay's—was its author, though the town was not founded until four years later.

Such were the notable explorations made and settlements effected prior to 1776; others of a less important character, and many, of which there is no record, contributed to the pioneer activities of this period, but of all the eager throng that hastened to pre-empt the choicest glades and meadows in this fertile land, few cared to brave the dangers of the "dark and bloody ground" in their defense. On June 12, when, as his journal informs us, the supplies were nearly exhausted, Henderson writes from Boonesborough, as the settlement was called, to his colleagues:

\* \* \* No doubt but you have felt great anxiety since the receipt of my letter from Powell's Valley.\* At that time things wore a gloomy aspect; indeed it was a serious matter, and became a little more so, after the date of the letter than before. That afternoon I wrote the letter in Powell's Valley, in our march this way we met about forty people returning, and in about four days the number was little short of a hundred. Arguments and persuasions were needless; they seemed resolved on returning and traveled with a precipitation that truly bespoke their fears. Eight or ten were all that we could prevail on to proceed with us, or follow after; and thus, what we before had, counting every boy and lad, amounted to about forty, with which number we pursued our journey with the utmost diligence for my own part, never under more real anxiety \* \* \* Every group of travelers we saw, or strange bells which were heard in front, was a fresh alarm afraid to look or inquire, lest Capt. Boone or his companions were amongst them, or some disastrous account of their defeat. The slow progress we made with our packs, made it absolutely necessary for some person to go and give assurance of our coming, especially as they had no certainty of our

\* April 8. See Journal, ante.

being on the road at all ; or had even heard whether the Indians had sold to us or not. It was owing to Boone's confidence in us, and the people's in him, that a stand was ever attempted in order to wait for our coming. \* \* \* \* \*

The general panic that had siezed the men we were continually meeting, was contagious ; it ran like wild-fire ; and, notwithstanding every effort against its progress, it was presently discovered in our own camp ; some hesitated and stole back, privately ; others saw the necessity of returning to convince their friends that they were still alive, in too strong a light to be resisted ; whilst many, in truth, who have nothing to thank but the fear of shame, for the credit of intrepidity, came on, though their hearts for some hours made part of the deserting company. In this situation of affairs, some few, of genuine courage and undaunted resolution, served to inspire the rest ; by help of whose example, assisted by a little pride and some ostentation, we made a shift to march on with the appearance of gallantry, and, cavalier-like, treated every insinuation of danger with the utmost contempt. It soon became habitual ; and those who started in the morning with pale faces and apparent trepidation, could lie down and sleep at night in great quiet, not even possessed of fear enough to get the better of indolence. \* \* \* To give you a small specimen of the disposition of the people it may be sufficient to assure you that when we arrived at this place, we found Capt. Boone's men as inattentive on the score of fear (to all appearances), as if they had been in Hillsborough. A small fort, which only wanted two or three days' work to make it tolerably safe, was totally neglected on Mr. Cocke's arrival ;\* and unto this day remains unfinished, notwithstanding the repeated applications of Capt. Boone, and every representation of danger from ourselves.

\* \* \* Our plantations extend nearly two miles in length, on the river, and up the creek. Here people work in their different lots ; some without their guns, and others without care or caution. It is in vain for us to say anything more about the matter ; it cannot be done by words. \* \* \* Our company has dwindled from about eighty in number to about fifty odd, and I believe in a few days will be considerably less. Among these I have not heard one person dissatisfied with the country or terms ; but go, as they say, merely because their business will not admit of longer delay. The fact is that many of them are single, worthless fellows, and want to get on the other side of the mountains, for the sake of saying they have been out and returned safe, together with the probability of getting a mouthful of bread in exchange for their news. \* \* \* We are seated at the mouth of Otter Creek, on the Kentucky, about 150 miles from the Ohio. To the west, about fifty miles from us, are two settlements, within six or seven miles one of the other.

There were, some time ago, about 100 at the two places ; though now, perhaps not more than sixty or seventy, as many of them are gone up the Ohio for their families, and some returned, by the way we came, to Virginia and elsewhere. \* \* \* Col. Harrod, who governs the first two mentioned settlements (and is a very good man for our purpose), Col. Floyd (the surveyor) and myself, are under solemn engagements to communicate with the utmost dispatch every piece of intelligence respecting danger or sign of Indians, to each other. In case of invasion of Indians, both the other parties are instantly to march and relieve the distressed if possible. \* \* \* \* \*

The plea of going back to the older settlements for their families was in most cases without foundation in fact. None returned ; and prior to September there were no white women in Kentucky. Some time before this date, Boone had returned to the Holston River settlements to bring on his family ; he found the families which had made the unsuccessful attempt to reach this region, in 1773, ready to try again, and accordingly, having secured a number of recruits for the frontier post, he set out with them and his family in the latter part of the summer. On reaching Powell Valley, he was joined by Hugh McGary, Richard Hogan and Thomas Denton, with their families, who had been waiting three months for his return. United, the company mustered "twenty-seven guns," which, with their stock and luggage, made a somewhat imposing cavalcade. They reached the head of Dick's River without special incident, and here the other families, having some months before sent Jacob Harman forward to prepare for their coming, separated from Boone, and made their way, as best they could by Boone's directions, to Harrodsburg. Opposite Gilbert's Creek these families, becoming bewildered, left their stock with the young men of the party, James Ray, John Denton and John Hays, and went forward unencumbered to seek their destination. McGary succeeded in reaching the village by a happy accident, and sent back a guide to bring the rest of the company, where they arrived on September 8. The boys on being left behind were promised relief in three days, but these days were extended to weeks before they were found

\* See journal entry, Monday, April 10. The messenger dispatched.

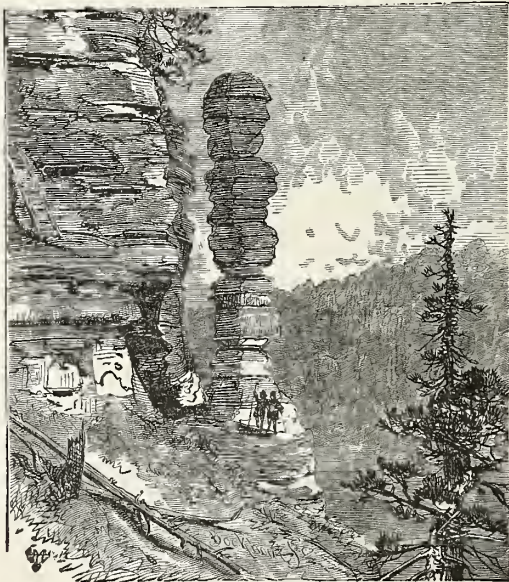


and conducted in. Boone, with his family and twenty-one men, proceeded to Boonesborough, where they arrived on September 8, also, Mrs. Boone and her daughter, being "the first white women who ever stood upon the banks of the Kentucky River." Thus in the latter part of the year 1775, the domestic circle was completed for the first time in the State, at Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, and on the site of Georgetown.\*

Another arrival, which proved of the first importance in the early history of Kentucky, was that of George Rogers Clark. The company formed in 1774, to plant a settlement in the new country, of which Clark was a member, seems to have been permanently diverted from its purpose by the events which culminated in the war against the

Ohio Indians, and Clark, not to be prevented from at least visiting this country, came alone in the spring of this year, finding his way to Harrodsburg. His presence became known throughout the frontier; he had served in the late war as captain, and in recognition of his military ability he was placed in command of the irregular forces of the settlements, though probably not commissioned. Fortunately circumstances gave him no opportunity to display the high qualities of military leadership which he possessed, and which the future was to amply develop. After the hostilities of the spring, the Indians seemed to have abandoned the field; and the settlements, after the early part of April, rested in a general feeling of security. This, however, was only the ominous lull before the tempest.

\*John McClellan and his family in November; *ante*.



CHIMNEY ROCK, ON KENTUCKY RIVER.

## CHAPTER VI.

## COLONIZATION OF KENTUCKY—THE BORDER STRUGGLE.

A MOST important feature of the settlement of Kentucky, in 1775, was the planting of the Transylvania colony, the initial steps of which have been noted in the preceding chapter. The project certainly was without precedent, and yet novel only in its order of procedure. Hitherto such enterprises had first sought the sanction of the king in a charter, but the innovation involved in the action of Henderson and his associates was such as would not probably have aroused serious opposition at any other juncture of affairs. But at this time, the disputes of the colonies with the crown had made the royal governors particularly suspicious and watchful, and this unusual course was construed as another evidence of the people's growing disloyalty to the king. Accordingly, the treaty with the Cherokees had scarcely been consummated before the governors of Virginia and North Carolina, incited by a jealous regard for the royal prerogative and the charter limits of their respective colonies, fulminated their proclamations against the new colony, characterizing it as a design to form "an asylum for debtors and other persons of desperate circumstances."

Such factious hostility gave this enterprise a wide-spread notoriety, and raised up for it an unexpected support. The subject of planting this colony incidentally came up in the Virginia revolutionary convention, where it was vigorously defended by the champions of the people, Henry and Jefferson. Learning of this, the proprietors united in a letter of thanks to these gentlemen, in which they took occasion to say:

\* \* \* The copartners in the purchase of lands, in Louisa, from the Indians, neither intending by their distant and hazardous enterprise to revolt from their allegiance to their sovereign nor yet to desert the

grand and common cause of their American brethren and fellow subjects in their manly and glorious struggle for the full enjoyment of the natural rights of mankind, and the inestimable liberties and privileges of our happy constitution, were anxious to know the result of the wise and mature deliberations of the convention, and particularly in the inquiries concerning the several matters which became the subject of consideration in that august assembly. It was not long before we learned the particulars from some of the members, and that the minute circumstances of our contract with the Cherokee Indians had occasionally been moved and debated. The true point of view in which you, with several other gentlemen, conceived the nature of our contract, and the eloquence and good sense with which you defended, and the liberal principles on which you supported our claims to the benefit of our engagement with the Indians, in addition to the universal applause of the whole continent for your noble and patriotick exertions, give you an especial claim to our particular acknowledgements, of which we take this earliest opportunity of begging your acceptance. \* \* \* \* \*

Convinced that our purchase is neither against the laws of our country, nor the principles of natural justice and equity, and conscious to ourselves of the uprightness of our intentions, we totally disregard the reproaches thrown out against us by ill-informed or envious and interested persons; and now, encouraged by the approbation of the respectable Provincial Congress of Virginia, we shall hereafter pursue with eagerness what we at first adopted with caution.\*

Such were the auspices under which the Transylvania colony began its career. It is not probable that the details of this colonial scheme were previously elaborated beyond such as were necessary for the purchase and occupation of the land, and Henderson's journal suggests (see entry May 8, *ante*) that the plan for a representative government originated in the unforeseen difficulties which arose after the planting of the settlement at Boonesborough. Harrodsburg, Boiling

\*The entire letter may be found in the "Romance of Western History," by James Hall; 1837.



Spring and St. Asaph's had been independently established, and involved interests which, while not entirely harmonious among themselves, the proprietors could not afford to antagonize. It would be unjust to the liberal and far-sighted policy entertained by Judge Henderson, however, to describe the form of government as extorted by inexorable circumstances. His whole career shows him to have been a man of great intelligence and advanced political principles, and while the situation undoubtedly suggested the easiest way to secure general harmony, representative government was thereby placed only a little earlier in the order of colonial development as forecasted in the mind of the leading proprietor. But whatever its origin, the suggestion met with the approval of the leading men then in Kentucky, and prompt steps were taken to realize upon it at as early a date as possible.

Accordingly, on May 23, 1775, the delegates apportioned to the various settlements met at Boonesborough. The brief journal of this first legislature in Kentucky, published in full by Mr. Collins, notes the presence of Squire Boone, Daniel Boone, Samuel Henderson, William Moore, Richard Callaway, Thomas Slaughter, John Lythe, Valentine Harmon, James Douglass, James Harrod, Nathan Hammond, Isaac Hite, Azariah Davis, John Todd, Alexander Spottswood Dandridge, John Floyd and Samuel Wood as members. The session was opened, on the part of the proprietors, by Judge Henderson, who, in a dignified address, emphasized the importance of the work to be done, and pointed out the legislation necessary to protect the reputation of the colony from reproach, and to secure the welfare of the colonists. He said, in part:

You are called and assembled at this time for a noble and honorable purpose—a purpose, however ridiculous or idle it may appear at first view to superficial minds, yet it is of the most solid consequence. \* \* \* \* \*

You are perhaps fixing the palladium, or placing the first corner-stone of an edifice, the height and magnificence of whose superstructure is now in the womb of futurity, and can only become great and glorious in proportion to the excellence of its foundation. These considerations, gentlemen, will no

doubt animate and inspire you with sentiments worthy of the grandeur of the subject.

Our peculiar circumstances in this remote country, surrounded on all sides with difficulties, and equally subject to one common danger, which threatens our common overthrow, must, I think, in their effect secure to us a union of interests, and consequently, that harmony in opinion so essential to the forming of good, wise and wholesome laws. If any doubt remain among you with respect to the force or efficacy of whatever laws you now, or hereafter make, be pleased to consider that all power is originally in the people; therefore, make it their interest by impartial and beneficial laws, and you may be sure of their inclination to see them enforced.

To this address, the spirit of which is fairly illustrated by the brief extracts quoted, the convention made a suitable reply in a single notable paragraph, of which they affirm "that we have an absolute right, as a political body, without giving umbrage to Great Britain, or any of the colonies, to frame rules for the government of our little society, cannot be doubted by any sensible, unbiased mind," etc. The first two days were occupied with the ordinary organization and the exchange of these official courtesies, but on the twenty-fifth the convention settled down to its appointed work, framed four ordinances, and on the twenty-seventh concluded its sitting. The closing entries in its journal summarizes the work of the session as follows:

The following bills passed and signed this day by the proprietors, on behalf of themselves and partners, and the chairman of the convention, on behalf of himself and the other delegates.

1st.—An act for establishing courts of judication, and regulating the practice therein.

2d.—An act for regulating a militia.

3d.—An act for the punishment of criminals.

4th.—An act to prevent profane swearing and Sabbath breaking.

5th.—An act for writs of attachment.

6th.—An act for ascertaining clerks' and sheriffs' fees.

7th.—An act to preserve the range.

8th.—An act for improving the breed of horses.

9th.—An act for preserving game.

All the above mentioned acts were signed by the chairman and proprietors, except the act of ascertaining the clerks' and sheriffs' fees, which was omitted by the clerk not giving it in with the rest. Ordered, that at the next meeting of delegates, if any member be absent, and doth not attend, the the people choose one to serve in room of such a

sent member. Ordered, that the convention be adjourned until the first Thursday in September next, then to meet at Boonesborough.

MATTHEW JOUETT, *Clerk.*

The result of the convention was generally acceptable to the settlers then on the frontier. In addition to the salutary laws ordained, a compact had been entered into by the delegates of the people and the proprietors, the provisions of which guarded every interest, and granted every privilege for which the older colonies were then contending. No sooner, therefore, was the colonial land office opened than purchasers hastened to avail themselves of the company's terms, and by the 1st of December, 1775, 560,000 acres were entered. Thus far the colonial venture seemed to be on the high road to success, but its political status was still unsettled, and to this feature of the problem the proprietors were giving earnest consideration. Silas Deane, of Connecticut, had been applied to for such suggestions in regard to internal affairs as the experience of that colony might afford, and accompanying a copy of its laws, Mr. Deane wrote to James Hogg, in November, commenting upon them and the general topic. In regard to the practice of Connecticut, he said: "They were never fond of making many laws; nor is it good policy in any State, but worst of all in a new one." In this the Transylvania convention had been singularly happy, and in most respects had anticipated the admirable suggestions of the writer.\*

In pursuance of a call for a general meeting of the company, the proprietors convened at Oxford, N. C., on September 25, 1775, Henderson, Luttrell and Thomas Hart returning from Kentucky for the purpose. Nathaniel and David Hart were not present; having become disaffected toward their colleagues, they chose to remain on the frontier. At this meeting the proprietors "took into their consideration the present state of said colony," and recorded their action in a series of resolutions, the more important of which are here given in full. The first six appoint Col. John Williams resident agent for the company "until the 12th of April next;" fix

his salary for this time at "£150 proclamation money of North Carolina;" provide for his successor "in case of death or removal of Mr. Williams;" for the reservation of lands known to a join salt springs or mineral deposits, and one-half of all mineral products in any other lands; and for the recording of deeds granted. Then follows:

*Resolved*, That all surveys shall be made by the four cardinal points, except where rivers or mountains so intervene as to render it too inconvenient; and that in all cases where one survey comes within the distance of eighty poles from another, their lines shall join without exception; and that every survey on navigable rivers shall extend two poles out for one pole along the river; and that each survey not on navigable rivers shall not be above one-third longer than its width.

*Resolved*, A present of 2,000 acres of land be made to Col. Daniel Boone, with the thanks of the proprietors for the signal service he has rendered to the company.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this company be presented to Col. Richard Callaway, for his spirited and manly behaviour in behalf of said colony; and that a present of 640 acres be made to his youngest son.

*Resolved*, That James Hogg, Esq., be appointed delegate to represent the said colony in the Continental Congress now sitting at Philadelphia; and that the following memorial be presented by him to that august body:

*To the Honorable the Continental Congress now sitting at Philadelphia*—The memorial of Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, John Williams, Nathaniel Hart, John Luttrell, William Johnston, James Hogg, David Hart and Leonard Henly Bullock, proprietors of Transylvania, Sheweth,

That on the seventh day of March last, for a large and valuable consideration, your memorialists obtained from the Cherokee Indians, assembled at Watauga, a grant of a considerable territory, now called Transylvania, lying on the south side of the river Ohio.

They will not trouble the honorable Congress with a detail of the risks and dangers to which they have been exposed, arising from the nature of the enterprise itself, as well as from the wicked attempts of certain governors and their emissaries; they beg leave only to acquaint them, that through difficulties and dangers, at a great expense, and with the blood of several of their followers, they have laid the foundation of a colony, which, however mean in its origin, will, if one may guess from the present appearances, be one day considerable in America.

The memorialists having made this purchase from the aborigines and immemorial possessors, the sole and uncontested owners of the country, in fair and open treaty, and without the violation of any

\*Hall quotes the letter in full; p. 373.



British or American law whatever, are determined to give it up only with their lives. And though their country be far removed from the reach of ministerial usurpation, yet they cannot look with indifference on the late arbitrary proceedings of the British Parliament. If the united colonies are reduced, or will tamely submit to be slaves, Transylvania will have reason to fear.

The memorialists by no means forget their allegiance to their sovereign, whose constitutional rights and pre-eminences they will support at the risk of their lives. They flatter themselves that the addition of a new colony, in so fair and equitable a way, and without any expense to the crown, will be acceptable to his most gracious majesty, and that Transylvania will soon be worthy of his royal regard and protection.

At the same time, having their hearts warmed with the same noble spirit that animates the united colonies, and moved with indignation at the late ministerial and parliamentary usurpations, it is the earnest wish of the proprietors of Transylvania to be considered by the colonies as brethren, engaged in the same great cause of liberty and of mankind. And as by reason of several circumstances, needless to be here mentioned, it was impossible for the proprietors to call a convention of the settlers in such time as to have their concurrence laid before this congress, they here pledge themselves for them, that they will concur in the measures now adopted by the proprietors.

From the generous plan of liberty adopted by the congress and that noble love of mankind which appears in all their proceedings, the memorialists please themselves that the united colonies will take the infant colony of Transylvania into their protection; and they, in return, will do everything in their power, and give such assistance in the general cause of America as the congress shall judge to be suitable to their abilities.

Therefore, the memorialists hope and earnestly request, that Transylvania may be added to the number of the united colonies, and that James Hogg, Esq., be received as their delegate, and admitted to a seat in the honorable the Continental Congress.

By order of the proprietors,  
[Signed]. RICHARD HENDERSON, *President*.

The remaining action of the proprietors was unimportant, save that in relation to the disposition of public lands, as follows:

*Resolved*, That from this time to the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, the lands in the said colony shall be sold on the following terms: No survey of land shall contain more than six hundred and forty acres (except in particular cases) and the purchaser shall pay for entry and warrant of survey two dollars; for surveying the same and a plot thereof, four dollars; and for the deed and plot annexed, two dollars.

And also shall pay to the said proprietors, their agent, or receiver for the time being, at the time of receiving a deed, two pounds, ten shillings sterling for each hundred acres contained in such deed; also, an annual quit-rent of two shillings, like money, for every hundred acres, commencing in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty. And that any person that settles on the said lands before the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, shall have the privileges, on the aforesaid conditions, of taking up for himself any quantity not above six hundred and forty acres; and for each taxable person he may take with him, and settle there, three hundred and twenty acres and no more.

*Resolved*, That Col. Richard Henderson survey and lay off within the said colony, in such places and in such quantities as he shall think proper, not less than two thousand acres, hereafter to be equally divided amongst the copartners, and that each copartner be permitted, by himself or his deputy, to make choice of, and survey in one or more places, any quantity of vacant land in the aforesaid colony, for his or their particular use; but not above two thousand acres, and that agreeable to the aforesaid rateable proportions, unless on the same terms, and under the same regulations and restrictions, as laid down for other purchasers.

*Resolved*, That not more than five thousand acres shall be sold to any one person who does not immediately settle on the said lands; and that at three pounds, ten shillings sterling per hundred, and not more than one hundred thousand acres in the whole on these terms.

The action of the proprietors thus recorded was fraught with the most serious consequences to the venture in which they were embarked; and while their decisions were in a large measure actuated by wisdom and worthy motives, the change in the terms of the sale of land proved the bar on which the commercial bark grounded and rendered its total wreck more easy. Col. Williams did not reach the frontier until the early part of December, but he at once set about carrying out the company's instructions, and on January 3, 1776, wrote his principals from Boonesborough, "some account of what I have been after since my arrival at this place." This letter is so much to the point, and presents the situation so much more clearly than any abstract could, that its essential features are here given in the language of the writer.

As the primitive intention of sending me to Transylvania was to establish a land office, appoint the necessary officers to the said office, surveyor, etc., upon the best footing in my power, and to

make sale of the lands within the said colony, upon such terms as might be most advantageous to the proprietors and satisfactory to the inhabitants thereof; my first step was to fall upon some method of appointing a person to the office of surveyor, who should give general satisfaction to the people. I thought none more likely to do so than calling a convention and taking their recommendation for the person whom I would appoint. From the dispersed situation of the people, and the extreme badness of the weather, we failed in convening a majority; however, I took the sense of those who appeared, and who unanimously recommended Col. John Floyd, a gentleman generally esteemed, and I am persuaded truly worthy, and him I have commissioned surveyor of the colony at present, though perhaps it may be advisable, at a future day, to divide the colony into two districts and to appoint another surveyor to one of the districts.

The entering office I have disposed to Mr. Nathaniel Henderson, and the secretary's to Mr. Richard Harrison; though, upon consideration, I have thought that the numerous incidental expenses were so great that some way ought to be fallen upon to defray them without breaking in upon the monies arising from the sale of the lands, and that the \$2 for entering, etc., and the other two for filling up the deeds, counterparts, annexing seals and plots, etc., was more money than the services of these officers absolutely required; I, therefore, have reserved out of each office, \$1, to answer the purpose of defraying those extraordinary expenses, and the office is left well worth the acceptance of persons capable of filling them with credit.

The number of entries on our book is now upward of 900, a great part of which was made before I came to this place, when people could make entries without money, and without price; the country abounded with landmongers; since there is \$2.00 exacted on the entry made, people are not so keen, though I make no doubt but all who can comply with the terms will endeavor to save their lands, and as many people who have got entry on the book are now out of the country, and cannot possibly pay up the entry money immediately, I have thought proper to advertise, that every person who had made entry on the book, and paid no money, that they come in and pay up the entrance money by the first of April, and take out their warrants of survey, or their several entries will, after that time, be considered as vacated, and liable to be entered by any person whatever.

The surveyors have now begun to survey, and some few people have been desirous of getting out their deeds immediately; but they generally complain of a great scarcity of money; and doubt their being able to take their deeds before next June, or even before next fall; though, in a general way, people seem to be well reconciled to the terms, and desirous to take upon them, except some few, whom I have been obliged to tamper with, and a small

party about Harrodsburg, who it seems have been entering into a confederacy not to hold lands on any other terms than those of the first year. As this party is composed of people in general of small consequence, and I have taken some steps to remove some of their principal objections, I make no doubt but to do all that way; and for that purpose have formed a design for removing myself, with the office, to Harrodsburg, some time in February next, unless I should find from a trip I propose immediately taking there, that I cannot do it with safety. The principal man, I am told, at the head of this confederacy is one Hite, and him I make no doubt but to convince he is in an error.

Among other things one of the great complaints was, that the proprietors and a few gentlemen had engrossed all the land at or near the Falls of the Ohio, which circumstance I found roused the attention of a number of people of note; I therefore found myself under the necessity of putting a stop to all clamors of that kind, by declaring that I would grant no large bodies of land to any person whatever, which lay contiguous to the Falls; which I have done in a solemn manner. This, I am far from thinking will be injurious to the proprietors, but quite the reverse; and circumstances which will render more general satisfaction, and be of as much utility to the Colony, as any step heretofore taken.

You will observe that I am going on to justify the measure, before I inform you what it is. But to be brief, it is this; the Falls, it is certain, is a place, which from its situation, must be the most considerable mart in this part of the world; the lands around are generally rich and fertile, and most agreeably situated; which had occasioned many people to fix their affections on that place. Many applications have been made for large grants, at and about that place, and refused. Since which 20,000 acres, and upwards, have been entered there for the company; 40,000 or 50,000 more in large tracts by a few other gentlemen; a partiality was complained of; a general murmuring ensued.

Upon considering the matter I thought it unjust; I thought it a disadvantage to the partners in general; and that some step ought to be taken to pacify the minds of the people. I therefore entered into a resolution that I would grant to no one man living, within a certain distance of the Falls, more than 1,000 acres of land, and that it be settled and improved in a certain space of time, under the penalty of forfeiture; that every person who had entered more than 1,000 acres might retain his 1,000 out of which spot he pleased; that the several officers, who have claims there may each, on application and complying with our terms, be entitled to 1,000 within his survey. That a town be immediately laid out and a lot reserved to each proprietor and then the first settlers to take the lots they may choose, enter and improve; which improvement must be done in a certain limited time, or the lot forfeited, and again to be sold, etc. These proposals



seem to have given general satisfaction, and every one who had entered large quantities, within these limits, gives it up with the greatest alacrity; and I am in hopes it will meet the general approbation of the company; if so, I shall be happy; if not, I shall be very sorry, though the necessity must justify the measure.

The Falls of the Ohio is a place of all others within the colony which will admit of a town, which, from its particular situation, will immediately become populous and flourishing; the land contiguous thereto rich and fertile, and where a great number of gentlemen will most certainly settle, and be the support and protection of a town at that place; a place which should meet with every encouragement, to settle and strengthen, inasmuch as it will most certainly be the terror of our savage enemies, the Kickepoos Indians, who border more nearly on that place than any other part of the colony; and as I think it absolutely necessary that the aforesaid proposed town, at the falls, to be laid off the ensuing spring, if I find it practicable to raise a party about the 1st of March and go down and lay out a town and stake it off; though this will, in a great measure, depend upon the future tranquillity of our situation, between this and then, for I assure you the little attack made upon us by the Indians the 23d of last month, has made many people who are ashamed to confess themselves afraid, find out that their affairs on your side of the mountains will not dispense with their staying here any longer at present; and I am well convinced once they get there, that every alarm, instead of precipitating, will procrastinate their return.

The sanguine expectations of Col. Williams in regard to the dissatisfaction of the settlers were not entirely realized. The "small party at Harrodsburg" was not to be so easily placated; the "Confederacy" seems to have been based upon something more than a determination "not to hold lands on any other than those of the first year," though this was the burden of the complaint. There was evidently an element of envy in the movement which manifested itself in an ill-tempered insinuation in regard not only to the character of the proprietors, but also to the character of the eminent men who composed the Boonesborough convention. A petition to the Virginia convention originated among these malcontents, though inasmuch as the date is not found in the document, the period\* of its origin can only be determined by internal and collateral evidence.

In this paper the petitioners represent that

\*Butler and Hall state that it originated in the Harrodsburg convention, June 6, 1776.

they were attracted to Kentucky "by the advantageous reports of their friends who first explored it;" that they have been greatly alarmed by the conduct of the proprietors, "in advancing the price of the purchase money from 20s. to 50s. sterling, per 100 acres, and at the same time have increased the fees of entry and surveying to a most exorbitant rate, and, by the short period prefixed for taking up the lands even on those extravagant terms, they plainly evince their intention of rising in their demands as the settlers increase, or their insatiable avarice shall dictate;" that they "have been more justly alarmed at such unaccountable and arbitrary proceedings, as they have lately learned" of the general purchase at Fort Stanwix, and have "the greatest reason to presume that his majesty \* \* \* will vindicate his title;" that they would have cheerfully paid the consideration at first stipulated by the company, whenever this grant had been properly authenticated; and therefore "humbly expect and implore to be taken under the protection of the honorable convention of the colony of Virginia, of which we cannot help thinking ourselves still a part, and request your kind interposition in our behalf, that we may not suffer under the rigorous demands and impositions of the gentlemen stiling themselves proprietors, who, the better to effect their oppressive designs, have given them the color of a law, enacted by a score of men, artfully picked from the few adventurers who went to see the country last summer, overawed by the presence of Mr. Henderson."

It may seriously be doubted whether this petition originated in Kentucky, but be that as it may, it is certain that of the eighty-four names appended as signers, but one representative name—that of James Harrod, a member of the Boonesborough convention—appears, and that is greatly invalidated by the self-stultification involved in the last sentence quoted. Not one of the signers, with the exception noted, ever became otherwise conspicuous in Virginia or Kentucky, while of those against whom the envious shaft was aimed, scarcely one has failed to

secure an honored place on some of the brightest pages of the history of that time.

The attempt to found the colony of Transylvania gave rise to a sharp conflict of interests; the increased cost of land, which, though it only raised the price to about 14 cents per acre, including all charges, was, in the scale of values at that time, an oppressive price, and the change was without doubt unwisely made, but the history of the whole enterprise reveals no avaricious tendency on the part of the company. The proprietors had made a large outlay in the original purchase; the expense of locating and maintaining the first settlement was considerable, and the first sales of lands did little more than cover the expense of doing the business. And yet, the company exhibited no parsimony in dealing with settlers. They hired between 200 and 300 men in founding the settlement, and it is said, upon the authority of the deposition of Benjamin Logan, that Henderson offered a gratuity of 640 acres to such as would raise a crop of corn the first year.

"In justice to this great company," says Butler, "it must be observed that it furnished, although for sale, all the supplies of gunpowder and lead with which the inhabitants defended themselves and their families. Indeed the books of Henderson & Company exhibit accounts for these articles with all the inhabitants of the country, in the years 1775-76; while they are credited with various items, as cutting the road to Cantuckey, hunting and ranging. \* \* \* These accounts remained unclosed upon the books in every instance, shewing a condition of no little indebtedness for the colonists of Transylvania to the great proprietors." Yet when the ruling wage per day was about 33 cents, Col. Williams states in a letter to the company that materials for the manufacture of powder stored in Powell Valley could not be brought forward, because colonists demanded \$1 a day for their services. Had the colony received the political recognition the proprietors sought, the mutual interests of proprietors and colonists would have led to an equitable arrangement of land

difficulties, as the influences for a liberal government were numerous and influential; but this was not to be. The projected colony had fallen upon Revolutionary times; old things were passing away and newer modes were being ushered in.

The mission of James Hogg was productive of no positive results. Soon after the meeting at Oxford, he set out for Philadelphia and reached his destination on the 22d of October. On the 2d of December he returned, and some time in January, 1776, wrote a letter, probably to Henderson,\* giving "an account of my embassy, which you will please to communicate to the other gentlemen, our copartners, when you have opportunity." This account is so attractive in its original form that it is here given entire—with the exception of certain non-essential paragraphs—as the fullest and most accurate information to be secured upon the subject. The journey was partly made in company with "Messrs. Hooper and Hewes," who were valued and influential friends of the Transylvania Colony, and who rendered important services in aid of its representative as indicated in the letter.

It was October 22 when we arrived at Philadelphia. In a few days they introduced me to several of the congress gentlemen, among the first of whom were, accidentally, the famous Samuel and John Adams; and as I found their opinion friendly to our new colony, I shewed them our map, explained to them the advantage of our situation, etc. They entered seriously into the matter, and seemed to think favorably of the whole, but the difficulty that occurred to us soon appeared to them. "We have petitioned and addressed the king," said they, "and have entreated him to point out some mode of accommodation. There seems to be an impropriety in embarrassing our reconciliation with anything new, and the taking under our protection a body of people who have acted in defiance of the king's proclamation will be looked on as a confirmation of that independent spirit with which we are daily reproached." I then showed them our memorial, to convince them that we did not intend to throw off our allegiance to the king, but intended to acknowledge his sovereignty whenever he should think us worthy of his regard. They were pleased with our memorial, and thought it very proper, but another

\*The address of this letter, its exact date, and the name of the place where it was written are not recorded, and are probably lost. The body of the communication is preserved entire, which, with the other papers quoted in this review of the Transylvania Colony, are to be found complete in the appendix to Mr. Hall's work, edition of 1857.



difficulty occurred; by looking on the map they observed that we were within the Virginia charter. I then told them of the fixing their boundaries, what had passed at Richmond in March last, and that I had reason to believe the Virginians would not oppose us; however, they advised me to sound the Virginians, as they would not choose to do anything in it without their consent.

All the delegates were, at that time, so much engaged in the congress, from morning to night, that it was some days before I got introduced to the Virginians, and before then I was informed that some of them had said, whatever was their own opinion of the matter, they would not consent that Transylvania should be admitted as a colony, and represented in congress, until it originated in their conventions, and should be approved by their constituents. Some days after this I was told that Messrs. Jefferson, Wythe and Richard Henry Lee were desirous of meeting with me, which was accordingly brought about, but unfortunately Mr. Lee was, by some business, prevented from being with us, though I had some conversation with him afterward. I told them that the Transylvania Company, suspecting that they might be misrepresented, had sent me to make known to the gentlemen of the congress our friendly intentions toward the cause of liberty, etc., but said nothing of our memorial, or of my pretensions to a seat in congress. They said nothing in return to me, but seriously examined our map, and asked many questions. They observed that our purchase was within their charter, and gently hinted that, by virtue of it, they might claim the whole. This led me to take notice that a few years ago,\* as I had been informed, their assembly had petitioned the crown for leave to purchase from the Cherokees, and to fix their boundaries with them, which was accordingly done by a line running from six miles east of the long island in Holston to the mouth of the Great Khanaway, for which they had actually paid £2,500 to the Cherokees, by which purchase both the crown and the assembly had acknowledged the property of those lands to be in the Cherokees. Besides, said I, our settlement of Transylvania will be a great service to the Virginians.

They seemed to waive the argument concerning the right of property; but Mr. Jefferson acknowledged that, in his opinion, our colony could be no loss to the Virginians, if properly united to them, and said, that if his advice was followed, all the use they should make of their charter would be to prevent any arbitrary or oppressive government to be established within the boundaries of it, and that it was his wish to see a free government established at the back of theirs, properly united with them, and that it should extend westward to the Mississippi, and on each side of the Ohio to their charter line. But he would not consent that we should be acknowledged by the congress until it had the appro-

bation of their constituents in convention, which he thought might be obtained, and that for that purpose we should send one of our company to the next convention. Against this proposal several objections occurred to me, but I made none.

This was the substance of our conference, with which I acquainted our good friends, Messrs. Hooper & Hewes, who joined me in the opinion that I should not push the matter further. \* \* \* I was frequently with parties of the delegates, who in general think favorably of our enterprise. All the wise ones of them, with whom I conversed on the subject, are clear in opinion that the property of the lands are vested in us by the Indian grant; but some of them think that by the common law of England and by common usage in America, the sovereignty is in the king, agreeably to a famous law opinion, of which I was so fortunate as to procure a copy. The suffering traders and others, at the end of last year, obtained a large tract of land from the Six Nations and other Indians.\* They formed themselves into a company and petitioned the king for a patent, and deserved to be erected into a government. His majesty laid their petition before Lord Chancellor Camden, and Mr. Charles York, then attorney-general, and afterward chancellor. Their opinion follows: "In respect to such places as have been or shall be required by treaty or grant from any of the Indian princes or governments, your majesty's letters-patent are not necessary. The property of the soil resting in the grantee by the Indian grants, subject only to your majesty's right of sovereignty over the settlements, as English settlements, and over the inhabitants as English subjects, who carry with them your majesty's laws wherever they form colonies, and receive your majesty's protection by virtue of your royal charters." After an opinion so favorable for them it is amazing that this company never attempted to form a settlement, unless they could have procured a charter, with the hopes of which, it seems, they were flattered, from time to time. However, our example has aroused them, I am told, and they are now setting up for our rivals. \* \* \* \* \*

I was several times with Mr. Deane, of Connecticut, the gentleman of whom Mr. Hooper told you when here. He says he will send some people to see our country; and if their report be favorable, he thinks many Connecticut people will join us. This gentleman is a scholar, and a man of sense and enterprise, and rich; and I am apt to believe has some thoughts of leading a party of Connecticut adventurers, providing things can be made agreeable to him. He is reckoned a good man and much esteemed in congress; but he is an enthusiast in liberty, and will have nothing to do with us unless he is pleased with our form of government. \* \* \* You would be amazed to see how much in earnest these speculative gentlemen are about the plan to be adopted by the Transylvanians. They

\*1770; treaty at Lochaber, S. C.

\**Anle*, page 79, and Appendix A, Note 8.

treast, they pray that we make it a free government, and beg that no mercenary or ambitious views of the proprietors may prevent it. Quit-rents, they say, are a mark of vassalage, and hope they shall not be established in Transylvania. They even threaten us with their opposition if we do not act on liberal principles, when we have it so much in our power to render ourselves immortal. Many of them advise a law against negroes. Inclosed, I send you a copy of a sketch by J. Adams, which I had from Richard Henry Lee.

The situation was undoubtedly promising for the final political and material success of the colony, but public affairs were so complicated by the disturbed relations of the older colonies with the mother country, that it was manifestly impolitic, if not impossible, to urge matters further, and recognition was therefore necessarily held in abeyance. Such a necessity, however, proved fatal to the ambitions of the proprietors; the frontier settlements could not suspend existence until the political heavens cleared; the uncertainties and ravages of a desperate war were not calculated to encourage the enterprise of "speculative gentlemen;" and the "small party about Harrodsburg" were not slow to perceive the advantage which these circumstances placed in their lands.

The return of George Rogers Clark to Kentucky in 1776, after a short visit to Virginia, has been noted;\* he had no special interest to serve, save to "lend a helping hand," and was not long in discovering the necessities of the situation. The disaffection at Harrodsburg had increased the meanwhile; the Virginia convention in the early part of 1776, while not prejudicing the question of recognizing the new colony, had encouraged the settlement

of Kentucky; and the portentous shadows of the coming tempest of war were already darkening the frontier. The measures to be adopted in such a case were apparent to him; and it was largely due to his influence and direction that a convention was held at Harrodsburg June 6, to seek the protection and aid of Virginia. Though not present at its deliberations, he and Gabriel John Jones were chosen members of the Virginia assembly, and forthwith proceeded on their mission. The energetic action of Clark resulted in the recognition of the settlers as citizens of Virginia, and in the fall the county of Kentucky was erected.

This action on the part of Virginia, while not conclusive, was an important indication of the growing opinion which prevailed in that colony. Whatever the rights of the proprietors of Transylvania were under the royal *regime*, they underwent a serious change when Virginia set up her pretensions to independence. The erection of Kentucky County was opposed by Henderson and his friends with every available argument, but when effected the proprietors gave up the unequal contest. They still urged their claim to the property purchased, but this also was denied, and final action was taken by the house of delegates on November 4, 1778, as follows:

*Resolved*, That all purchases of land, made or to be made, of the Indians within the chartered bounds of this commonwealth as described by the constitution or form of government, by any private persons not authorized by public authority, are void.

*Resolved*, That the purchase heretofore made by Richard Henderson & Co., of the tract of land called Transylvania, within this commonwealth, of the Cherokee Indians, is void. But as the said Richard Henderson & Co. have been at very great expense in making the said purchase, and in settling the said lands, by which this commonwealth is likely to receive great advantage, by increasing its inhabitants and establishing a barrier against the Indians, it is just and reasonable to allow said Richard Henderson & Co. a compensation for their trouble and expense.

In this action the senate concurred on the 17th. Some fruitless effort was expended by the proprietors to secure a reversal of this act so far as it declared their purchase void, but reluctantly becoming con-

\**Ante*, page 83. In reference to Clark's second visit to Kentucky, Butler notes the following incident, narrated by Gen. Ray: "I had come down," said the General, "to where I now live" (about four miles north of Harrodsburg), "to turn some horses out to range; I had killed a small blue-wing duck, that was feeding in my spring, and had roasted it nicely, on the brow of the hill, about twenty steps east of my house. After taking it off to cool, I was much surprised on being suddenly accosted by a fine, soldierly looking man, who exclaimed, 'How do you do, my little fellow? What is your name? A'n't you afraid of being in the woods by yourself?' On satisfying his inquiries, I invited the traveler to partake of my duck, which he did without leaving me a bone to pick. His appetite was so keen; though he should have been welcome to all the game I could have killed when I afterwards became acquainted with his noble and gallant soul." In return Ray inquired of the stranger his name and business in that remote region; to which he replied, "My name is Clark, and I have come out to see what you brave fellows are doing in Kentucky, and to lend a helping hand if necessary." Ray, then a boy of sixteen, conducted Clark to Harrodsburg, where he soon identified himself with the interests of the frontier settlements.



vinced of the futility of their efforts, they acquiesced in the decision of the assembly, and applied for the compensation to which the act adjudged them reasonably entitled. The assembly accordingly granted some 200,000 acres, lying on the Ohio, and extending twelve miles and a half up both sides of the Green River, "in full compensation to the said Richard Henderson & Co. and their heirs," etc. Thus ended the Transylvania colony.

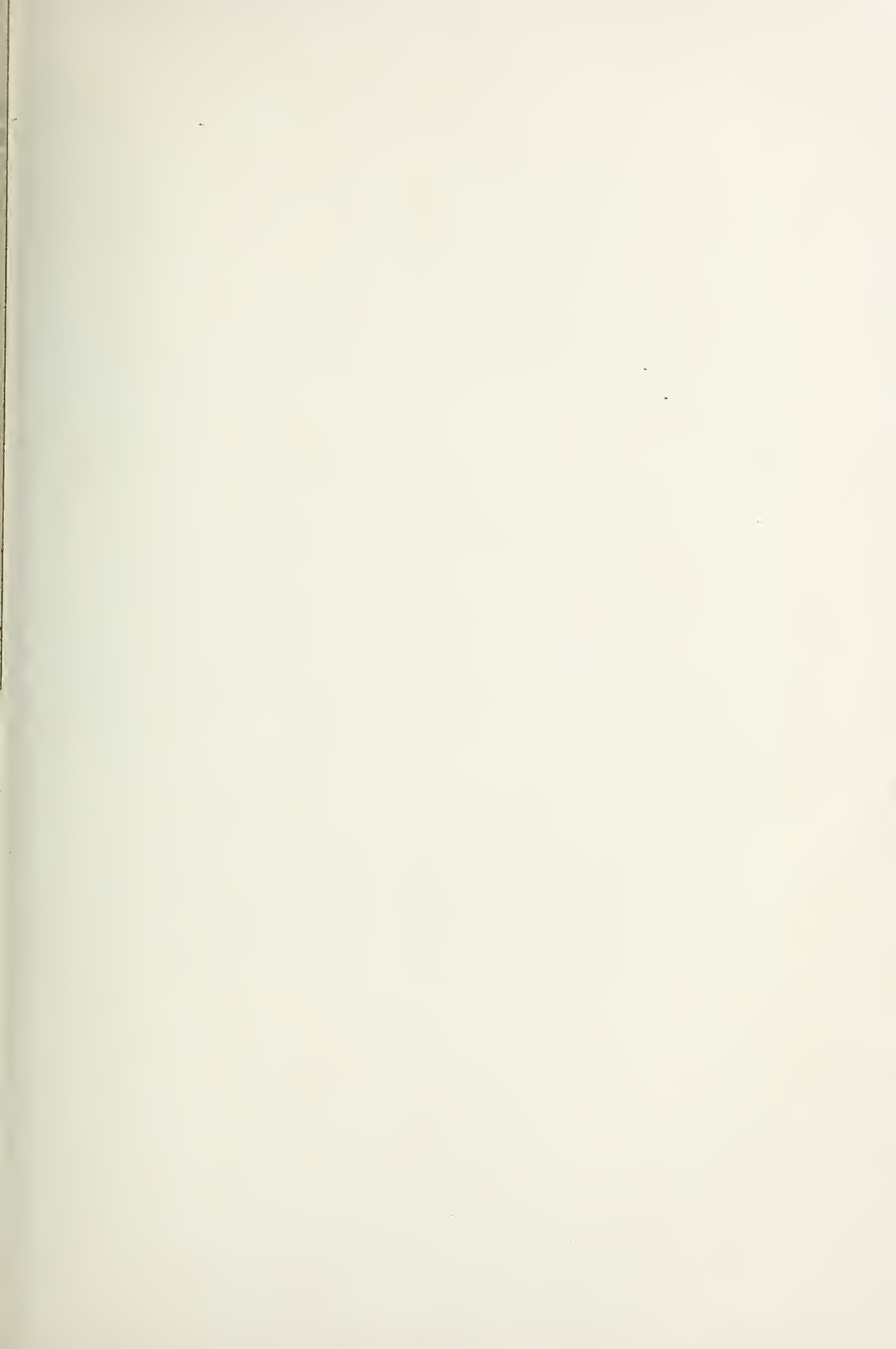
But this contest, which decided the fate of a State, scarcely made a ripple on the surface of frontier life, and save the dissatisfaction which culminated in the convention at Harrodsburg, no note of it is found in the annals of the border. Its result, however, may be traced in the history of the Kentucky settlements. An unrecognized rivalry existed between the two leading towns from the first, and probably had much to do with the antagonism to the proprietors' project developed at Harrodsburg. It was evident that if the Transylvania colony was recognized, Boonesborough would become the chief place on the frontier; immigration would naturally be directed to it, and the value of the property in its vicinity be enhanced. Such, for a time, was the result. But the success of the Harrodsburg petitioners wrought a marked change; the latter town became the center of frontier influence, and some of the families earliest to settle in Boonesborough removed, in the fall of 1776, to Harrodsburg, which became the seat of justice for the county of Kentucky. Yet, notwithstanding this loss of prestige and numbers, Boonesborough continued, throughout the unsettled period of Indian hostilities, of the first importance in the history of the border.

The opening days of 1776 found the advance line of civilization in the Ohio Valley, held by the settlements of Hinkston, near Lars Station in Harrison County, of McClellan at Georgetown, of Logan in Lincoln, at Boiling Springs and Harrodsburg in Mercer, and Boonesborough in Madison County. During the preceding summer and fall the settlements had not been seriously disturbed by Indian depredations. Indeed, such was the

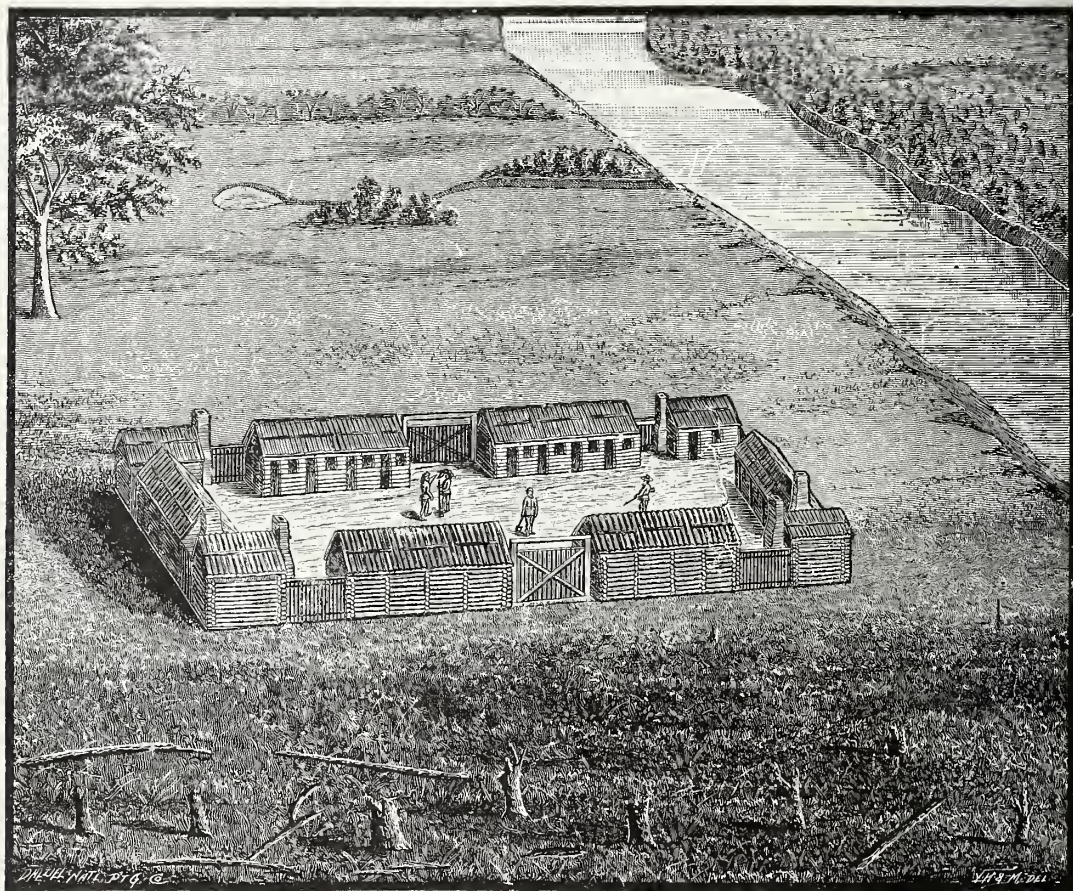
security felt by the people, that Henderson wrote to the company under the date of June 12th, 1775: "It will no doubt be a surprise to you, but it is nevertheless true, that we are in no posture of defense or security at this time; and for my own part, do not much expect it will ever be effected, unless the Indians should do us the favor of annoying us, and regularly scalping a man every week until it is performed." It does not appear that the Indians were so accommodating as to make any attack at all until the 23d of December, when, it would seem by the following letter of Col. Williams, its salutary influence was entirely explained away. "The blockhouse"—"Fort Boone"—was destined to remain, for some months longer, their only dependence.

On Saturday, about noon, being the 23d, Col. Campbell, with a couple of lads (Sanders and M'Quinney) went across the river. On the opposite bank they parted. Campbell went up the river about 200 yards, and took up a bottom. The two lads, without a gun, went straightway up the hill. About ten minutes after they parted, a gun and cry of distress was heard, and the alarm given that the Indians had shot Col. Campbell. We made to his assistance. He came running to the landing with one shoe off, and said he was fired on by a couple of Indians. A party of men was immediately dispatched, under the command of Col. Boone, who went out, but could make no other discovery than two moose tracks, whether Indians or not could not be determined. We had at that time, over the river hunting, etc., ten or a dozen men, in different parties, part or all of whom we expected to be killed, if what Col. Campbell said was true, but that by many was doubted. Night came on, several of the hunters had returned, but had neither seen nor heard of Indians, nor yet of the two lads. We continued in this state of suspense till Wednesday, when a party of men sent out to search for them found M'Quinney, killed and scalped, in a cornfield, at about three miles distant from the town, on the north side of the river. Sanders could not be found, nor has he yet been heard of. On Thursday a ranging party of fifteen men, under the command of Jesse Benton, was dispatched to scour the woods twenty or thirty miles round, and see if any further discovery could be made. To these men we gave 2 shillings per day, and £5 for every scalp they should produce. After they went out our hunters returned, one at a time, till they all came in safe, Sanders excepted, who no doubt has shared M'Quinney's fate.

On Sunday, the 31st day of the month, our rangers returned, without doing any more than con-







BOONESBOROUGH FORT.



vineing themselves that the Indians had immediately, on doing the murder, ran off northward, as they discovered their tracks thirty or forty miles toward the Ohio, making that way.

On the above massacre being committed we began to doubt that there was a body of Indians about, who intended committing outrage on our inhabitants. However, we are perfectly satisfied since that their number was only six or seven men, who set off from the Shawnee town before the treaty at Fort Pitt,\* with an intent, as they termed it, to take a look at the white people on Kentucky, and King Cornstalk, at the treaty, informed the commissioners of this, and said, for the conduct of these men, before they returned, he could not be responsible, for that he did not know but that they might do some mischief, and that if any of them should get killed by the whites he should take no notice at all of it. For this we have undoubted authority, and don't at present think ourselves in any greater danger here than if the above massacre had not been committed.

Another circumstance is that our ammunition grows scant. I don't think there is enough to supply this place till the last of March, supposing we should have no occasion of any to repulse an enemy; if we should, God only knows how long it will last. If any powder can possibly be procured, it would certainly be advisable to do it, if not, some person who can manufacture the materials we have on the way for the purpose of making powder. Most part of those are at the block-house, or at least within two or three miles of that, the rest in Powell's Valley.

One would reasonably suppose that the pioneers would find in the occurrence above related, a sufficient incentive to begin this work, but it was not until the latter part of July, 1776, that a commodious inclosure for defense was built on the plan drawn by Mr. Henderson in the preceding April.† Harrodsburg was similarly provided about the same time, but Logan's, McClellan's, and Hinkston's settlements were not so defended; the first two were subsequently fortified, and the other for a time was abandoned to be repossessed later, and fortified as Ruddles Station.

The continued quiet which prevailed on the frontier reassured those who had fled from Kentucky on account of the Indian depredations committed in the spring of 1775, and early in the next spring these timid adventurers returned, bringing with them large numbers of others, who were eager to share in the bounty offered by the Virginia assembly. They naturally sought the scenes of their former explorations, and the valley of the Kentucky was once more alive with the busy activity of improvers. Many did not go further than the region first entered, and the territory now within the limits of Mason County was fairly thronged with these adventurers, the names of some sixty different persons being preserved. In the country now comprised in the counties of Scott, Harrison, Bourbon, Mercer, Madison and about Logan's fort in Lincoln. the number was scarcely less in proportion. In all, the number of new arrivals reached upward of 200, but the permanent increase of the settlements was very small. About April, Capt. John Haggin brought his family—the first to find a home north of Georgetown—and settled on Paddy's Run in Harrison County. In this season, also, Logan moved the members of his family to St. Asaph's, but realizing the insecurity of his station, he subsequently placed them in Harrodsburg. A few families settled at the mouth of the Kentucky, and others on Drennon's Creek, and these, with possible additions at Boonesborough and Harrodsburg, were the chief part of the permanent accessions to society on the frontier.

With the exception of the murder near Boonesborough in December, the Indians committed no depredations upon the Kentucky settlements from April 4, 1775, until April of the succeeding year. The savages had not abandoned their favorite hunting-grounds, however; their attention had only been temporarily diverted. At the close of the abortive congress with the commissioners at Pittsburgh, the warlike party of the Shawanese had withdrawn from the peaceably disposed portion of the tribe, and retiring toward what is now the northwestern part of the State of Ohio, sent their chief men

\*October, 1775; with congressional commissioners.

†See diary; entry of April 21. The larger fort at Boonesborough was a typical frontier defense; and as the plan of it has been preserved with a very good description of its surroundings, the engraving in the text may be considered fairly accurate. The plan, found in Henderson's writing, is copied from the engraving in Hall's work (p. 164) and may be seen in Appendix; note 9. The date commonly assigned for the completion of this fort, June 14, 1775, is erroneous. This date, derived from Filson's History, refers to the completion of the "small fort," mentioned by Henderson as "only wanting two or three days' work to make it tolerable safe," but which, on June 12, "remains unfinished." In his letter of July 21, 1776, Col. Floyd writes: "We are about finishing a large fort, and intend to keep possession of this place as long as possible."



to concert measures with the British agents at Oswego. The war for independence had not yet begun, but it was felt in the older portions of the country to be inevitable, though such apprehensions had not yet become generally accepted in Kentucky, a delusion that was strengthened by the peace which ruled on the border. The English agents were not so short-sighted; they expected war to ensue, and while no campaign was decided upon with the Indians, they were instructed to hold themselves in readiness to join the British in their contemplated attacks upon the American settlements in the spring of 1776, and in April, the long truce was broken by the murder of Willis Lee at his station, called Lee's Town, the name of which has been perpetuated. From that period to the end of the year the settlements were kept in a constant state of alarm by the numerous bands of Indians, who "came to take a look at the people on the Kentucky." A letter of Colonel Floyd, which is elsewhere\* quoted in full, gives a graphic picture of the experiences in Kentucky at that time: "The Indians seem determined to break up our settlement. \* \* \* They have, I am satisfied, killed several whom, at this time, I know not how to mention. Many are missing, who some time ago went out about their business, of whom we hear nothing. Fresh sign of Indians is seen every day. \* \* \* On the seventh of this month (July) they killed one Cooper on Licking Creek, and on the fourteenth, a man whose name I know not, at your salt spring on the same creek. \* \* \* We are about finishing a large fort, and intend to keep possession of this place as long as possible. They are, I understand, doing the same thing at Harrodsburg, and also on Elkhorn, at the Royal Spring."

This renewal of savage hostilities had the usual effect of clearing the country of the timid, and most of those who had no permanent interest planted here. The bolder people at once busied themselves in building defenses. Hinkston's settlement, exposed by its location so far northward and its want

of a stockade, was abandoned in July, and its leader, with eighteen followers, retired to Boonesborough, where, deaf to all persuasion, they excited a number of others with their fears, and the whole company departed for the older settlements, leaving less than thirty persons to defend the "large fort" just completed. A few less timid members of the Hinkston settlement, with several families from the mouth of the Kentucky and Drennon's Creek, united with the settlers at the Royal Spring (site of Georgetown) in building a stout stockade, which became known as McClellan's Fort—the first\* of its kind north of the Kentucky River.

The general state of insecurity was further emphasized on July 14 by an act which showed the ubiquity and cruel adroitness of the savage foe. This was the capture of Elizabeth and Fanny Callaway and Jemima Boone from a canoe in sight of the fort at Boonesborough. The girls, the first aged sixteen years and the others fourteen, made such defense as they could, screamed and struggled, the eldest striking one of the assailants upon the head, gashing it to the bone, with a paddle—but in vain. They were carried off, but not without giving the alarm. Cols. Boone and Callaway were absent at the time, but soon returned and organized a rescuing party, which forthwith set out. Callaway, at the head of several on horseback, proceeded rapidly forward to cut off the retreat of the savages across the Ohio, whilst Boone, accompanied by Samuel Henderson, Capt. John Holder, Flanders Callaway and four others, followed the trail on foot. The girls took every possible precaution to leave evidences of their course for the guidance of the party which they were assured would follow for their rescue. The girls were captured late on Sunday afternoon, and early on Tuesday morning they were rescued, the pursuers making a sudden attack upon the Indian camp while the savages were preparing their breakfast. There were five of the savages, only one of whom got

\*This pre-eminence may be disputed in favor of McGee's Station, built three miles north of Boonesboro, about the same time. It is not possible to determine between these rival claims; there is less than a month's interval between the dates of their construction.

\*Ante, p. 82.

back to tell the story, the others dying from wounds or famine.\*

Other depredations followed to keep alive the general alarm, and in all this danger the settlers found themselves principally dependent, for ammunition and many other things, upon the older settlements, from which they were separated by hundreds of miles of almost impassable forests, in the shadows of which lurked a numerous and desperate foe. In June, Clark and Jones had gone to Virginia on the double mission of procuring powder and securing recognition of the settlements as part of that colony; but early in October, before Clark's supply came to hand, the ammunition getting low at McClellan's Fort, Robert Patterson—subsequently one of the founders of Lexington, Ky., and Cincinnati and Dayton, Ohio—with six other men from the fort, started to Pittsburgh to procure the required powder and other necessities. On their way the party spent several days at the Blue Lick, curing buffalo meat and making other preparations for their journey. Proceeding thence to the present vicinity of Maysville, they secured a canoe and went up the Ohio River. Until they reached the mouth of the Kanawha, they observed no particular caution in their movements, but from this point forward, realizing they were in a dangerous region, they traveled from day-break till dark, and at night, cautiously landing, slept without a fire.

Late in the evening of the 12th of October they landed a few miles below the mouth of Hockhocking, in the present State of Ohio, and contrary to their usual practice made a fire, having become less cautious in consequence of their near approach to the settlements. They laid upon their arms around the fire, and in the night were attacked by a party of eleven Indians, who gave them a

volley, and then fell upon them with their tomahawks. Col. Patterson received two balls in his right arm, by which it was broken, and a tomahawk was struck into his side, between two of his ribs, penetrating into the cavity of the body. He sprang out into the darkness, and got clear, supposing all of his companions were killed. He made for the river in hopes of getting into the canoe and floating down to Point Pleasant, but as he approached it he discovered that there was an Indian in it. In a short time the whole party of Indians went on board, and floated down the river. Col. Patterson then made an attempt to get to the fire, in which he succeeded. He found a companion, named Templeton, wounded in a manner very similar to his own case; another, named Wernock, wounded dangerously, and another, named Perry, slightly. Of the other three one was killed, one was missing, and the other, named Mitchell, was unhurt. They had saved one gun and some ammunition. They remained on the ground until morning, when they attempted to proceed up the river on foot, but Wernock was unable to move, and they were forced to leave him. They found themselves unable to proceed farther than a quarter of a mile from the camp, and it was then agreed that Perry should endeavor to reach Grave Creek, and bring them aid, while Mitchell was to remain and take care of the others. Wernock, who was left behind, died in the evening, and Mitchell, who had gone back to assist him, lost his way in returning to Patterson and Templeton, and did not find them until the next morning. They then moved a couple of hundred yards from the river, and the next day got under a cliff, which sheltered them from the rain, where they remained until Perry returned from Grave Creek with assistance. They were removed to that place after lying eight days in their suffering condition. Patterson laid twelve months under the surgeon's care.\*

This incident is but one of the many that serve to illustrate the watchful scrutiny of the savages, and the terrible exactions which the settlement of Kentucky made upon the

\*This account is supplementary to that given in Floyd's letter referred to above. A touch of romance is given to the painful affair by the fact that those named of Boone's party were the recognized lovers of the girls, in the order named. Two of the number—Samuel Henderson, youngest brother of Col. Henderson, and Elizabeth Callaway—were the principals in the first marriage celebrated in Kentucky. The ceremony was performed by Squire Boone, at Boonesboro, August 7, 1776. Their first child, Fanny, born May 29, 1777, was the first white child of parents married in Kentucky, and the fifth white child born in the State. The others were subsequently married. See *Comes*, Vol. II, p. 521.

\**American Pioneer*, Vol. II, pp. 344-5.



hardy pioneers who braved the dangers of the border in this heroic period. The character of Indian operations was well calculated to inflict the greatest distress upon the scattered stations. These forest fortresses were cut off from the support of the older communities by long and greatly exposed routes of travel; their defenders were harassed in their attempts to raise the crops necessary for their existence, and all attempts to secure powder, or other supplies, were closely watched, and, so far as possible, cruelly defeated. Such a plan, if successfully carried out, must have inevitably forced the little garrisons to retreat from their bold positions, or fall an easy prey to the overwhelming force which might be brought against them when thus brought to the last extremity. Kentucky was thus practically in a state of siege, though at long range, and without the regularity of details which a well-conducted investment would have afforded.

It was under such circumstances that Clark and Jones reached Pittsburgh in December, 1776, to secure the transportation of the 500 pounds of powder, granted by Virginia, "for the use of the inhabitants of Kentucke," to its destination. The watchfulness of the Indians, and their hostile intentions were well known, and their spies were to be seen lurking about the very settlement. But the case was urgent, and Clark was not one to calculate dangers if success seemed possible. Accordingly the precious consignment was embarked, and the delegates, with seven boatmen, launched out upon the river, pursuing their course in safety to the Three Islands (within the present county of Lewis). Here they secreted the powder, and after setting their boat adrift that it might not attract the attention of the Indians, the whole party began their march for Harrodsburg, by way of McClellan's Fort. On reaching the latter place they learned that Col. John Todd was in the vicinity, and would soon come in. Clark determined, therefore, to leave his colleague with five of the boatmen to await Todd's arrival, while he pushed on to Harrodsburg to report the result of his

mission. A few days later Todd came, and on December 25, at the head of nine mounted men, piloted by Jones, set out in quest of the powder. On reaching a point near the Lower Blue Lick, the party was fiercely assailed by a band of forty or fifty savages, who were following the recent trail of the powder escort. Jones and another of the whites were instantly killed, two others were captured, and the rest put in rapid flight for the fort. Four days later the Indians, who were under the command of a noted Mingo chief called Pluggy, boldly assailed McClellan's Station, in which there were only twenty defenders. The attack was fiercely maintained for several hours, when the death of the chief put a sudden end to the fight, and caused his followers to retreat to their towns. Of the settlers two were mortally wounded, and two others less seriously hurt. The alarm inspired by this event effected the purpose of the savages much better than the direct assault; the fort was at once abandoned, its occupants retiring to Harrodsburg.

Thus, at the beginning of 1777, but two fortified posts remained, and in these were gathered all the settlers in Kentucky. Logan still continued to cultivate his improvement at St. Asaph's only assisted by his slaves, his family finding shelter in Harrodsburg. Early in this year, having been joined by several others, he determined to fortify his station, and soon afterward was joined by his own and other families. Thenceforward Logan's was one of the prominent strongholds on this frontier. Early in January, a force from Harrodsburg had safely brought the powder from Three Islands; a militia organization had been effected,\* in which Clark probably held commission as major, and thus equipped the pioneers prepared to rely upon their own resources and fight it out. These crude defenses seem but a slight barrier to withstand the shock of war which dashed its angry waves against their frail strength, but they were held by determined men and women, who bravely kept the murderous hordes of savages at bay.

\*A battalion had been formed of the inhabitants north of the Kentucky River in 1775. On the 5th of March, 1776, a reorganization was effected, which included all the soldiers.

Although the fell bargain between tyranny and barbarism had not yet been consummated, the Indians this year appeared in Kentucky in greater numbers, and displayed greater activity than ever before. An extract from the diary of George Rogers Clark briefly tells the story:

*March 6th*,—Thomas Shores and William Ray killed at the Shawanese Spring. *March 7th*,—The Indians attempted to cut off from the fort (Harrodsburg) a small party of our men; a skirmish ensued. We had four men wounded and some cattle killed. We killed and scalped one Indian and wounded several. *March 8th*,—Brought in corn from the different cribs until the 18th day. *March 9th*,—Express sent to the settlement. Ebenezer Corn and company arrived from Capt. Linn on the Mississippi. *March 18th*,—A small party of Indians killed and scalped Hugh Wilson about a half mile from the fort, near night and escaped. *March 19th*,—Archibald McNeal died of his wounds received on the 7th inst. *March 28th*,—A large party of Indians attacked the stragglers about the fort; killed and scalped Garret Pandergrest; killed or took prisoner Peter Flin.

*April 7th*,—Indians killed one man at Boonesborough and wounded one. *April 8th*,—Stoner arrived with news from the settlement. *April 24th*,—Forty or fifty Indians attacked Boonesborough, killed and scalped Daniel Goodman, wounded Capt. Boone, Capt. Todd, Mr. Hite and Mr. Stoner. Indians, 'tis thought, sustained much damage. *April 29th*,—Indians attacked the fort and killed Ensign McConnell.

*May 6th*,—Indians discovered placing themselves near the fort. A few shots exchanged; no harm done. *May 12th*,—John Cowan and Squire Boone arrived from the settlement. *May 18th*,—McGary and Haggin sent express to Fort Pitt. *May 23d*,—John Todd and company set off for the settlement. *May 23d*,—A large party of Indians attacked Boonesborough Fort; kept a warm fire until 11 o'clock at night; began it next morning, and kept a warm fire until midnight, attempting several times to burn the fort; three of our men wounded, not mortally; the enemy suffered considerably. *May 26th*,—A party went out to hunt Indians; one wounded Squire Boone, and escaped. *May 30th*,—Indians attacked Logan's Fort, killed and scalped William Hudson, wounded Burr Harrison and John Kennedy.

*June 5th*, Harrod and Elliot went to meet Col. Bowman and company; Glen and Laird arrived from Cumberland; Daniel Lyons, who parted with them on Green River, we supposed was killed going into Logan's Fort. John Peters and Elisha Bathey we expect were killed coming home from Cumberland. *June 13th*,—Burr Harrison died of his wounds received May 30. *June 22d*,—Barney Stagner, Sr.,

killed and beheaded half a mile from the fort. A few guns fired at Boone's.

*July 9th*,—Lieut. Linn married; great merriment. *July 11th*,—Harrod returned. Express returned from Pittsburgh.

*August 1st*,—Col. Bowman arrived at Boonesborough. *August 5th*,—Surrounded ten or twelve Indians near the fort, killed three and wounded others; the plunder was sold for upward of £70. *August 11th*,—John Higgins died of a lingering disorder. *August 25th*,—Ambrose Grayson killed near Logan's Fort, and two others wounded; Indians escaped.

*September 8th*,—Twenty-seven men set out for the settlement. *September 9th*,—Indians discovered; a shot exchanged; nothing done. *September 11th*,—Thirty-seven went to Joseph Bowman's for corn; while shelling they were fired on; a skirmish ensued; Indians drew off, leaving two dead on the spot, and much blood; Eli Gerrard was killed on the spot, and six others wounded. *September 12th*,—Daniel Bryan died of his wounds received yesterday.\*

Such was the record made at Harrodsburg of passing events. Each of the other stations could have added a similar story, had there been "a chiel amang them takin' notes," but the terrible struggle has not been passed unrecorded by other hands. Hostilities began very early in the spring; hardly time enough to organize another force had elapsed after the retreat of Pluggy's band in December, before a party of seventy warriors under Blackfish took the war-path leading to Kentucky, where they arrived sometime in February, and Clark's first entry, in the extract quoted, marks the first act of the new year's campaign.

James and William Ray, Thomas Shores and William Coomes were engaged in making a clearing at the Shawanese Spring, about four miles from the Harrodsburg Fort, for Hugh McGary, the step-father of the two Rays. On March 6th, Shores, with the two brothers, went to a sugar-camp in the vicinity to regale themselves with syrup or sap. Here they fell in with a party of Indians, who instantly followed a murderous volley by a rush upon the startled whites. William Ray was killed by the first fire; Shores was captured, but James Ray, with surprising agility and unequalled speed, escaped unhurt to give the alarm.

Coomes was unconscious of his danger,

\*Morehead's address, p. 162.



but, alarmed by the protracted delay of his companions, had ceased his work and was about to go to the camp when he caught sight of fifteen Indians approaching. Fortunately the heavy undergrowth and cane-brake shielded him from their observation, and sinking down behind the trunk of a tree he had just felled, the Indians passed him unnoticed to the temporary hut erected by the choppers for their camp.

So soon as they were out of sight, Coomes escaped toward the sugar-camp, to find out what had become of his companions. Discovering no trace of them, he concealed himself amidst the boughs of a fallen hickory tree, the yellow leaves of which were of nearly the same color as his garments. From his hiding place he had a full view of the sugar-camp; and after a short time he observed a party of forty Indians halt there, where they were soon rejoined by the fifteen whom he had previously seen. They tarried there for a long time, drinking the syrup, singing their war-songs, and dancing their war-dance. Coomes was a breathless spectator of this scene of revelry, from the distance only of fifty or sixty yards. Other straggling parties of savages also came in, and the whole number amounted to about seventy, instead of forty-seven, as stated by Butler and Marshall.

Meantime, James Ray had communicated the alarm to the people of Harrodsburg. Great was the terror and confusion which ensued there. The hot-headed McGary openly charged James Harrod with having been wanting in the precautions and necessary courage for the defense of the fort. These two men, who had a personal enmity toward each other, quarreled and leveled their fatal rifles at each other's bosoms. In this conjuncture the wife of McGary rushed in and turned aside the rifle of her husband, when Harrod immediately withdrew his, and the difficulty was temporarily adjusted.

McGary insisted that a party of thirty should be immediately dispatched, with him, in search of Coomes, Shores and his step-son, William Ray. Harrod, the commandant of the station, and George Rogers Clark thought this measure rash and imprudent, as all these men were necessary for the defense of the place, which might be attacked by the Indians at any moment. At length, however, the request of McGary was granted, and thirty mounted men were placed under his command for the expedition.

The detachment moved with great rapidity, and soon reached the neighborhood of the sugar-camp, which the Indians had already abandoned. Near it they discovered the mangled remains of William Ray, at the sight of which McGary turned pale, and was near falling from his horse, in a fainting fit. As soon as the body was discovered, one of the men shouted out. "See there! they have killed poor

Coomes." Coomes, who had hitherto lurked in his hiding place, now sallied forth, and ran toward the men, exclaiming: "No, they haven't killed me, by Job! I'm safe." The party having buried Ray and rescued Coomes, returned in safety to Harrodstown, which they reached about sunset.\*

This war-party of the Indians was bent on more serious mischief than the waylaying of such settlers as chance threw in their way; but true to their theory of warfare they refrained for a time from further aggressive movements, after the escape of young Ray, and, in the interval thus afforded, the garrison hurried to place the fort in as good a state of defense as possible. Early in the succeeding morning, March 7, the people in the stockade discovered a cabin, situated on the eastern edge of the town, in flames. Thinking it the result of accident, a party sallied forth to extinguish the fire, when the Indians, observing the success of their ruse, attempted to cut off the rescuers from the fort. The whites were too quick for their assailants; hastily retreating they escaped the toils of the savages, and though obliged for a time to take refuge behind trees to beat back the enemy, they eventually reached the fort with four men wounded, having killed one of the attacking band and wounded several others. This ended the present attack, the Indians probably intending only to develop the strength of the garrison, and perhaps strike an effective blow toward crippling the defense, by capturing or killing a number. Though foiled in the achievement of this object, the field was not abandoned; a close watch was maintained upon the place and such injury inflicted as occasion offered.

Boonesborough was similarly scrutinized, and frequent shots exchanged which inflicted casualties on either side. Concerted attacks were made upon the fort on the 15th and 24th of April, on the 23d of May, and 4th of July. Of these, the attacks of the 15th of April and 4th of July are more particularly mentioned by the earlier historians, though Clark mentions the wounding of Boone, Todd, Hite and Stoner in the attack made

\* From "Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky," by Rev. Dr. Spalding, 1844. His information was derived from a son of Coomes. (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 611.)

by forty or fifty savages on the 24th of April.\* The first attack was a fierce assault, evidently made with the hope of suddenly breaking into the fort while deprived of any hope of assistance from the other stations, which were threatened at the same time. The defenses proved impregnable to such weapons as the Indians could command, and the garrison, suffering some in wounds, and much in the destruction of corn and cattle, inflicted such punishment upon the exposed savages as to force them to retire with precipitation. On May 23, a more determined attack was made, in which the Indians made several desperate attempts to set the cabins on fire, but without success. Again in July, bent on the destruction of this most formidable stronghold, the savages returned to the attack with redoubled fury, continuing the fire of their muskets until midnight. The number of the assailants was estimated at 200, but after protracting the siege for "two days and nights," they lost all hope of success, and "tumultuously and with clamor departed."

The Indian campaign of this year bears a strong resemblance to the grand tactics of

\*To watch the Indians and give timely notice of their approach six spies were appointed, for the payment of whom Maj. Clark pledged the faith of Virginia. Boone appointed Kenton and Thomas Brooks, Harrod, Samuel Moore and Bates Collier and Logan, John Conrad and John Martin. These spies performed good service. It was the custom for two each week, by turns, to range up and down the Ohio, and about the deserted stations looking for Indian signs, etc. By this means the settlers had timely notice of the approach of the enemy during the year, save once.

On this occasion, Kenton and two others, early one morning, having loaded their guns for a hunt, were standing in the gate of Boonesborough, when two men in the field were fired on by the Indians. They immediately fled, not being hurt. The Indians pursued them, a warrior overtook and tomahawked one of the men within seventy yards of the fort, and proceeded leisurely to scalp him. Kenton shot the daring savage dead, and immediately with his hunting companions gave chase to the others. Boone, hearing the noise with ten men hastened out to the assistance of the spies. Kenton turned and observed an Indian taking aim at the party of Boone; quick as thought he brought his rifle to his shoulder, pulled the trigger first, and the red-man bit the dust. Boone, having advanced some distance, now discovered that his small party, consisting of fourteen men, was cut off from the fort by a large body of the foe, which had got between him and the gate. There was no time to be lost: Boone gave the word—"right about—fire—charge!" and the intrepid hunters dashed in among their adversaries, in a desperate endeavor to reach the fort.

At the first fire from the Indians, seven of the fourteen whites were wounded, among the number the gallant Boone, whose leg was broken, which stretched him out on the ground. An Indian sprang on him with an uplifted tomahawk, but before the blow descended, Kenton, everywhere present, rushed on the warrior, discharged his gun into his breast, and bore his leader into the fort. When the gate was closed and all things secure, Boone sent for Kenton; "Well Simon," said the old pioneer, "you have behaved yourself like a man to-day—indeed, you are a fine fellow." This was great praise from Boone, who was a silent man, little given to compliment. Kenton had deserved the eulogium; he had saved the life of his captain and killed three Indians without having time to scalp any of them. There was little time to spare, we may well believe, when Kenton could not stop to take a scalp. (McDonald's Biographical Sketches, p. 215.)

modern warfare. The left of the line, held by the three outposts, was first developed and "felt," and then, while a show of attack was continued here, and the center threatened, the main assault was hurled at Boonesboro, on the right, and repeated again and again with a desperation that indicated the value they set upon success at this point. Defeated here, the brunt of the attack was aimed at the center, where Logan's Fort, weak in numbers and less elaborate in its defenses, promised a better chance of success, but not so great results if achieved.

This change of attack was accomplished with unusual secrecy. One morning\* in the latter part of May, while some of the women were outside of the inclosure, engaged in milking the cows, guarded by the usual sentinels, they were startled by a sudden volley from a party of Indians, who, to the number of 100, had gathered about the station entirely unobserved by the whites. Of the sentinels, one was killed outright, another was mortally wounded, and a third, Burr Harrison, was disabled; the rest of the men, with the women, escaped unhurt to the protection of the palisades. Harrison ran a few paces and fell to the ground within plain view of the garrison, too near to be approached with safety by the Indians, and too far off to permit any attempt for his rescue with hope of success.

The situation was one of the most trying that the pioneers of that day were called upon to face. The agony of the unfortunate man's family in this helpless plight, the forlorn character of any attempt to effect his rescue, and the common danger involved in any further loss to a garrison which at first consisted of only fifteen men, three of whom were already *hors de combat*, all appealed with a powerful but conflicting force to the brave generosity of the garrison. It was plainly the part of wisdom to forego any attempt to reach the suffering man. Courage could afford no protection against the pitiless bullets of the savage marksmen, who commanded every foot of the ground, and left the wounded man un-

\*Butler and Marshall place the occurrence on the 20th, Clark on the 30th of May.



touched by further shots only to lure other victims within their reach. But neither prudence nor personal danger could steel the heart against the frantic pleading of his wife, and the piteous cries of the man, as he struggled to move toward the fort, or lay weltering in his blood. Logan could withstand the promptings of his heart no longer; he determined to risk his life to bring in his comrade, but he begged in vain for volunteers to assist him. The hazard was too forlorn even for those nurtured amid danger.

At length, inspired by the noble resolve of his leader, one with no interests to compromise but his own, announced his willingness to anticipate the natural end of life, and proposed to accompany him. Together they ran to the gate; and outside, Logan, regardless of his follower, rushed with mad speed through the terrible storm of bullets that greeted him to the spot where the wounded man lay, but Martin, the volunteer, appalled by the fury of the attack, shrank back within the gate. To grasp the wounded man and bear him on his shoulders to the fort, was for Logan the work of a moment. The intrepid frontiersman was equally fortunate, but every portion of his clothing bore significant evidence that the risk had not been over-estimated, and that he owed his life, a hundred times, to the rapidity as well as the audacity of his movements.

The attack upon the fort was now begun with vigor, but the friendly palisades turned death harmlessly aside, while the garrison with unerring rifles inflicted death or wounds wherever the savages exposed themselves. Every adult occupant of the fort was engaged in its defense, the men in their places at the port-holes, and the women running bullets, loading guns, standing guard, or preparing food. But the scarcity of powder and lead foreshadowed a graver danger than did the paucity of numbers. Approach to the other forts was closely guarded, and it is doubtful if they had sufficient ammunition to spare any could it have been brought away. The only other practical source of supply was the Holston settlements, 200 miles away. To reach this point, the vigilance of the investing force

must be eluded, and the long journey pursued through forests infested with a numerous savage foe, watchful for any such attempt. Difficult as the outward trip might be, the return was rendered doubly so by the burden which the messengers must carry. There was no immediate prospect of a termination of the siege, which in the end proved the most determined and best sustained in the history of the Kentucky frontier, and the daily expenditure of ammunition only brought the obvious necessity nearer.

Again Logan proved himself an ideal commander, ready to lead where danger threatened most. Selecting two comrades, he cautiously left the fort, and avoiding the beaten paths, guided only by his woodcraft, he escaped the nearer foe. Avoiding Cumberland Gap, which was likely to be guarded by the Indians, he explored his passage "where no man ever traveled before, nor probably since, over the Cumberland Mountain, through cliffs, and brush, and cane; clambering rocks and precipices to be encountered only by the strong, the bold and the determined." Having secured the required ammunition and given his comrades directions how to proceed homeward, he flew back to the endangered post with the speed of the chamois, making the 400 miles in ten days. The powder soon afterward arrived, was successfully introduced into the fort, and the little garrison continued the contest with renewed zeal.

The siege thus begun was protracted through three weary months with scarcely any interruption, until even terror grew monotonous. But, fortunately for the sorely beset pioneers, the Indians did not possess that firmness derived from discipline, nor the organization which leads to a division of military duties.

The Indians, in besieging a place, are hence but seldom seen in force upon any quarter; but dispersed and acting individually, or in small parties. They conceal themselves in bushes, or weeds, or behind trees, or stumps of trees; or waylay the path or field, and other places to which their enemies resort; and when one or more can be taken down, in their opinion, they fire a gun or let fly the arrow, aimed at the mark. If necessary they retreat; if they dare they advance upon their killed or crippled

adversary; and they watch the watering place for those who go for that article of primary necessity, that they may by these means reduce the place to their possession, or destroy its inhabitants in detail.

In the night they will place themselves near the fort gate, ready to sacrifice the first person who shall appear in the morning; in the day, if there be any cover, such as grass, a bush, a large clod of earth, or a stone as big as a bushel, they will avail themselves of it to approach the fort, by slipping forward on their bellies within gun-shot; and then whosoever appears first gets the fire, while the assailant makes his retreat behind the smoke from the gun. At other times they approach the walls, or palisades, with the utmost audacity, and attempt to fire them, or beat down the gate. They often make feints to draw out the garrison on one side of the fort, and if practicable enter it, by surprise, on the other. And when their stock of provisions is exhausted, this being an individual affair, they supply themselves by hunting; and again, frequently return to the siege, if by any means they hope to get a scalp. (Marshall.)

None of the stations, therefore, were closely environed for a long period. During the spring and summer of this year (1777) the enemy was never very remote from any of the posts, but the necessity for hunting and their inaptitude for laborious watching, when the results of it were generally unprofitable to themselves, led the Indians temporarily to relax their efforts on the forts. The whites, accustomed to the freedom of the forests and the energetic life of pioneers, chafed under the restraint imposed by the presence of the savages, and at the first intermission of attack sought the woods. They considered themselves, as Marshall remarks, "rather the best marksmen, and as likely to see the Indian first as to be seen by him, while the first sight was equivalent to the first fire, and the most expert shooter held the best security for his life." But this exposure was so far impelled by duty as to preserve it from any appearance of idle bravado; game was scarcely less necessary to the whites than to the savages, and the product of their fields was a very important feature in the pioneers' plans "to flusterate the intentions of the Indians and keep the country."

With the exceptions noted, there were few days on which the hardy frontiersman could not evade the vigilance of the enemy to secure game or other supplies at a distance,

and thus it happened that, notwithstanding the whole region was in a "state of siege," the garrisons were kept supplied with meat, and the fields adjacent to the forts were cultivated. Such exploits, however, were attended by great hazard, and while such a consideration weighed lightly with men inured to daily danger, they paid a severe penalty for any indiscretion.

In this summer, Butler relates that while young Ray was one day shooting at a mark within 150 yards of the fort at Harrodsburg, his single companion was suddenly killed by a shot from an Indian in the woods beyond. A quick glance revealed the perpetrator of the deed, and Ray was about to inflict instant vengeance upon the murderer of his comrade, when he found himself assailed by a number of savages who had taken advantage of his action to steal upon him unawares. Apprised of his danger, the young marksman bounded toward the fort with the speed and agility of a deer. A storm of bullets followed his flight, and so close upon him were the savages that the garrison feared to open the gate sufficient to admit the fugitive. In this fearful dilemma, Ray threw himself down behind a small stump within seven steps of the palisades, where he lay momentarily expecting death. The savages redoubled their efforts to strike their victim, or to prevent his rescue, and for four hours he lay in this predicament, the rifle balls of the enemy striking all about him in dangerous proximity. At length, seeing no other chance for escape, he cried out to his friends: "For God's sake, dig a hole under the cabin wall and take me in." This was at once done, and the lad rescued from his perilous position.

At times, when the dispersion of the Indians gave the whites opportunity to attack a party not too greatly their superior in numbers, the garrisons assumed the offensive, and gave the savages an impressive idea of their prowess. Some time in June, a party of seventeen men, under command of Maj. Smith, pursued a body of Indians from Boonesborough to the Ohio, where they arrived only to find the savages well over the river.



They succeeded in killing one who lingered behind the others, however, and turned back to retrace their steps. In their homeward march they discovered a band of about thirty Indians idly resting upon the grass, unconscious of danger. Dismounting quietly, and leaving nine of their party with the horses, the rest crept silently forward to the attack. When near the Indians, one of them passed near the whites in the direction of the horses; he was instantly shot, and with a loud yell fell to the ground. The single report did not alarm his companions, who, thinking he had shot a wild animal, laughed boisterously, but gave the incident no further attention. In another instant the whites poured a full volley into their midst, and charged upon them with loud shouts. The startled savages returned a scattering fire and fled, when the whites proceeded on their journey, having but one man wounded.

On the 25th of July, a party of forty-five men from North Carolina reached Boonesborough, and not long afterward Col. Bowman, at the head of 100 of the Virginia militia, arrived at the same place.\* The latter force was Virginia's contribution to the defense of her citizens in "that remote country" now known as Kentucky County, the leader of which bore her commission as county-lieutenant of the new political division. Such reinforcements, more than doubling the former numbers of the garrisons, were very welcome to these anxious people, for while Boonesboro and Harrodsburg were relieved of the immediate presence of a hostile force, the enemy was still in the country in strong numbers, and held a close watch, with frequent attacks upon St. Asaph's. Bowman's attention was at once directed to the relief of Logan's devoted little garrison, and the van of the relieving force, which reached his station in September, brought the first intimation that the beleagured pioneers had of the arrival of reinforcements in the country. A detachment, considerably in advance of the main body, found the Indians in force about the fort and drew their fire, from which

several were killed, but the savages were dispersed, and the long siege was at last ended.

The Indians still kept in the vicinity of the forts in considerable numbers until a final engagement at Harrodsburg closed this year's active campaign. To somewhat repair the loss inflicted by their inability to raise a crop of corn, the settlers of this place determined, in the fall, to sow a patch of turnips about 200 yards northwest of the station. While clearing the ground for this purpose, one of the guards discovered an Indian and fired on him without effect. On the next day the cattle were observed to give unmistakable evidence of the presence of the enemy—"snuffing the air about a small field in the farthest corner, which had been allowed to grow up in very high weeds." Clark at once proposed to turn the ambush upon the plotters. Instructing the workmen to continue their labor in that portion of the field nearest the fort, he proceeded with a party of men to gain the rear of the ambush, by a circuitous route, the workmen in the meantime calling to their comrades in the fort to come out and work.

The maneuver was entirely successful; a sudden volley killed four of the startled savages, the remainder of whom immediately gave way in hasty retreat, rapidly pursued by the exultant whites. Pushing down the creek some 400 yards, the pursuers came upon the remains of a deserted Indian encampment, which gave indications of having been occupied at some time by a force of 400 or 500 savages. This camp had been deserted before the discovery, but it was undoubtedly the point from which the Indians had directed the activity of the hostile bands during the year, and the party so successfully routed was probably the last remnant of the savage host who had lingered to take a last "look" at the pioneers of this station. In this skirmish, James Ray took the last degree in the novitiate of the frontier; he killed his first Indian, was complimented by Clark, and presented with his victim's rifle.

The frontier derived but little permanent strength from the large show of reinforcement noted; the militia was enlisted only

\*The date of Col. Bowman's arrival is placed "about September," by Marshall (Vol. I, p. 53), whom Mr. Butler follows without question. Clark makes the date August 1st. See diary, ante.

for a short term of service, a large part of which was spent on the journey to Kentucky, and their subsequent discharge was followed by their early return homeward. Logan's Station received a welcome accession in "the arrival of Montgomery's party,"\* and the other forts were similarly strengthened, but these additions were probably entirely offset by the return of some who, very naturally, found an irresistible attraction in the security of "the settlements," after the year's experience on the frontier. As winter approached, therefore, few remained save those who had "borne the burden and heat of the day." On the 2d of September, an accurate census of the inhabitants was taken, of which the report of Harrodsburg alone has been preserved as follows: men in service, 81; do.

not in service, 4; women, 24; children over ten years, 12; do. under ten years, 58; slaves above ten years, 12; do. under ten years, 7; total, 198. This number was probably greater than the other two combined, but of the permanent fighting force that remained through the winter, Marshall estimates the number at 102 men; at Boonesboro, 22; at Harrodsburg, 65; and at St. Asaph's, 15. Truly, "the battle is not to the strong."

[NOTE.—In reference to the number of remaining whites, it should be said, that it is by no means clear whether this estimate should be referred to the period when the active hostilities of 1777 began or to the close of the campaign, after the balance had been struck between the casualties and the permanent accessions. In the latter case, it will be observed that Logan's Station just "held its own."—*See Marshall, Vol. I, p. 55; Butler, p. 95.*]

\*This indefinite allusion is found in Marshall's History, Vol. I, p. 54. It probably refers to William Montgomery, the father of Mrs. Logan who came about this time with several sons.





## CHAPTER VII.

## KENTUCKY'S PART IN THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.

WHILE Kentucky was thus engaged in an unequal contest with her savage foes, affairs on the sea-board were making momentous progress. The second colonial congress had met, with authority to declare war; echoes from the fields of Lexington and Bunker Hill had summoned patriots everywhere to arms; the United Colonies had declared their independence amid the wild acclaim of the people; the disastrous battle of Long Island had been succeeded by the masterly retreat across the Delaware; the victory on the Stillwater had been followed by the defeat on the Brandywine; and the dreary winter at Valley Forge was, even now, adding new luster to the patriots' devotion; the colonial bark was irrevocably launched upon the flood-tide of revolution.

This changed relation of the older colonies to the crown had not yet affected the character of the conflict in Kentucky. It was still a contest between the adventurous pioneer and the implacable savage, waged on either side for the possession of the fair lands beyond the Big Sandy. Though neither antagonist could claim a victory, the whites had gained a foot hold that was destined to be more firmly planted, and the red men were beginning to read their fate in the quiet determination of the heroic band that defied their fiercest assaults. To an unscrupulous foe, no field could be more inviting, and this "remote country" was not destined longer to escape the ruthless ravages of an enemy, who, deaf to every demand of civilization, incited the savages to bloodier deeds, and armed them with the more effective enginery of war.

A startling evidence of the industry and far-reaching plans of the new foe had already

made its way through the forests to the frontier. On the person of one of Bowman's militia men, killed in the first approach to St. Asaph's, was found a proclamation issued by the British commander-in-chief, Lord Howe, offering protection to such as would abjure the colonies and denouncing such as refused. The paper came directly to Logan's possession through the faithful fellow who discovered it, and this insidious attack, so prolific of evil in the old communities, was here turned harmlessly aside.

But a more substantial attack was preparing. Rumors of an impending blow, aimed by the allied British and Indians at the frontier forts, had long been rife in the region beyond the Ohio, but it had been deferred, and by an unfortunate fatality did not fall, until the passions of the frontiersmen, no less barbarous than the Indians, and far more culpable, violently removed the last feeble barrier to its consummation.

The British agents at Oswego were busy concerting a general attack, when, in the early summer of 1777, Cornstalk, the great chief of the Shawanese, went to the frontier fort at Point Pleasant to talk over the situation with his friend, Capt. Arbuckle, the commandant. The chief was earnest in his desire for peace, but found himself surrounded by those of his race, of his own tribe and others, bitter in their hatred of the frontiersmen, and eager to join the British. He declared his inability to stem the tide that was setting toward the English, unless the Long Knives would help him.

With a fool's caution and the basest treachery, the whites determined to prevent war by removing its only barrier. They detained Cornstalk and Red Hawk, who had

accompanied the chief, and thus these savages found themselves entrapped by trusting to a white man's honor. On the succeeding day, the chief's son, alarmed at his father's delay, approached the farther shore and gave a halloo. The whites met him with friendly smiles, and inveigled him into their snare.

On the third day, a hunter for the fort was killed by two unknown Indians. When this fact became known, the murdered hunter's friends demanded vengeance upon the innocent prisoners. Arbuckle showed an expiring spark of manhood in attempting to save the victims of his treachery, but threatened with the rifles of his men, if he further interfered, he stepped aside and the ruffians did their bloody work. Cornstalk met his fate calmly, and fell dead where he had risen to meet his foes, pierced by seven bullets. The others died less easily, and with less composure, but without resistance. This was an atrocious deed, and while it did not precipitate the meditated attack upon the frontier, it confirmed the whole Shawanese nation in their hostility to the Americans, and gave a certain sanction to the reprisals that followed.

Early in the autumn the blow fell; 400 savages, led by Simon Girty,\* descended upon Fort Henry at Wheeling, on the 26th of September.† Though garrisoned by only twelve men and boys, besides the women, the fort made a stout resistance, each member of both sexes vying with the other in deeds of heroism. After several days of vigorous but unavailing attack, in which they lost about 100 of their number, the allies suddenly withdrew, burning the fences, and slaughtering the cattle of the settlers as they departed. Enraged, but not discouraged, by this unsuccessful termination of the first campaign of the combined forces, the enemy organized a new expedition, destined for Kentucky, but in the interval the new year dawned.

It was under such auspices that the eventful year of 1778 was ushered in. South of the Ohio, the quiet which succeeded the close

of the fall's campaign was yet unbroken, and the settlers improved the opportunity, thus afforded, in effecting such repair of the damages they had received, as was possible. In the winter, the stock of salt in the community was found greatly reduced, and on New Year's day, a company of thirty men, recruited from the several stations, set out under the direction of Boone to manufacture a new supply. While the rest labored at the lick, the leader acted as scout and hunter. For more than a month the work progressed without interruption or incident, and three men had been sent back with the product of their labors, when the enterprise was suddenly brought to an unfortunate conclusion. On the 7th of February, while engaged in his duties as scout and hunter, Boone fell in with a detachment of Indians, led by two Canadians. The discovery was mutual; Boone sought to escape by instant flight, but the enemy, anxious to secure a prisoner from whom they could learn the condition of the forts, reserved their fire and dispatched several of their swiftest runners in pursuit of the fugitive. The hunter was soon captured, but, for some reason, the savages delayed further movements for eight days. Then they proceeded to the Blue Lick, where they captured the remaining twenty-seven salt-makers. Unable to give his comrades warning of their danger, Boone had arranged favorable terms of capitulation, and as the Indians came upon them, signified to his friends that they should surrender without resistance. This was accordingly done, and the savages, too much elated to prosecute their enterprise further, turned back with their prisoners to Chillicothe, on the Little Miami.

The first obvious result of the introduction of the English into Kentucky campaigns was a great amelioration of the conditions of war. The salt-makers surrendered on conditions of life and good treatment, which were scrupulously observed by the enemy. On their return journey of three days, the party encountered very severe weather, but the captors seem to have generously snared every privilege of fire and food with their prisoners. On the 10th of March, Boone, with ten of his

\*Appendix A, note 10.

†The date usually assigned is September 1. See *American Pioneer*, Vol. II, pp. 302, 314, 339.



companions, was conducted by a band of forty Indians to Detroit, where the prisoners were turned over to Gov. Hamilton, for the offered reward. Boone, however, was reserved by his captors, for whom they had conceived so high a regard, that they refused an offer of £100, made by the governor for the great hunter's ransom. The disappointment of Boone was extreme and excited the sympathy of several English gentlemen, who were cognizant of the affair. They generously offered to supply him with such things as he could use for his comfort, all of which he steadily declined, as he was unwilling to accept courtesies which he saw no immediate prospect of his being able to repay.

Accordingly, on the 10th of April he parted from his comrades, and returned with his obtrusive admirers to Chillicothe. Here Boone was adopted as a son by "one of the principal families," a relation to which, however little it may have flattered his vanity, he adapted himself with the ready tact of one who was scarcely less a child of nature than his adopted relatives. Recognizing him as *facile princeps* of the whites on the border, the Indians let slip no opportunity of contesting with him in marksmanship and athletic exploits. In all these contests the captive, with a shrewd insight of the savage character, fell just far enough short of the first place to command their respect without awakening their jealousy. He became an active member of the tribe for the time, and by his skill won the plaudits of the braves, while his well-conceived courtesies to the chief men gained their respectful regard.

Thus time wore on, and could Boone have divested himself of his love for kindred and country, he could not have found more congenial employment, nor more admiring friends. The hunter's stoical acceptance of the situation not only won the admiration of the natives, but served to lull to sleep any lingering apprehension of his desire to escape, which they may have entertained. He was therefore largely freed from restraint, and in June accompanied a party to the Scioto salt lick to procure a quantity of that necessary condiment.

On learning of the capture of Boone and his companions, their friends found it useless to attempt to effect their rescue, but, with eminently practical sense, they sent out a party to bury the kettles until it should be safe to bring them in, which was subsequently done. The portentous character of this event was well understood. The loss of so many experienced men greatly weakened the slender garrison, and the calamity could only be mitigated by an increase of caution. But so inured to the strange vicissitudes of their eventful life were these hardy people, that, notwithstanding Indian demonstrations following, and none of the captured comrades returning, the incident was allowed to recede in the background of present duties, and the flow of life soon returned to its wonted channels. Boone and his companions were given up as dead; the stricken wife of the leader, accompanied by her unmarried children, returned to the solace of her father's home and the security of the North Carolina settlements; and the garrison, no longer apprehensive of immediate attack, grew careless in their false assumption of security, remitted their caution, and allowed their defenses to fall into decay.

Another event at this time contributed to this result. In the frontier station at Harrodsburg, Clark had fathomed the strategy of the British in the west, and had discerned their points of vantage. He quietly drew his own conclusions, and early in 1777 had sent two scouts to explore the Illinois country, who had been absent from April until June. With information thus derived he set out for Virginia in the fall, reaching Williamsburg on the 5th of November. On the 2d of January, 1778, he received his instructions and commission as lieutenant-colonel; on the 4th of February he proceeded to Pittsburgh to raise troops for his enterprise, while his subordinates were active in the same service in the settlements on the Holston and in western Virginia.

In this expedition the pioneers of Kentucky took a lively interest, although ignorant of its destination. Clark's hopes of large re-enforcements from North Carolina were grievously disappointed, and he there-

were called on Col. Bowman to repair to Corn Island with as many of the Kentucky militia as could be safely spared from the exposed stations. It is not recorded how many men these stations furnished, but more were offered than it was deemed prudent to accept, and only William Harrod's company, and a part of another from Kentucky, accompanied the expedition. Besides these, Cols. John Todd and William Linn and Simon Kenton joined the enterprise as volunteers.

Thus constituted, in the latter part of June the little army set forth from the rendezvous, leaving a number of families, who had accompanied Clark against his wish, as garrison of the block-house, which he had caused to be erected for the protection of the army stores left behind, and Clark having caused a spot to be cleared for the purpose, the impromptu garrison planted and succeeded in raising a crop of corn, which gave name to an insignificant spot which has long since been washed bare of soil by the current of the river.

While the thoughts of the frontiersmen of Kentucky were thus drawn out to foreign conquest, events beyond the Ohio were conspiring to bring war's alarms to their very doors. Even before Clark left his depot at Corn Island, Boone had returned to Boonesborough, as one from the dead, bringing the most disturbing intelligence. He had been engaged with his Indian companions at the salt lick but eight or ten days, when a returning war-party passed near the spring. This party consisted of 450 Indians, who had made an unsuccessful raid on a fort in Greenbrier County, Va., and were now on their way to the general rendezvous to concert a new foray. The salt-makers immediately joined the returning warriors, and with them proceeded toward the towns on the Maumee. Boone was not long in ascertaining that an attack on Boonesborough was meditated, and, stimulated by this alarming discovery, soon found means to evade the renewed watchfulness of the savages. When near the present site of Washington, in Fayette County, Ohio, the anxious captive set out one morning before sunrise as if to hunt; once clear of his

comrades, he shaped his course for the threatened station, and did not cease his rapid journey\* until he reached his destination on the 20th of June.

Under the inspiration of Boone's presence and the news he brought, the garrison hastily set about repairing the fort, "to repair its planks, strengthen its gates and posterns, and to form double bastions; all of which was completed in ten days." In the latter part of July one of Boone's fellow-prisoners escaped from the Indians, and brought the information "that the Indians had, on account of Boone's elopement, postponed their march for three weeks."

In the meantime the enemy guarded the secret of their movements by a strong force of runners, who kept a close watch upon the station. These scouts were observed lurking in the forest near the fort, and Boone, understanding their mission, determined to unmask the enemy's designs by an expedition across the Ohio. Accordingly, on the 18th of August, he left Boonesborough with a party of nineteen men, proceeding rapidly to a point within four miles of Paint Creek Town, near the Scioto. Kenton had returned from Illinois in time to join the expedition, and was at this time somewhat in advance of the main party, acting as scout. While cautiously making his way through the thick underbrush, he was startled by a loud laugh in his immediate vicinity, and had scarcely time to gain the shelter of a tree, when its origin was explained by the approach of two Indians riding on the same horse. Permitting them to ride within short range, Kenton sent a sure shot through the breast of the foremost rider. Both fell instantly to the ground, one dead and the other severely wounded, while the startled pony, wheeling suddenly to the rear, carried the alarm to a body of thirty savages who were approaching.

The scout now found himself assailed by an enemy of superior numbers, who ap-

\*The distance, estimated at one 160 miles, was accomplished on foot in four days, during which Boone had but one meal. For this he had provided by secreting a small supply of food in his blanket. This meal, according to certain depositions made seventeen and nineteen years later, was had on the 19th of June, 1778, when he "roasted some meat and got some drink at the forks of three branches of Flat fork of Johnston's Fork of Licking River," a spot now included within the limits of Robertson or Fleming County. (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 656.)



proached with such skill as to baffle all his attempts to get a shot. In this perilous position he was soon joined by his comrades, who had hurried forward at the report of his rifle, and a smart skirmish ensued. The Indians were finally forced to give way with one killed and two wounded, the whites escaping any casualty.

Kenton and Montgomery were at once sent forward to reconnoitre the village, which they found entirely deserted. Correctly divining that its inhabitants had left to join the war-party forming at Chillicothe, Boone made haste to retrace his steps in order to gain the fort in advance of the enemy, who, he was assured, was about to carry out their meditated attack. Marching night and day, the little party of whites soon struck the enemy's trail, which they cautiously followed until the 6th of August; making a wide detour, they then passed the savages, and on the next day reached their destination in safety.

The garrison now looked forward to the advance of the enemy with anxiety; nor had it long to await the *denouement*. On the 8th, the Indians appeared, flaunting the flags of France and England above them. The whole body drew up in plain sight of the fort. Their numbers were imposing, even to the pioneers who were accustomed to give large odds to the enemy, and the commander, Du Quesne, evidently counted much upon the effect which this display was calculated to have upon the garrison. Four hundred and thirty-two "frightfully painted" savages constituted the body of the besieging force, while the presence of the commander, and eleven other Canadians, bespoke discipline and trained resources, which were to be feared more than the great disparity of numbers.

The border struggle had indeed assumed a portentous shape; a new enemy, possessing the powerful accessories of civilized warfare, was now in the field, and even Boone felt that it was a "critical time." That the issue must be fought out was a foregone conclusion with the pioneers, but when the garrison was summoned to surrender in the name of his British majesty, the king of

England, Boone took advantage of this touch of civilization introduced in the enemy's procedure, and requested two days for consideration, which were readily granted.

The frontier militia was a very democratic organization, and though there was little doubt of the result of a conference the leader summoned the garrison and placed the whole case before them, clearly pointing out the alternatives involved. The decision was prompt and unanimous to fight, but desirous of gaining all the advantage possible out of the parleying mood of the enemy, Boone withheld this determination for a time, and dispatched some of the men to bring in the stock while the truce lasted. At the expiration of the two days, from one of the bastions of the fort, Boone gave his reply to the summons of Du Quesne, to the effect that they were determined to defend their fort while a man was living.

The Canadian found it impossible to conceal the disappointment which this reply occasioned, and to the astonishment of the garrison, declared that "it was the orders of Gov. Hamilton (the British officer at Detroit) to take them captive, and not to destroy them;" and that if nine of their number would come out and treat with him, he would immediately withdraw his forces, and return home peaceably.

The meditated treachery in this proposal is very thinly veiled, and that Boone should have entertained the invitation for a moment has occasioned an often expressed surprise. The experienced pioneer, as it will appear, was not deceived by so unusual a proposition, but, as he narrates, it "sounded grateful in our ears, and we agreed to treat." The fidelity with which the savage had observed the conditions of capitulation in the case of the salt-makers, certainly afforded some reason to trust this strange proposition, at least within discreet limits; the favorable impression he had gained of Hamilton's humanity rendered the character of the offer far more plausible than would appear at first glance; and the formidable array of enemies, in plain view, seemed to make it expedient to avoid a conflict, if it could be

one at no great sacrifice. The issue has somewhat modified the bearing of these considerations, but it does not appear, even now, that Boone was actuated by a short-sighted policy. That the attack failed, was simply due to the lack of determination in the leaders, and hardness in the savages; and the confirmed treachery of white Indian leaders had not then been so clearly demonstrated as at a later period.

At all events, Boone was careful to guard against treachery; the conference was held within fifty yards of the palisade and the keenest marksmen were placed so as to best cover the retreat of the whites in case of necessity. A brief treaty was accordingly concluded, when the Indian negotiators came forward, saying that it was customary with them, on such occasions, for two Indians to shake hands with every white man in the treaty, as an evidence of entire friendship. "They immediately grappled us," says Boone, "but, although surrounded by hundreds of savages, we extricated ourselves from them, and escaped all safe into the garrison, except one that was wounded." On the first appearance of hostility, the garrison opened fire, doing considerable execution; the Indians were equally ready, and the retreating whites were exceedingly fortunate to escape from the shower of bullets that followed them, with only a single wound.

With this, the battle opened; the Indians, seeking shelter, began a brisk attack on every side, and, as Boone relates, "a constant fire ensued between us day and night, for the space of nine days." Every artifice familiar to the savage was employed in vain. At one time the garrison discovered, by the muddy character of the river, that the enemy was digging a mine, entering through the face of the high river bank. A countermine was immediately sunk within the fort, and the dirt thrown over the palisades as an intimation to the hostile miners that their work was discovered. The Indians were not disposed to prosecute a laborious enterprise in the face of probable failure, and this intimation proved sufficient to put an end to all further subterranean operations in this siege. The

whole attack was marked more by vehemence than by valor; a rapid discharge of rifles was maintained throughout the siege, but at a pretty safe distance, and many of the bullets fell short of the fort and sank harmlessly upon the ground.\*

The garrison, on the other hand, fired with deliberation, and generally only when a sure mark presented itself. The consequent disproportion of cause and effect on the part of the garrison, as compared with their own efforts, deeply impressed the Indians, and may account for the absence of any attempt to storm the stockade. The garrison numbered nearly fifty men, and an assault could scarcely have been made without the sacrifice of an equal number of the assailants. At such a cost even victory would have been purchased too dear, in the estimation of the Indian, and so the attack was continued at long range.

To such an attack, the fort was impregnable, and the improvident savages, finding their provisions running short, abruptly terminated the siege on August 20. In all this protracted engagement, the most formidable thus far in the history of Kentucky, the whites "had but two men killed, and four wounded; besides a number of cattle" destroyed. The Indians suffered more, having thirty-seven killed and a great number wounded.

On retiring from Boonesborough, the savages did not stay their retreat until they had reached their towns beyond the Ohio, where they found a nearer foe to engage their attention. This ended the regular campaign, but straggling bands of Indians continued to infest the forests of Kentucky, and the fall was not suffered to pass without such incidents as served to challenge the settlers' right of possession. Harrodsburg was attacked by one of these bands, but a sudden sally of the garrison easily beat off the assailants. In this skirmish one of the whites received a flesh wound in the face, which knocked him down. His antagonist, supposing him dead, ran up to secure his

\*It is said that 125 pounds of lead were picked up about the fort, besides the bullets imbedded in the palisade. (See "Boone's Narrative.")



scalp, when the prostrate pioneer, having regained his senses in time, shot the savage dead and escaped to the fort.

Indians were found frequenting the vicinity of St. Asaph's, and on one occasion, while ranging for "signs," Logan discovered a party at the Big Flat Lick, about two miles from his station. He immediately returned, raised a squad of men, and proceeding to the spring routed the savages with heavy loss. Not long after this event, Logan was again out in search of game and Indians, when, as he approached this lick he received a volley from a band secreted near by. This fire broke his arm, and slightly wounded him in the breast. The Indians immediately rushed upon him to take him captive, but, being mounted, he had the good fortune to escape, after one of his assailants got near enough to grasp his horse's tail. But such incidents were too common to excite serious alarm, and while settlers found in them sufficient cause to use caution in their movements, the general course of frontier life went on without marked interruption. The Indian invasion repelled, Boone sought his family in North Carolina, and did not return until 1780, and Kenton, less domestic in his tastes, sought adventure beyond the Ohio.

Kenton had joined Col. Clark in his Illinois expedition, and after the fall of Kaskaskia, returned to Harrodsburg with dispatches. Notwithstanding the importance of his mission, Kenton's love of adventure led him to indulge in exploits, the success of which alone saved him from rebuke. A little way from his starting point, Kenton and his companions fell in with a camp of Indians with a number of horses. The savages were attacked and dispersed, and the horses sent back to Kaskaskia. Pursuing their journey by way of Vincennes, the party stealthily traversed the village, secured two horses for each man, and pushed on. Reaching the White River, a raft was constructed on which to transport the guns and luggage, while the horses were driven into the water to swim across. On the opposite shore a party of Indians lay encamped, who seized the horses as they emerged, but failed to dis-

cover the Kentuckians. Hastily concealing themselves, the whites permitted the raft float down the stream, and at night constructed a second one, and crossed at another point. Completing his journey without further incident, Kenton reached his destination just in time to take part in Boone's expedition to Paint Creek.

On the determination of the leader to return to Boonesborough, Kenton and Montgomery resolved to remain to "get a shot and steal some horses. After waiting two days and a night in vain for a "shot," the solaced themselves with a fine horse apiece on which they safely rode into the fort the day after the Indians had raised the siege.

In the "piping times of peace" which followed, these adventurous spirits, joined by one named Clark, projected an expedition into the Indian country to procure more horses, and accordingly set out for Chillicothe in September. Reaching their destination in the night, they found a lot of animals in a corral, and succeeded in securing seven of them, but not without raising an alarm. Clinging to their booty, they rapidly made their way to the river, hotly pursued by the pillaged savages. On reaching the Ohio, they found it fretted up by the wind into a tumultuous state, and so boisterous that all their efforts failed to make the horses enter the water. With a foolhardy contempt for their danger, they resolved to wait one day, in the hope that the river would become smooth enough to afford a passage. In this they were not disappointed; but they now found an obstacle in the disposition of the horses, which had not yet recovered from their fright of the preceding day. Recognizing that further delay would bring the savages upon their heels, they turned loose the led horses, intending to escape with the ones they rode, but in an unfortunate moment of indecision, they reconsidered this wise conclusion, and determined to gain or lose all.

Turning about to recapture the horses just set free, the party had ridden but a short distance, when their ears were assailed by the loud whoop of an Indian. Utterly bereft of prudence, Kenton dismounted and

cautiously went forward to reconnoiter. On reaching a commanding ridge, he discovered two of the enemy mounted and in such close proximity that retreat was vain. He instantly presented his weapon, and pulled the trigger, but the gun flashed. The Indians were down upon the audacious horse-thief in an instant, but by rapid flight he gained the fallen timber in safety, and had eluded his pursuers, when, on emerging into an opening, he was espied by another member of the general party and taken captive. The savages, transported with rage at the daring attempt to steal their horses, gathered around him, upbraiding and beating him with their rods, when Montgomery, who had thus escaped detection, chivalrously, but foolishly approached, fired an ineffectual shot and fled, only to yield his life and scalp to the savages that instantly pursued him. Mark, with the best judgment, hastily retreated at the first alarm, and reached the port in safety.

Kenton was now to pay a severe penalty for his temerity. His captors spent the night near the river, and taxed their ingenuity to devise means to secure their prisoner from any chance of escape. Laying him flat upon his back, his legs were spread apart, and each foot stoutly fastened to a stake driven firmly in the ground; a pole was then laid across his breast, to which his extended arms were securely lashed, the thongs passing under his body from end to end of the pole, to prevent the possibility of his "working" loose; and a lariat, noosed about his neck, was drawn taut and attached to a sapling. It is needless to add that the savages found their victim safe in their toils in the morning.

Rapid preparations were then made to convey their prize to Chillicothe, during which the Indians seemed to find their native language inadequate to express their emotion, and assailed him with cuffs and epithets couched in broken English, the latter ranging from "a teef," "a hoss-steal," "aascal," to a "d—d white man." Among the animals, for which Kenton dared so much, was an untamed colt, which the fiendish

malice of the savages suggested as the proper means to carry him to their destination. The prisoner was accordingly placed upon the colt's back, his hands tied behind him, and his feet fastened by thongs passing under the animal's belly. This done, the horse was turned loose with blows and shouts, carrying his helpless rider through brush and briars to the great danger and suffering of Kenton, and the intense satisfaction of his foes. But fate, more kind than his savage tormentors, interposed, and after a few exhibitions of alarm and astonishment, the beast quietly submitted to its strange burden, and sedately joined the caravan.

On the third day the party reached Chillicothe, where Kenton was stripped of his clothing and tied to a stake. Here he was surrounded by a hooting mob of men, women and children, who scarified his back with repeated blows, and assailed his ears with every opprobrious epithet that their malignity could invent until midnight, when he was released and placed under guard until morning. Contrary to his expectations, instead of being remanded to the stake, he was ordered to run the gauntlet; in this trial his agile strength enabled him to disappoint the vengeance of his enemies by reaching the goal with but few serious blows. A council was then held, and Kenton learned from a brutal renegade white that his final fate had been deferred—that he was to be conducted to Wappatomica, and there burned.

Such intelligence was calculated to stimulate every sense of the captive to devise some way of escape, but it was not until the report of guns, and the shrill scalp-halloo of his escort signaled their near approach to a town, that Kenton was emboldened to make such an attempt. With a startling cry he shook off his guards, and bounded into the thick under-brush. The character of the country favored his flight, and he soon left his astonished foes far in the rear, but forgetting his close proximity to the village, he rushed headlong into a group of the new enemy, called out by the signals, and was speedily returned to captivity.

The village was Pickaway, and after spend



ing the night tied to a stake and attended by despair, he was led on the following day to his destination. Here he was again forced to run the gauntlet, and was severely hurt. Soon after, he was taken to the council which had been convened to decide his fate, and where he met Simon Girty, to whom he made himself known. The situation of his friend deeply touched the renegade's heart, and thus prompted he exerted his influence with the Indians with such effect as to secure Kenton's release. Taking him to his own wigwam, Girty supplied his old comrade with a complete suit of Indian clothing, and for three weeks was his constant companion.

Though free, Kenton was not unobserved by the savages, and escape was impossible. In the meantime a steady reaction set in, and he was one day suddenly summoned with Girty to attend a council; here, notwithstanding the renegade used his best endeavors, Kenton was bound and delivered to be burned at Sandusky. He was securely pinioned and led by a halter between mounted guards, and while thus marching through an Indian village, he was suddenly assaulted by a savage, who nearly severed his arm from the shoulder with an ax. The demoniacal savage would have inevitably ended Kenton's sufferings with another blow, had not his guards quickly interposed to save him for the torture of the stake. At another town he met the celebrated Mingo chief, Logan, whose noble spirit moved him to intercede for the young captive. After unusual exertions he failed to alter the determination of the warriors, but effected his object through an English Indian agent stationed at Sandusky.

Thus Kenton approached his fate; running the gauntlet thirteen times, narrowly escaping death on several occasions, his body emaciated and gaping with terrible wounds, he reached his destination with the assurance that on the morrow he should be burned. Here, the agent, Drewyer, begged possession of the captive that he might gain information of him concerning the frontier, and to this end wished to take him to Detroit. Permission was at last reluctantly granted, on condition that the prisoner should then be returned

to his captors, and on this pretense Kenton was allowed to accompany the agent to the English headquarters. Once within the protection of the garrison, all fear of the stake was removed. Here Kenton rapidly recovered from the effects of the ill-usage, and being placed under little restraint, began to consider plans for a return to Kentucky. He was at this time only twenty-four years of age; "was fine looking, with a dignified and manly deportment and a soft, pleasing voice and was, wherever he went, a favorite with the ladies." These attractions he turned to good account in providing for his escape.

There was no difficulty in leaving the post but the 200 miles of wilderness, which must be traversed, was tenanted with hostile savages, and the fate he had so narrowly escaped was too vivid in his mind to be lightly incurred again. However, his enforced stay gradually became more irksome and having found two fellow-prisoners willing to accompany him, he set about procuring arms and supplies for the journey. A trader's wife had become greatly interested in his history, and through her assistance, he procured whatever was needed. On June 3, 1777, Kenton, Bullitt and Cofer set out on the perilous journey, which they ventured on to pursue at night, and thus after thirty-three days of alternate hiding and traveling, they reached the falls of the Ohio in safety.

The success of the Illinois campaign and the enactment of the celebrated land-law passed in May, 1779, gave a remarkable impulse to the settlement of Kentucky. A general spirit of confidence was infused throughout the Territory of Virginia, and not only were large numbers encouraged to emigrate from the eastern settlements, but many of the settlers on the frontier, tired of the restraint imposed by the crowded character of the older stations, ventured out to form new ones. These, obedient to the same necessities, followed the form and character of the older ones, and consisted of a cluster of cabins, which, connected by a wall of palisade, enclosed a space that served the various purposes of park, parade-ground and court. "Their original population, consisting

all numbers in general, was various, and depended on the party that could be collected—often upon the popularity of the leader. They were sometimes colonies from other stations, sometimes composed of recent emigrants. They were always receptacles for newcomers, and many of them by the accession of numbers, and additional cabins, grew into villages in the course of a year or two, and were as suddenly depopulated when no longer influenced by surrounding danger." (Marshall.)

Among the earliest movements which mark the development, was that which resulted in the settlement formed near the falls of the Ohio. The families,\* left by Clark on the expedition, waited only to learn the successful issue of the expedition before planting themselves on the main land. This was probably done in the fall of 1778, when, re-enforced by certain of the returning militia, under Col. Linn, they erected a stockade, "on the western side of the large ravine, which formerly entered the river at the present (1838) location of Twelfth Street." In the succeeding spring this station felt the quickening influence of the time, and sent out several colonies. Prominently among these was one which established Linn's Station on Burgrass Creek, in Jefferson County, about five miles from the falls; another planted Eushear's Station, at the mouth of Floyd's Fork, in Bullitt County; a third founded Sullivan's Station, on the Bardstown road, about five miles southeast of the falls, in Jefferson County; a fourth established itself in the near vicinity of the old stockade, and was soon become known as the Middle and Spring Stations.

A similar activity manifested itself in the prior. Early in the spring, Robert Patton organized a company at Harrodsburg, and on April 1st, founded Lexington. It is

\* Marshall (Vol. I, p. 67) gives the number of these families as thirteen; Clark, in his letter to the Hon. George Mason, referred to in a preceding part of this work, gives the number at but twenty families. McMurtrie in his "Sketches of Louisville," 1819, places the number of families at six, but names five, the record of the other having been lost. Casseday (History of Louisville, 1852), following the latter author, mentions these pioneers in the following strain: "Let this trail lead, at least, lead its quota toward the honorable preservation of the names of Capt. James Patton, who piloted the first boat to the falls; Richard Chewoweth, John Tuel, William Faith, John McManus, the only names that history or tradition give of those earliest settlers of our native city."

probable that a single cabin alone marked the site of the proposed station until the 14th instant, when fourteen persons left Harrodsburg to make the new settlement their permanent home. This outpost gained considerable accessions during the year, and subsequently became one of the foremost stations on the frontier.

About the same time, Isaac Ruddle, of St. Asaph, accompanied by John Burger, penetrated still further north and erected a station, including Hinkston's old cabin on the south fork of the Licking, where he was soon afterward joined by his brother, James, and other families. Somewhat later, probably in the fall, Bryan's Station was established on the south bank of the north fork of the Elkhorn, about five miles northeast of Lexington. This colony consisted principally of immigrants from North Carolina, of whom the Bryans were the most conspicuous. There were four brothers of this family: Morgan, James, William and Joseph, all men in easy circumstances, with large families of children approaching maturity. William, though not the eldest, was the natural leader of the party. His wife was the sister of Boone, as was also the wife of William Grant, another member of this settlement. The station early fell a victim to the hostility of the savages. In the following May, while out hunting with a considerable party near the mouth of Cane Run, William Bryan and Grant were both seriously wounded by the Indians. Being mounted on the same horse and able to retain their seat, they escaped to the fort, where Bryan's wound proved fatal. The rest of the family, saddened and discouraged by this event, abandoned the station, and returned to North Carolina. The garrison, thus weakened, must have been obliged to resort to some other settlement, had not a considerable accession of Virginians, at this juncture, repaired this serious loss. The station continued to bear its founders' name, and became prominent in the subsequent "troubulous time."

Less prominent settlements planted in this region, in 1779, were known as Martin's, Grant's and Todd's Stations. The first was



located where John Martin had built a cabin in 1775—about five miles south of Ruddle's Station and three miles below the site of Paris. Grant's was planted by a colony, of which Col. John Grant, of North Carolina, and Capt. William Ellis, of Virginia, were leaders, and was situated between Bryan's and the present site of Paris, about five miles northeast of the first-named place. It was greatly harrassed by the Indians, and in 1780 was abandoned by its founders, who returned to the East. Todd's was planted on the Hickman, near the site of Keene, in Jessamine County, by John and Levi Todd. They soon afterward abandoned it, and retired to Lexington.

Save the exceptions noted, these stations northwest of the Kentucky River were off-shoots of Harrodsburg; but while the frontier capital was thus contributing to the settlement of that exposed region, other of its people were planting settlements within the shadow of its protection in Mercer County. Of these, the strongest was known as Bowman's Station, located six miles east of Harrodsburg, which was settled in 1779 by thirty families under the lead of Col. Abram Bowman. Of another, Gordon's Station, only its name has been preserved; while a third was established by the McAfees. The early adventures of this family in Kentucky have been elsewhere noted, and the rise of their station on the Salt River, six or seven miles below Harrodsburg, marks their return after an absence of some four years.

They made a clearing and some other improvements at this point in 1775, but in the fall they had returned to Virginia, leaving their crops and forty head of cattle in the care of the settlers, who had joined them and proposed to remain. In May of the following year they provided an ample stock of necessary supplies and attempted to bring them forward in canoes, by way of the Gauley and Kanawha Rivers, but finding this impracticable, they stored them in a *cache* and returned for pack-horses. The disturbing events which preceded the Revolutionary war frustrated their plans, and September had arrived before they could return to their

depot. This they found broken open, and the supplies wantonly wasted, or from exposure to the elements rendered entirely worthless. This necessitated a second retreat to Virginia, where they found the war actually begun, and giving up their plans of emigration, they joined the American army. Two years elapsed before they were free to renew their plans, when they were found once more on the frontier, established in a quadrangular inclosure of cabins and stores.

Similar signs of development were to be found about Logan's Station. William Whitley, who came from Virginia in 1777 and joined Logan in 1779, established a settlement not far from St. Asaph, within the present limits of Lincoln County. Here he was joined by the family of Samuel Daviess and others in the same year. About the same time, William Worthington, one of the "Long Hunters," erected a station near the present northern line of Lincoln County; others went farther north to the vicinity of Danville, where "Field's lottery cabin" was erected in 1774; and in the fall, Pittman erected a station on the Green River, near the mouth of Pittman's Creek, about ten miles west of Greensburg.

From Boonesborough, Col. John Floyd went out in the early spring, and planted a station at the mouth of Beargrass. This he soon afterward abandoned, and settled on the middle fork of this creek, about six miles from the falls. In the succeeding summer or fall, he was followed by Squire Boone, who fixed his settlement at "Painted Stone" on Clear Creek, near the site of Shelbyville. This station grew rapidly in size and numbers, and for upward of two years was the only fort between the posts on the Beargrass and Harrodsburg. Strode made a station two miles from Winchester in Clarke County, in this year, and about a mile above Boonesborough. Nathaniel Hart, in company with a party from Pennsylvania, established another station on the bottom lands of the Kentucky.

Of the large accessions received from the east, some emigrated in parties of considerable numbers, under the direction of a

pent leaders, and effected a settlement in safety. Others came singly, or in companies of two or three, simply to "spy out the land," while many came hampered by their families, and encumbered with household effects, prepared to settle on "bare creation." These adventurers, inexperienced in the dangers of a land beset by lurking bands of savage foes, fell easy victims to the ambush by day and the assault by night. Murders followed in rapid succession; and the savages, committing their depredations with comparative impunity, threatened to entirely stop the inflowing tide of settlers. Not only humanity, therefore, but the very permanence of the settlements also, demanded that this life-giving current be protected. But with this necessity clearly apparent, it is quite probable that the bold remedy of an invasion of the Indian country would have been indefinitely deferred, had not a terrible victory of the savages incited the frontiersmen to immediate action.\*

In 1778, Col. David Rogers had been dispatched to New Orleans by the governor of Virginia, to procure munitions for the military operations in the West. Spain had not yet declared war, and the Spanish authorities were obliged to observe caution in granting such contraband supplies to the Americans. Concealing his large boats and most of his command in the Ozark River, Rogers proceeded to his destination, accompanied by Col. Benham and a boat's crew. On arriving at New Orleans, he found an English ship-of-war in port, the captain of which observed the arrival of the Americans with suspicion, and maintained so close a scrutiny upon their movements that their mission seemed likely to end in failure.

It was at this time that Capt. Benham was sent overland to Clark, at Kaskaskia, probably with dispatches. The captain accomplished his task and safely reached the falls of the Ohio, in the spring of 1779. Soon after his arrival, the two keel-boats of Col. Rogers, who had succeeded in evading the watchfulness of the British officers, came up and took Benham on board. The boats then

proceeded up the river for Pittsburgh, the captain in command of one of them.

On reaching the sand-bar above the present site of Cincinnati, it was discovered to be bare half the way across the river, and at the same time a number of savages on rafts and in canoes were observed coming down the Little Miami, its flood-tide carrying the Indian flotilla across to the Kentucky side. Confident in the superior strength of his force, Rogers ordered the boats to draw up to the Kentucky shore, and the troops to land for the purpose of surprising these warriors. Impressed with the idea that he had only a small party to deal with, the commander proceeded with too little caution, and just as his movements promised the fullest success of the maneuver, he found himself completely environed by an overwhelming number of the enemy. The first intimation of his perilous situation was followed by a murderous volley from every side, which was instantly succeeded by an irresistible assault with the tomahawk. The whites could make no successful resistance, and of the forty or fifty engaged, not more than ten ever returned to their families. One boat, left in charge of five men, escaped capture by putting off into the river and floating down to the falls; others of the crew escaped by a determined effort to break through the enemy's lines, though most were killed in this attempt.

Two of those who joined in this desperate charge, were Capt. Robert Benham and John Watson, the story of whose sufferings and rescue is one of the most thrilling of the authentic tales of the border. In escaping the toils of the enemy, Benham was disabled by a wound through both his hips. He instantly fell to the ground, but fortunately near a prostrate tree, which afforded him a convenient place of concealment. Here he lay undiscovered through the next day, while the Indians near by were scalping and plundering his slain comrades. On the evening of the second day, having retained his rifle and ammunition, and the savages having abandoned the field, he shot a raccoon, which he discovered descending a tree near him. Scarcely had the report of



his gun been heard, when he was startled by a human cry in the near vicinity. Hastily reloading his gun in the expectation of discovering an enemy, he awaited further developments in silence. The cry was soon repeated, but Benham, maintaining his silence, cocked his gun, and prepared to fire at the first sight of an approaching foe. The cry came a third time from a nearer point, and the wounded officer could distinguish the words: "Whoever you are, for God's sake, answer me."

The cry proved to come from Watson, who had been disabled by wounds in both arms, and had escaped death by hiding. The two wounded men were soon together, and each supplying the other's defect, they supported themselves in their crippled condition for several weeks. In this division of labor, Benham killed and cooked the game, and dressed the wounds of both, tearing off their shirts for bandages; Watson in the meanwhile made his legs useful in kicking the slaughtered game within the reach of his companion, and in raking and rolling brush and small wood where he could use it for fuel. The greatest difficulty was experienced in getting water, but Benham finally contrived to put the brim of his hat between his companion's teeth, who then waded into the water until it reached his neck, when he could manage to fill the hat and return with it to the captain.

In a few days the small game within the reach of Benham's rifle was all destroyed or driven off; when Watson, going out and making a wide detour, would drive the game within the reach of his companion. Wild turkeys were fortunately abundant, and they had no difficulty in securing all the food they needed. In this way they sustained themselves until their wounds so far healed as to permit Benham to travel, and Watson to afford slight assistance with one hand. They then changed their location, erected a small shed at the mouth of the Licking, where they kept watch for some passing boat to effect their escape.

After maintaining this crippled existence for some six weeks, they discovered a flat-

boat floating down the stream. Benham made signals to the crew, but fearing an ambush into which they suspected these efforts were intended to decoy them, the occupants of the boat gave no heed, and the wretches, with feelings of despair, saw the first chance of rescue slipping from their grasp. After passing them half a mile, however, a crew put off from the boat cautiously approached the point where they were. Nearly naked, and their countenances rendered repulsive by their unkempt hair and beard, the unfortunate men were objects not calculated to give rise to suspicion, but their true plight was soon revealed, they were taken to the falls, where they recovered.

Early in 1779, Washington projected a movement against the Indians all along the border. Gen. Sullivan was directed against the Six Nations in New York, and with him, Col. Brodhead was ordered to co-operate in an attack on the tribes on the Pennsylvania frontier, from Fort Pitt. On April 1, these plans were so far modified as to change the direction of Brodhead's attack from the tribes on that border to the western Indians, and to make the capture of Detroit his immediate object. It is probable that it was arranged, through the governor of Virginia, that the frontier militia of Kentucky, should co-operate with Brodhead in his western movements, and Bowman accordingly issued instructions, in April, that the settlers should plant their corn as early as possible, and prepare for an expedition in May. For some unrecorded reason, the western campaign was abandoned; Brodhead proceeded up the Alleghany, inflicted severe chastisement on the tribes in this region, and the Kentucky expedition did not move.

Public affairs were in this posture when the few of Rogers' command who escaped found their way to Harrodsburg, and brought the fearful tidings of that massacre. Samuel Frazee, a member of Mr. Harrod's company at the falls, also came from the mouth of the Licking, bringing the alarm to the frontier capital. The abandoned expedition was hastily revived, and so much of the fighting

strength of the interior settlements as could prudently be spared, was ordered to rendezvous at Lexington, from whence the whole should proceed to the mouth of the Licking, where the contingent from the falls was directed to join them with batteaux, on which to cross the river.

The force thus brought together consisted of five companies. Of those from the interior, one, under Benjamin Logan, was drawn from Logan's, Whitley's and Clark's stations; another from Boonesborough was commanded by John Holder; a third recruited from Bryan's and Lexington Stations, with additions from Harrodsburg, was led by Levi Todd; and the fourth, under the command of Josiah Harlan, was made up of recruits from Wilson's and McAfee's Stations, besides a contingent from Harrodsburg, and a body of men, under the command of Lieut. John Haggin, from Ruddle's and Martin's Stations. The men were all volunteers and "found themselves." Each man carried his munitions and subsistence, the latter being restricted to a "peck of parched corn," though "some public beef" was issued at the rendezvous.

The expedition set forth in July. The line of march led from Lexington down the west bank of the Licking; reaching the headwaters of the Bank Lick Creek, the little army encamped for the night, and on the next day reached the Ohio. Meeting the company of William Harrod here, the organization of the expedition was completed by the appointment of Maj. George Michael Bedinger, as adjutant. On crossing the river, the order of March divided the force into three divisions, commanded respectively by Bowman, Logan and Frazee.\* The trail of the red men was struck near the present site of Cincinnati; and followed to old Chillicothe, with such success

as to come upon the town without betraying their presence. Scouts were sent forward, who reported, on their return, a large number of savages present, but that they were entirely unconscious of the near approach of an enemy.

The whites had reached a point about a mile distant from the Indian town, when the spies were sent forward. It was in the early part of the night, and when their report was received, some hours later, it was arranged that Logan should lead his force to the left, while Bowman should turn to the right, and together they should encircle the town, the attack to begin when their forces joined in the rear of the village. Logan quickly accomplished his part of the maneuver, and impatiently awaited the arrival of the other wing to begin the attack. The hours slowly passed and daylight began to dawn, but still Bowman's party did not make its appearance. Anxious to avoid jeopardizing the success of the expedition by premature action, Logan ordered his men to secrete themselves in the tall grass and wait for the expected signal to attack. In gaining cover, however, some of the men attracted the attention of one of the dogs in the town, which instantly set up a furious barking. Soon a single warrior was observed to emerge from a cabin and peer carefully about to discover the cause of the dog's disturbance, cautiously advancing at the same time toward where the whites lay concealed. Logan imposed the utmost silence upon his men, hoping to capture the savage without alarming the rest of the inhabitants, but just as this design seemed in a fair way to be realized, a gun was discharged from the other side of the town by one of Bowman's men.

The town was instantly alive; the inhabitants shouting and hurrying to a strong central cabin, intent upon making a stubborn defense. Recognizing the uselessness of further disguise Logan led his men close upon the retreating savages, taking advantage of the deserted cabins to get close to the Indian stronghold. Here he found himself in a critical position; the savages, having recovered from their panic, were maintaining

\*The narrative of Samuel Frazee, which assigns himself the command of one of the divisions, differs materially from other generally accepted accounts of the expedition, but the fact of his participation in the movement, and the fortuitous publication of his story, give it a certain sanction, which may render it worth considering. However, while the evidence at hand does not authoritatively controvert his statements, a reasonable question may arise, whether the prominent part he assumed in his narrative would have entirely escaped the notice even of a somewhat inaccurate record of that event. The order of March as represented in the narrative is confirmed by an independent deposition quoted by Mr. Collins (Vol. II, p. 425), though the leaders are not named. The number of men in the expedition is estimated from 135 to 300.



a rapid and well-directed fire upon their assailants. The enemy greatly outnumbered the whites in Logan's party, which was in such a position that neither an advance nor a retreat could be made without great exposure. It was at this juncture that the intrepid leader looked in vain for some evidence of support from the other division. Observing that the Indians had become aware of their superiority in numbers, and were showing an intention of turning his flanks, he began to prepare a movable breast-work of doors and puncheons taken from the deserted cabins, under cover of which he proposed to storm the enemy's position.

Before the necessary preparations were completed, a messenger from Bowman reached Logan with orders to retreat. Beside himself with astonishment and indignation, Logan had no recourse save to obey, but such a movement to the undisciplined militia was a difficult one to perform with success. "Each man selected the time, manner and route of his retreat for himself. Here, a solitary Kentuckian would start up from behind a stump and scud away through the grass, dodging and turning to avoid the balls which whistled around him. There, a dozen men would run from a cabin and scatter in every direction, each anxious to save himself and none having leisure to attend to his neighbors." In this way, Logan's men soon rejoined the party under Bowman, which for some unaccountable reason had remained where they had halted the night before.\* Here confusion became worse confounded. "Some cursed their colonel, some reproached other officers, one shouted one thing, one bellowed another, but all seemed to agree that they ought to make the best of their way home without the loss of a moment's time."

In the midst of all this disorder the com-

\*"Sketches of Western Adventure," by Rev. John A. McClung, 1832, p. 113, *et. seq.* Frazee, in the narrative quoted by Mr. Collins (Vol. II, p. 426), says: "About midnight we attempted to move on three sides of the Indian camp and were to remain stationary, within good gun-shot of the Indians, until daylight, when we were to make a simultaneous attack upon the camp. Just as we had gotten up within a short range, an Indian dog gave the alarm. A tall Indian raised up from the center of their camp and I shot him down, and immediately gave word to my men to fire. The Indians shot from the cracks of their huts, and after we had fired three rounds I gave word to retreat. I saw that we were fighting to a great disadvantage."

mander of the expedition seemed paralyzed and Logan, ably seconded by other officers restored something like discipline among their followers. The sharp crack of the Indians' rifles aided these efforts in no small degree, for nothing cleared the mental vision of the pioneers more readily than a sense of danger. The Indians, astonished to see their foes rout themselves in this unceremonious manner, hesitated for a few moments to make a close pursuit, but recognizing the sincerity of the retreat, they were soon down upon the disordered whites. The Kentuckians quickly formed a square, and taking shelter behind trees, readily repelled the attack. The retreat was then begun in an orderly manner, but the column had proceeded no great distance,\* when the savages renewed their attack, this time on all sides.

Matters now assumed a serious aspect; the men began to grow unsteady, the colonel continued incompetent, and the savages seemed likely to succeed in their design of retarding the retreat until re-enforcements could be hurried forward to aid in the attack. At this critical juncture, Capts. Logan and Harrod, Maj. Bedinger and others, leading some of the best mounted of their followers, charged the savages, forcing them to leave their coverts, and cutting many of them down, while the main body made good use of their rifles upon such of the enemy as were forced to expose themselves. This spirited action dispersed the enemy, and the discouraged and weary troops were allowed to continue their march without disturbance. The retreat followed the line of the outward march, crossing to Kentucky; the plunder was disposed of by auction, and the men discharged to take such paths as would the most easily bring them to their several homes.

Of the result of this expedition, the most conflicting opinions were entertained. The whites, at a cost of eight or nine killed, had captured 163 horses, had burned the greater part of the village, and inflicted a loss of fifteen or twenty slain (the noted chief,

\*McClung says: "But scarcely had they advanced half a mile." Bradford (notes on Kentucky in the *Kentucky Gazette*) says: "had not marched more than eight or ten miles."

Blackfish, was among them) upon the savages, yet the expedition had evidently miscarried. While, under the circumstances, the result was far less than a disaster, still it could not be disguised that the object of the campaign, in which the whole strength of Kentucky had been enlisted, had proved sadly inconclusive, and that, too, without any satisfactory reason. Gen. Ray and others, competent to judge intelligently of the matter, did not discredit the commander of the expedition, but the general disappointment made Col. Bowman the object of its resentment. Public sentiment, therefore, gradually retired Bowman and preferred Logan, whose services had certainly been marked by gallantry and efficiency.

Unsatisfactory as the result of this expedition proved, it served, with the more efficient one conducted from Pittsburgh by Col. Brodhead, to temporarily relieve the border of the presence of any formidable array of savages. Predatory attacks were still made, but with less frequency and success, and the tide of immigration continued unabated. Even the rigor of winter failed to oppose a sufficient barrier to the ardor of the immigrants, and many families, traveling to Kentucky, were forced to camp on the way, where they suffered great privations.

The winter of 1779-80 was unusually severe, and is noted in the annals of the State as "the hard winter." The water in the rivers was frozen to an extraordinary depth, while that in the shallow streams was converted into ice to the very bottom. The frequent fall of snow, which the regularity of the temperature preserved from wasting, early covered the ground to a great depth, and remained so long as to threaten the extermination of brute life. Thousands of large and small animals of the forest perished, while the domestic animals of the settlers, despite their care, fell victims to exposure and starvation by hundreds. Families on the road, their progress impeded by the snow, soon exhausted their slender stock of provisions, and in many cases were obliged to feed on the wasted carcasses of their perished animals. The spring brought its

share of evils, but it was none the less hailed with lively satisfaction. Much of the stock which had survived cold and hunger was swept away by floods, and travel was greatly impeded, but these were temporary ills.

Privations did not end with the vernal season, however. The game, invigorated with the fresh verdure, supplied the people with wholesome meat, but the supply of corn proved inadequate to the demand occasioned by the large accession to the population on the frontier. Before the end of winter the people were forced to practice the closest economy in the use of bread, and long before a new crop became available there was no corn to be had. During this period the nominal price of the cereal at the falls varied from \$50 per bushel in December, 1779, to \$165 in January, 1780, and \$30 in May. These prices were based on the value of depreciated continental currency, but they represent a wonderful exaggeration of value, even when expressed in coin.

These facts, unknown or unheeded in the older settlements, did not deter others from seeking new homes in the West, and the spring of 1780 witnessed an unprecedented immigration. Beside those who followed the early routes by tedious overland journeys, large numbers came down the Ohio to the falls, and thence proceeded inland by wagon. In the preceding fall and in this spring, Floyd notes, in his correspondence with Col. Preston, the arrival of 300 large family boats at the falls, and that as many as ten or fifteen wagons could be seen daily setting off for the interior. New stations continued to spring up in all directions, generally in the vicinity of those already established, though a few more adventurous souls settled in the isolated regions now embraced in the counties of Nelson, Hardin, Green and Logan. Many of the new-comers, however, remained in the vicinity of the falls, and the cluster of six stations, planted here, soon numbered as many hundred inhabitants.

The settlement at this point was rapidly growing in importance. Clark, on turning over the civil government of the Illinois country to Col. Todd, had fixed his head-



quarters at the falls, and here in the spring of 1780, he was joined by Col. George Slaughter with 150 State troops from Virginia. This promise of security, with the natural advantages which the river navigation gave it, confirmed the general opinion that "the Falls of the Ohio is a place, of all others within the colony, will admit of a town." Accordingly in May (1780), the Virginia legislature passed "an act for establishing the town of Louisville." This act, made John Todd, Jr., Stephen Trigg, George Slaughter, John Floyd, William Pope, George Merriweather, Andrew Hines, James Sullivan and Marshall Brashiers, trustees, provided for the platting of certain lands, and for the sale of lots "at the court houses of adjacent counties," and required the purchasers "to hold their said lots subject to the condition of building on each a dwelling-house sixteen feet by twenty at least, with a brick or stone chimney, to be finished within two years from date of sale." This period was subsequently extended, on account of Indian disturbances, but thenceforth the town of Louisville, which received its name in grateful recognition of the French monarch's assistance in the Revolutionary war, had a permanent place in the annals of Kentucky.

On the 10th of May a land office was opened at Harrodsburg for the reception of warrants issued by the treasurer of Virginia, and the holders of these claims, or their agents, thronged the office. The object was to secure the location of lands, to which these warrants entitled the owners, and a majority of the men present in Kentucky were interested in this business. In the presence of this overshadowing interest, the danger to be apprehended from the enemy was forgotten. The report of "fresh signs," that some one was fired on, or even that a settler had been killed or captured, created but a momentary bustle; a scouting party might be induced by the circumstance to go out, but its duties were quickly dispatched, and its members were soon engaged in the pursuit of the hour—the acquisition of land.

There were others, however, who were so situated as to give more attention to public

affairs, and Clark about this time was engaged in an enterprise, which, though of the first importance and conceived in wise statesmanship, foreboded no good to Kentucky. The design of erecting a fort near the mouth of the Ohio was intimated in Gov. Patrick Henry's instructions to Col. Clark in 1778, and in the succeeding June, Henry's successor gave express orders to carry it out. The object, though not yet accomplished, had not been forgotten, and Gov. Thomas Jefferson in January and April, 1780, reiterated his orders for the fulfillment of this design. The question of the western boundary of the united colonies had already been broached at the Spanish court—a question, which Jefferson had foreseen must arise with England, in case of a victorious issue of the colonial struggle. In such an event, Jefferson was determined to be in actual possession of the Northwest, by means of a chain of fortified posts, of which the one on the Mississippi, and those in the Illinois country, indicated a direction which must make Detroit the northern terminus.

This was indeed the plan which received the sanction of Jefferson's State policy as well as of Clark's ambition, and accordingly, in the spring of 1780, Clark set out from Louisville with 200 troops to accomplish the first part of the grand design. Going down the river to a point on the Mississippi, five miles below the mouth of the Ohio, he erected a stout stockade, which he called Fort Jefferson, in honor of the governor. Beside a small garrison left in the fort, a number of families, persuaded by the unusual inducements offered, located near by and took forcible possession of a region where the Chickasaws had long held undisputed sway. This nation had been on friendly terms with the whites, and it was a grave oversight that their permission was not sought, before the fort was erected. As it was, however, this unprovoked invasion of their territory aroused their resentful patriotism, and these hitherto peaceful tribes harried the western and southern boundaries of Kentucky, until the evacuation of the fort in the next year removed the cause of their hostilities.

Clark's designs were not greatly misinterpreted by the successor of Hamilton at Detroit, and the new base of operations established on the Ohio incited him to fresh activity in the attempt to cripple the settlements of Kentucky, which thus menaced the British power in the Northwest. Fort Pitt was less feared, not simply because more remote, but also because its expeditions westward had generally proved abortive, and the contest was therefore accepted as lying between Clark, with his fearless frontiersmen, and the British at Detroit, aided by the hostile tribes north of the Ohio. On recovering from the effect of Clark's audacious campaign in the Illinois country, the English commandant at Detroit, descending upon Vincennes, had gained a cheap victory, and planned for the next year an expedition which was to set out from the captured post and fall upon the stations in Kentucky, while another should at the same time strike from the region farther east. The subsequent recapture of Vincennes, and with it the commandant, seriously interrupted this programme, and it was not until 1780 that his successor could prepare a counter-stroke to Clark's gallant victory; but this, he determined, should be overwhelming.

The expedition consisted of about 1,000 Canadians and Indians, with six pieces of artillery, under the command of Col. Byrd. These forces were rendezvoused on the 1st of June, and immediately set out for Kentucky. Such formidable preparations could scarcely be hidden even in the recesses of the Ohio forests. Rumors of the organization of an expedition with artillery, destined to attack Louisville, were noted by Floyd in his correspondence as early as May, and yet such was the overweening confidence or general distraction of the people in securing their lands, that no reasonable precaution was taken to ascertain the truth of the rumor or to guard against surprise. Byrd was accordingly allowed to approach at his convenience without opposition or observation.

In the absence of any wheel-ways, the artillery was brought down the Big Miami; thence to the Licking, which was ascended

as far as the present town of Falmouth. Here the ordnance was landed, and the line of march slowly pursued up one branch of the river to Ruddle's Station. The invading force had been twelve days in making the distance from the Ohio River, having chopped out a wagon road most of the way, and yet, on the 22d of June, the first intimation that the garrison of Ruddle's Station had of the approach of the overwhelming army was the discharge of a piece of artillery, in their immediate vicinity. This portentous sound was quickly followed by the appearance of the hostile host and a summons to surrender to the forces of his Britannic majesty's representative. Resistance was out of the question, and Capt. Ruddle stipulated only that the garrison should become prisoners solely of the English. This was agreed upon, but no sooner were the gates unbarred, than the savages rushed in and seized on the whites, each claiming the victim in his clutches as his individual property.

The most heart-rending scenes were enacted. Several reluctant prisoners were instantly dispatched with the tomahawk. Little children, convulsed with grief and fright, were torn from the arms of their mothers; wives were separated from their husbands, and scarcely two of any family were destined to be near each other in captivity. In vain did Ruddle remonstrate with Col. Byrd. While anxious to fulfill his part of the engagement, the commander found himself helpless in the hands of the insatiable savages. The prisoners were stripped of their property, and divided among their Indian captors, who, having thoroughly rifled the station, now demanded to be led against Martin's Station, only five miles away. This, the British officer refused to do until he had exacted a solemn promise of the chiefs that their followers should be satisfied with the plunder alone.

Martin's Station was found carelessly resting in the same foolish security with the rest of the border, utterly unconscious of the tragedy, which had just been enacted a few miles distant. The demand for the surrender of the station was quickly acceded to by the



garrison, who, profiting by the fate of Ruddle's party, were recognized as the prisoners of the English. After plundering this station, the Indians clamored to be led against Lexington, but this Byrd refused to do, assigning the difficulty of moving his artillery, the probability of failure in the attack, and the necessity of taking advantage of the present high water to effect a retreat, as his reasons. While these suggestions had sufficient plausibility to satisfy the savages and still occasion some doubt as to his real sentiments, the reader will not greatly err if he credit the commanding officer with the possession of such humanity as led him to refuse to become accessory to further horrors, such as he had witnessed at the captured stations.

The retreat decided upon, the whole force returned to the point of debarkation, where, the ordnance and stores being reloaded, the Canadians retraced their outward route, while the Indians, separating from their allies, took a shorter road for their towns, carrying the prisoners taken at Ruddle's Station with them. Among the captives was John Hinkston, who had returned to his "improvement" when the advent of Ruddle's party had rendered it reasonably safe. He was a brave and experienced woodsman, and managed to make his escape on the first night of the retreat. Taking advantage of the guard's attempting to start a fire, he leaped into the darkness, where the friendly undergrowth enabled him to elude the swift pursuit of the savages. After many narrow escapes from recapture, he succeeded in reaching the fort at Lexington on the next day, where his story was the first information the garrison had of the disaster which had befallen the more advanced stations.

On the heel of these events, Clark returned from Fort Jefferson to find a letter from the governor, urging an expedition against the Indians on the upper waters of the Miami, and especially with a view to destroy the trading post known as Loramie's Store, which served the English as a depot of supplies for the neighboring tribes. The events just narrated added a more powerful incentive, and Clark immediately proceeded to

Harrodsburg to enlist the borderers in the new crusade. Here he found the settlers oblivious of every other interest, eagerly pressing their claims, and deaf to any appeal which was calculated to lead them away from the absorbing pursuit. With the cordial cooperation of the surveyors, Clark issued an order temporarily closing the land office, and sent his proclamation through the settlements, setting forth the urgent reason for his action, and calling for volunteers to aid him in chastising the savages. Thus brought to their senses, the people quickly rallied to his standard. Clark had a body of State troops at Louisville, which was dignified with the title of "regiment," though scarcely numbering more than 300 men. With these, and the volunteers from the various stations, the force assembled at the mouth of Licking in July, numbered about 1,000\* men, besides some artillery conveyed up the river from Louisville.

The expedition was conducted with skill and good fortune, and the invaders succeeded in reaching Piqua unannounced. A stubborn skirmish ensued when each of the belligerent forces lost seventeen killed. The Indians finally gave way, and after destroying the town and growing crops, Logan was dispatched with his regiment to destroy the trading post at Pickaway. By this time the savages had learned of the presence of a hostile force in their midst, and Logan found only a deserted town and store. These he burned, and cutting the corn, returned to the main body, when, the whole expedition retreating to the Licking, the volunteers were discharged.

This campaign, though scarcely more conclusive in its results than the one it was designed to retaliate, had the good result of relieving Kentucky of further formidable inroads during the remaining part of the year. The usual predatory bands of savages continued to infest the border, however, and waylaying the unwary hunter at the various licks, or on the frequented trails, inflicted considerable damage. It was in an adven-

\*The papers of Capt. James Patton, of Louisville, placed the number at 998, divided into two regiments under the immediate commands of Cols. Linn and Logan. See Butler, p. 117.

ture with one of these bands that Daniel Boone signalized his return to the frontier. He had brought his family from North Carolina to Boonesborough in the summer, and had been closely engaged on his "improvement" until October, when, with his brother Edward, he went to the lower Blue Lick to secure a supply of salt. On their homeward journey they were fired on by a party of Indians; Edward was killed and scalped, and Daniel compelled to seek safety in instant flight. His start and superior skill soon enabled him to place a safe distance between himself and his pursuers, but, with the aid of a dog, the savages found no difficulty in following his trail, and pressed him so closely that concealment was impossible. The situation was becoming critical, but observing that his only chance of escape was in destroying the dog, Boone halted until the baying animal came within range of his gun, when he shot the troublesome brute, and escaped in safety to the fort.

Such attacks were not submitted to by the settlers without some attempt at reprisal, but these efforts on the part of the whites were attended with very meager results. Indeed it was the opinion of leading men in the colonies that the western border could only be rendered reasonably secure by the capture of Detroit. After the failure of Mc-

Intosh in 1778, Washington renewed the project, but after vainly making repeated efforts to put the movement on foot he felt obliged to forego this undertaking, as it involved too great an expense for the limited continental resources.

Jefferson could not so readily yield this object. The constant demand upon Virginia for several hundred men and their necessary supplies, all seriously needed on the Atlantic border, urged the Virginia executive to devise some means to rid the commonwealth of this menacing post in the West, and by one grand expenditure of men and money to stop the continual drain upon the resources of the State. The estimated cost of the movement was placed at £2,000,000, a sum which even made this resolute patriot hesitate. In September, 1780, however, Jefferson wrote the American commander-in-chief that the commonwealth had determined to undertake the enterprise, provided he would grant the State such military supplies as were necessary, Virginia furnishing the men and subsistence and conducting the expedition. This was agreed upon, and the New Year opened with the prospect that this troublesome post of the enemy would soon be in the hands of the Americans.



## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE PRICE OF LIBERTY.

THE early years of Kentucky's struggle with the united forces of the English and Indians, while marked by cruel reverses and discouraging casualties, were nevertheless relieved by such evidences of general success as to encourage the settlers to expect victory in the end. The later years, on the contrary, proved more exacting upon the fortitude of those who still dared to brave the perils of the frontier. The long-continued strain, which the war imposed upon the older communities, greatly reduced their resources for their own defense, and left none to be lightly expended in the defense of the frontier, which the prevailing sentiment began to regard as maintained largely in a spirit of fool-hardiness. The enemy was not similarly affected. Hitherto the allies seemed to have carried on their attacks with more determination, and, though rather by good fortune than by good strategy, secured their most effective victories in these trying years. Happily the end of the war brought relief, just when the frontier forts were about to fail, and the darkest hour of the struggle was thus made to give way to the dawn of peace. But the opening days of 1781 revealed nothing of this. A deceptive lull in hostilities reassured the settlers, while the leaders, planning a new expedition against Detroit, hoped the event was preparing that should bring speedy relief to the border.

Clark had gone to Richmond to aid in concerting these measures, and under date of December 28, 1780, Washington inclosed to Jefferson an order on Brodhead, the officer in command at Fort Pitt, to furnish the representative of Virginia with a company of artillery, ammunition, intrenching tools, and a force of men sufficient for a captain's or

major's command. It was provided that beside such regular troops as Clark had at Louisville, and those to be secured at Fort Pitt, the 2,000 troops to form the attacking force should be drawn from the militia of the western counties of Virginia proper, and from Kentucky. Accordingly, on the 22d of January, 1781, Clark was commissioned "brigadier-general of the forces to be embodied in an expedition westward of the Ohio," which was to rendezvous at Louisville by the 15th of March.

In the meantime an obstacle had arisen to delay the enterprise. Benedict Arnold, eager to prove the sincerity of his treason, had secured a commission to lead a raid into Virginia, and Clark took temporary command under Baron Steuben, who covered Petersburg from the attack of the enemy. Relieved from this duty, the general energetically set about recruiting the force destined for the western expedition. In the preceding fall, Kentucky had been divided into three counties, with Floyd, Logan and Todd as county-lieutenants, and the respective regiments of militia placed under their command as colonels, with William Pope, Stephen Trigg and Daniel Boone as lieutenant-colonels. With such names it was not difficult to conjure up a formidable body of militia, especially for an expedition led by Clark, but to raise an available force of 2,000 men was a large undertaking under the most favorable circumstances. It was designed to make the attack after the Wabash had become clear of ice, and before the lakes opened, but the most vexatious delay was experienced, and it was not until the middle of summer that Clark reached Louisville. By this time the golden opportunity had passed, and the ac-

tivity of the enemy on the border finally put an end to the general's long cherished plan of reducing the English stronghold at Detroit.

It is not probable that the enemy fathomed the plans of the Kentucky general, but the operations of the savages were well calculated to afford the greatest obstacle to their successful execution. With the opening of spring, marauding bands spread through the region south of the Ohio, attacking the less protected settlements, waylaying the unwary by the principal trails and springs, and creating so great a concern for the safety of the stations that it is probable only a comparatively small number of the militia could have prudently been spared for the expedition, had it prospered so far as to set forth. In March the several stations on the Beargrass were attacked, and Col. Linn and Capts. Tipton and Chapman killed. Pursuing one of these bands, Capt. Aquilla Whittaker, with fifteen men, followed the trail of the retreating enemy to the foot of the rapids where, supposing the Indians had crossed the river, the whites took canoes to continue the pursuit. They were scarcely embarked when they were assailed from the shore by a volley which killed or wounded nine of their number. The rest, undaunted by this disaster, returned to the shore and boldly faced the foe, but the Indians did not remain to contest the field.

About the same time another tragedy was being enacted about seventy-five miles to the southeast. Here, on the head-waters of the Green River, the father and brother of Mrs. Benjamin Logan had built four cabins, marking a large, irregular, square area, but unprotected by palisades. These families had been residents of Logan's Fort until this spring, when, thinking that little danger from the Indians was to be apprehended in a locality so remote from the Ohio, they took possession of their new homes. They did not long remain undiscovered. One night in March a small party of Indians concealed themselves near enough to command the doors of the cabins, and in the morning, as William Montgomery, Sr., stepped out of his cabin in the gray of the early dawn, he was imme-

diately shot dead, as was a slave boy who closely followed him. Montgomery's daughter, Jane, then a young woman, promptly closed and barred the door, calling for a rifle. Betsey, her twelve-year-old sister, clambered up the chimney, and gaining the ground from its top, set out at the top of her speed for Pettit's Station, about two and a half miles away. Her escape was observed, and an Indian pursued her some distance, but she out-ran the savage and safely reached the station, from whence a messenger was at once dispatched to St. Asaph's for succor. The bold bearing of the older girl prevented the Indians from trying to force the cabin, though she and a little brother were the only occupants.

William Montgomery, Jr., with his wife and one child and a bound boy, occupied another cabin. The first crack of the rifle alarmed him, and directing the servant to guard the door with a heavy sap-trough, he discharged his rifle through a crevice in rapid succession, killing one and seriously wounding another of the savages before they withdrew out of his range. John Montgomery, but lately married, occupied a third cabin; he was shot while in the act of rising from his bed, his cabin door forced open and his wife made captive. Joseph Russell, who with his wife and three children occupied the fourth cabin, succeeded in making his escape, leaving his family and a mulatto slave girl to fall into the hands of the savages. The escape of Betsey Montgomery probably induced the Indians to beat a hurried retreat, and the pursuer of the little girl found his companions gone on his return. Mounting a log in front of the cabin of William Montgomery, Jr., he began signaling his comrades by a loud halloo, when Montgomery, who had not yet ventured to open his door, sent a fatal shot through the unsuspecting savage.

The arrival of the messenger from Pettit's Station was scarcely announced at St. Asaph's, when a blast of Logan's horn spread the alarm—a magical note, which almost instantly conjured up a company of twelve or fifteen fully armed frontiersmen. The



ten or twelve miles' distance to the scene of the attack was quickly traversed, and taking the trail, which was rendered plain by Mrs. Russell's shrewdness in breaking twigs and dropping shreds of her handkerchief as she went, the Indians were soon overtaken. The whites at once made a fierce onset, the Indians leaving their prisoners and a wounded comrade in their hasty flight. All the prisoners were recovered save a little daughter of Mrs. Russell; on hearing the voice of Logan she cried, "There's Uncle Ben," whereupon the cruel savage that had her in charge struck her dead with his tomahawk. On the march the rescuers found the yellow girl tomahawked, scalped, and left for dead, but on hearing friendly voices, she sprang to her feet and eventually recovered.

In April,\* the depredations and continued presence of the Indians created a good deal of alarm among the occupants of Squire Boone's Station on Clear Creek. After deliberation it was decided that prudence demanded the removal of the occupants of that station to the protection of the stronger forts on the Beargrass. Such a movement, in the presence of an enemy, was a hazardous undertaking, and the event proved that the fighting force, encumbered with the care of the women and children, beside household effects and cattle, could not offer the most effective resistance to the savages. The action of the pioneers did not escape the observation of the Indians, who allowed the emigrants to reach Long Run, when they attacked the retreating whites with an overwhelming force, dispersing the company with great loss of life and damage of property, Boone being among the severely wounded. Col. Floyd, gaining intelligence of this

disaster, hastily summoned a company of twenty-five men for the purpose of rescuing the party and chastising the enemy, but he seems to have greatly under-estimated the character of the foe. Although approaching with the greatest caution, his party fell into an ambush, and though, after suffering fearful losses, he made a stubborn stand, he was utterly routed by the savages, whose overwhelming numbers emboldened them to charge with their tomahawks. Sixteen of the whites fell dead or mortally wounded, and Col. Floyd himself, dismounted and worn out with exertion, only escaped from a vigorous pursuit through the magnanimous gallantry of Capt. Samuel Wells, with whom Floyd was not then on friendly terms. Henceforth, "they lived and died friends."

The number of the Indians was estimated at 200, and this band was probably the center from which the numberless depredations of this period were directed. After the engagement with Floyd, the band seems to have drifted inland, and in the following month with a part of its numbers assailed McAfee's Station. The first notice that the garrison had of their presence was on the morning of the 9th instant. Samuel McAfee and a single companion set out from the station to go to a field lying in the vicinity, and had gone about a fourth of a mile, when they were fired on by a concealed enemy. His companion was instantly killed, but McAfee, uninjured, turned quickly about and ran for the fort. A single Indian had managed to get between him and the stockade, and now barred his progress; both instinctively raised their guns, and both pulled the trigger, but the Indian's weapon "flashed" scarcely an instant before McAfee's bullet reached his brain, and, springing over his prostrate foe, the frontiersman gained the fort.

On hearing the report of the guns, McAfee's brothers hurried out to the rescue, but met Samuel just as he had cleared his foe. Robert determined to take a look at the dead Indian, though warned of his danger and urgently pressed not to do it. On satisfying his curiosity, he turned toward the station only to find himself beset by five or six o

\* See Marshall, Vol. I, p. 115. Butler, p. 115, places this occurrence in September, and refers to "Col. Floyd's letters," which were in manuscript. In the absence of these or other deciding data, the text follows Marshall for the reasons that the first historian of Kentucky, on the whole, may be deemed the more reliable in the matter of dates, and that the earlier date is better supported by the natural presumption in the case. The presence of Clark at Louisville, with considerable reinforcements, and the means adopted by him to guard the passage of the river, as well as the absence of numerous depredations or any other spirited attack in the fall of 1781 (see Marshall, Vol. I, pp. 118-121) discourage the belief that so large a body of savages was in Kentucky in the latter part of the year, while the events which occurred in the spring, not only warrant the belief in the presence of such a body of the enemy, but independently suggest it. The savages were especially bold in their attacks in the region of the falls at this time, and the frequency of their cruel exploits would naturally give rise to the apprehensions which caused the removal of Boone.

the enemy, who had gained his rear. Rapidly dodging from one tree to another, he sought to flank his enemies and gain the station, and did succeed by his maneuvers in making off all but one of his pursuers. Finding himself closely pressed by this one, he hastily threw himself over a fence and turned at bay. The Indian took shelter behind a tree, but presently exposed himself enough for McAfee to lodge a bullet in his brain. This delay had given time for others of the enemy to approach, and, turning to continue his flight, he found himself confronted by several of the Indians. Taking to a tree, he prepared to try conclusions with the new foe, when bullets from another quarter made the bark fly in dangerous proximity to his person. He therefore dashed out from his cover, and made his way to the stockade gate, followed by a dozen bullets, one of which touched him.

The savages now regularly invested the station and for two hours kept up a rapid fire without doing any damage. The garrison replied in a spirited manner, the women holding the bullets which the men discharged. After killing all the cattle in their reach the Indians suddenly retired, probably warned of the approach of re-enforcements from Harrodsburg, which the firing had called out, and a little later, Maj. McGary, with a strong party, came up at a rapid gallop. All united in pursuit of the enemy, who was swiftly overtaken and a brisk skirmish had, in which the savages were routed with considerable loss. The whites lost in the whole series of encounters two killed and one mortally wounded.

Such was the state of affairs which challenged Clark's attention on his return to Louisville. A formidable foe had entered Kentucky, and for months had committed numberless depredations with comparative impunity. Settlements had been depopulated, a large amount of property had been destroyed, and more than a hundred persons killed or captured, but the crowning stroke of the campaign was yet to be added.

In providing for his western expedition, Clark used every effort to recruit as large a

part of his force in the east as possible, and among others enlisted the influence of Col. Archibald Laughrey, the county-lieutenant of Westmoreland County, in Pennsylvania. It was arranged that the western division should rendezvous at Wheeling, and from thence descend to Louisville. Clark reached this point with a portion of his force in July, but, alarmed by the wholesale desertion which began to deplete his ranks in spite of his watchfulness, he found it necessary to proceed down the river without further delay.

The Pennsylvania contingent, consisting of something more than 100 men, set out for Wheeling under the command of Laughrey on the 25th of July. On reaching the appointed place of rendezvous, it was learned that the main body had only recently gone forward, and Capt. Shannon, with four men, was hastened after the army with a letter to the general, conveying the information that the belated detachment was on the way and seriously in need of supplies. This messenger failed to overtake Clark, fell into an ambuscade, and was captured with his men. From the letter Shannon carried, and deserters, the captors learned of Laughrey's coming and of the weakness of his command, and determined to overwhelm it. The five prisoners were conspicuously placed on island No. 54, since known as Laughrey's Island, and promised their lives if they would hail their comrades on their approach and induce them to surrender. Fortunately this supreme test of their heroism was spared them. Before reaching the island, the boats bearing the detachment were landed on the Kentucky shore, and arrangements made to prepare a meal for the men, while the horses were landed to graze sufficient to sustain them until Louisville could be reached.

The point chosen for this purpose was an unhappy selection. A little below, a small creek (Laughrey's) entered the Ohio from the right side, and nearly opposite the creek a large sand-bar, which the low stage of the water left bare, stretched itself from the Kentucky shore nearly across the river. At the landing the boats were commanded by overhanging banks, which clothed with tim-



ber and heavy under-brush afforded the greatest advantage to the enemy. The Indians had been warned by their scouts of the approach and landing of the whites, and in the midst of their preparations the volunteers were assailed by a sudden storm of bullets. Surprised, but not demoralized, the militia made a stout resistance, until their supply of ammunition was exhausted, when they retreated to their boats. Here they found themselves completely entrapped; the sluggish current moved them but slowly, and a large body of savages, rushing out upon the bar, poured a murderous fire into their crowded and unprotected ranks. Caught thus between the fire from bank and bar, escape was out of the question, and the survivors were compelled to surrender. The savage victors, mad with success, fell upon their defenseless prisoners and bid fair to exterminate the whites, when a more sagacious chief put a stop to the massacre. Forty-two of the whites were killed and sixty-four were taken prisoners, the greater number of whom were ransomed by the British and exchanged two years later.

On the heels of this disaster came an urgent appeal for help from Fort Jefferson. The Chickasaws, dissatisfied with the result of their predatory attacks, determined by one overwhelming assault to abate this menacing fortress. A force of 1,200 warriors was assembled under the command of a Scotchman, named Colbert, whose half-breed descendants succeeded to the chieftaincy of the nation. Small bands anticipated the approach of the main body, and ravaged the region about the post with fire-brand and tomahawk, until nothing was left upon which the occupants of the fort could draw for their support. The garrison was in a perilous condition; sickness and absences had reduced the number of defenders to about thirty men, of whom two-thirds were ill with the ague. Ammunition was scarce, and all supplies outside of the fort being destroyed, the people were reduced to the verge of starvation. In this predicament, messengers were dispatched to Louisville for help, and preparations were made to hold out until assistance should come.

In their raids about the fort, the Indians had captured one of the settlers, upon whose fears they had wrought so well as to draw from him a true account of the garrison's situation. The main body thereupon advanced upon the post and demanded its immediate surrender. A parley ensued in which Colbert declared that the weakness of the garrison was well known, that the hope of success was vain, as a large force had been sent to intercept its approach; that the whites could not hope to withstand the overwhelming force ready to be brought against them, and that he would protect the lives of the prisoners, save certain ones whom the savages had determined to butcher. Without discussing his statements, the whites only agreed that if the Indians would retire, they would soon abandon the fort and leave the country. This proposition Colbert agreed to submit to the chiefs, but when in the act of retiring from the conference he was fired on and wounded by an occupant of the fort, whose entire family had recently been murdered by the savage marauders.

This put an end to treaty making, and a fierce attack was begun. For three days and nights, the assailants exhausted every device to gain possession of the stockade. Fortunately it was well armed with cannon, which, loaded with bullets, and discharged at close range, made terrible havoc among the savages. Several attempts to surprise or fire the fort nearly succeeded, and several bold assaults were with difficulty repelled with the aid of the cannon. There was no food and even the water in the wells began to fail when the welcome succor arrived. The band sent to waylay it had struck the river too high up, and thus the despairing garrison was permitted once more to hope. The whites thus relieved and re-enforced, easily repulsed their assailants, who were finally forced to retire with great loss. The garrison only suffered a few wounds, but the isolated location of the fort made it difficult to support and it was speedily abandoned, most of its occupants going to Kaskaskia, and forming some of the earliest American settlements in Illinois.

This series of untoward events constituted a sum of discouragement which might well have checked the ambition of a far more determined man than Clark. A foreign expedition was obviously out of the question, and the newly commissioned general found himself compelled to act upon the defensive. That he performed this duty with his usual success reflects no less credit upon his genius than the prosecution of the far-reaching plans which prompted his preparations in the early part of the year would have done. The latter achievement would have doubtless yielded him greater renown, but the result of his efforts in the more restricted field demonstrated that his success depended less upon happy strokes of fortune than upon the solid resources of his own ability.

Under his direction a stronger stockade was built at Louisville, spies and scouting parties, who reported directly to him, were scattered all along the border, and a galley, well armed with cannon, patrolled the river from the falls to the mouth of the Licking. The latter device proved a most effective means of protection, and Clark had the satisfaction of the general belief that it was instrumental in averting, at least, one formidable raid. Other precautions were maintained so long as Clark remained in command, but the great aversion of the militia to performing the labor of rowing this galley, and the gradual decrease of the regular troops, obliged him to give up this river defense before the end of the year. However, so effective had been his measures that after the siege of Fort Jefferson, "the Indians were but seldom heard of," and the settlers, blessed with abundant crops and freedom from warlike pursuits, began to complain because the absence of the surveyors of two of the counties prevented their locating lands.

The savages having glutted their vengeance for the time, and finding their adversary on the alert and prepared to inflict swift punishment upon such as should venture across the river, gave up further hostilities for this year, but neither party counted the victory won. Encouraged by their successes, the Shawanese sent their runners far and

near to invoke the aid of the other tribes in a contest which involved the fate of all. Clark, in the meantime, was not less active; he did not rest on the precautions already taken, and it is probable that, even in the face of discouragements he had hitherto met, he still cherished the hope that the way would be opened to the achievement of his darling enterprise. The first step toward such a consummation was evidently to place his base of operations beyond the danger of successful attack, and to this end he planned, and had erected at Louisville, the most formidable fortification in Kentucky.

This structure, named Fort Nelson, in honor of the third governor of Virginia, was probably begun in the fall of 1781, and inclosed about an acre of ground. It was constructed on the "second bank" of the river, between the lines now marked by Sixth and Eighth Streets. The work consisted of continuous log pens, filled with earth thrown out of an exterior ditch, and upon this foundation palisades, ten feet high, were erected. At the foot of this barrier, a ditch, eight feet wide and ten feet deep, with a row of blunt pickets along its middle line, was constructed on three sides, the pickets, with the slope of the bank, being considered sufficient protection on the side of the river. The gate was placed opposite Clark's headquarters, about on the line where Seventh Street approaches the river. The armament consisted of several small cannon placed in the bastions, and "a double fortified six pounder," which had been captured at Vincennes, and which constituted the field artillery employed by the general on several of his expeditions. Thus prepared, he awaited the opening of the new campaign.

The winter passed with such absence of hostilities as to encourage the more sanguine of the settlers to hope that the Indians had yielded the struggle, but such hopes were destined to be rudely dispelled. The usual predatory bands of savages were again seen or heard of among the settlements early in the spring. Frequent reports of cattle killed, hunters waylaid, travelers attacked, and horses stolen, came from all directions.



Early in March a band fired on Strode's Station, killing two men, and immediately retreated; soon after this attack, the Indians fell upon the occupants of a new station\* west of the Kentucky River, and about the same time killed and scalped a young woman in sight of Estill's Fort† a little farther west. At the last named station the savages captured a negro, whose plausible but exaggerated story of the strength of the garrison caused the marauders to beat a hasty retreat.

Warning of this raid was conveyed to the garrison at Boonesborough on March 19, 1782, when an abandoned Indian raft was observed floating down the river. This was a pretty sure indication that the enemy had crossed the Kentucky farther up the stream and that they might be expected to commit depredations in the rear of the settlements. This intelligence was immediately sent to Estill's Station, and to Col. Logan, who bore command in this region. The latter took prompt measures to avert the threatened danger. Sending fifteen men to Capt. Estill, he directed that officer to increase the force to forty men, and with this company to discover and drive out the enemy. It was when this duty had stripped the station of every man, except one who was sick, that the Indians made their attack, and were induced to retreat by the loyal sagacity of the captured negro. On the departure of the savages, the women sent two boys to bear the information to the scouting party, which was found by the messengers on the morning of the 21st instant, in what is now the northeast corner of the limits of Madison County.

The intelligence brought by the boys determined the party to proceed in immediate pursuit, though five of the number, who had families in the station, becoming alarmed for their safety in their defenseless condition, turned back. Crossing the river, the rest soon struck the trail of the retreating savages, and on the 22d, after leaving behind ten of their number, whose jaded animals prevented their making a rapid

march, the pursuers came upon the enemy two miles below Little Mountain, the present site of Mount Sterling. The whites by successive detachments had been reduced in numbers to twenty-five men, but each one was a thorough woodsman and skillful marksman. Marching in four lines they at length discovered six Indians at a little distance, "preparing rations from the body of a buffalo," at whom Capt. Estill discharged his rifle with such effect as to put them to flight. Another of the pursuing party, pressing forward some distance in advance, fired at a warrior, who halted for a moment, and just as he discharged his weapon, another Indian, passing between him and the object of his aim, received the bullet, which, passing through him, proved fatal to them both. This effective shot, witnessed by the whole company, was accepted as a happy omen of success, and raised the spirits of the whites to a point of enthusiasm.

"The battle began at a buffalo crossing on Small Mountain Creek, a branch of Hinkston, in a bend of the creek, where a small branch put in on the east side, and was fought principally between that and the branch next below." The Indians had just crossed the creek, and were ascending the farther slope as the whites descended the other. The locality was well adapted to the usual form of Indian warfare, the stream having formed a pleasant glade, flanked on both sides by a heavy growth of timber, free from the ordinary dense underbrush. But the savages were still disposed to retreat, when their leader, disabled by a chance shot, called on his followers to dispute the passage of the creek. The casualties suffered by the Indians had reduced their effective number to twenty-five, and now, "every man to his man, and each to his tree," the terrible contest began, with the combatants not over sixty yards apart.

"Never was a battle more like single combat, since the use of firearms; each man sought his man, and fired only when he saw his mark; wounds and death were inflicted on either side, neither advancing nor retreating. The firing was deliberate; with caution

\*Appendix A, Note 12.

†This station was founded by Capt. James Estill, probably about 1780. It was situated nearly four miles southwest from the present site of Richmond, in Madison County.

they looked, but look they would for the foe, although life itself was often the forfeit. And thus both sides firmly stood, or bravely fell, for more than one hour; upward of one-fourth of the combatants had fallen, never more to rise, and several others were wounded. Never, probably, was the native bravery or collected fortitude of men put to a test more severe. In the clangor of an ardent battle, when death is forgotten, it is nothing for the brave to die—when even cowards die like brave men—but in the cool and lingering expectation of death, none but the man of true courage can stand. Such were those engaged in this conflict.” (Marshall.)

Thus far the results of the combat had left the situation practically unchanged. Neither party could advance or retreat without fatal peril, but in this form of combat the advantage was likely to turn in favor of the Indians, for, though less expert as marksmen, they were more skillful than the whites in sheltering their persons behind a tree. This was a theory generally accepted by the frontiersman, and success in a pitched battle with the savages was gained by the whites generally by a successful turning of their adversaries’ flank. Comprehending, therefore, that a long continuance of the contest must insure his defeat or at best give him a victory too dearly purchased, Estill sought an opportunity to effect the usual maneuver. A little valley, flanking and extending to the rear of the Indians’ position, suggested the feasibility of such a movement, though only at great hazard, as by weakening the force in front the enemy might gain the advantage which the whites sought. However, the commander determined upon the attempt. Detaching Lieut. William Miller with six men, he directed him to gain the rear of the savages, while their absence from the line was disguised by an extension of the diminished force which remained.

This movement was the beginning of the end. Miller, no longer supported by the calm confidence of his superior officer, became panic-stricken and deserted the field. The savages were not long deceived by the

show of strength in their front and soon compelled a portion of the opposing line to retreat to a more advantageous position. In effecting this retrograde movement, the whites unfortunately exposed themselves, and several fell victims to the unerring rifles of their foes. At this juncture one of Estill’s warm personal friends received a wound in the head, which, instead of prostrating him, crazed his brain, and, unconscious of his danger, he began to stagger in the space which still separated the two lines. A powerful savage, whose gun had just been discharged, sprang forward with his tomahawk to dispatch the unfortunate man, when Estill, observing the danger of his friend, and his gun also being unloaded, rushed forward knife in hand to defend or avenge him. The able-bodied combatants immediately grappled, and were so evenly matched that neither for a time could use his weapon. Their rapid movements in the meanwhile protected both from the ready rifles on either side, until Estill’s arm, which had been shattered by a wound four months before, suddenly gave way, and the savage sealed his victory with a fatal plunge of his knife into his antagonist’s breast. Scarcely had his yell of triumph told the result of the struggle, when a bullet from one of the whites stretched him dead upon the body of his victim.

The death of one more of the whites closed the battle. Both leaders were now dead. The voice of the Indian chief which had animated his followers was no longer heard, and the whites, weakened by wounds and desertion, withdrew from the contest, leaving the savages too severely punished to pursue. Seven whites were left dead upon the field, and three were carried off severely wounded. The contest, in fact, was a drawn battle, but the fact that the whites left their dead in the hands of the enemy has given it the name of “Estill’s defeat,”\* and such was the character of the depressing effect which it produced upon the frontiersmen. In this contest the savage displayed a determined courage and fortitude which were new to the borderers, and the even balance in which the battle

\* Appendix A, Note 13



hung so long as the forces remained equal threatened to dispel forever the bold assumption of superiority of the white man. If the settlers could no longer successfully contend against the numerical superiority of the Indians, then the final extinction of the frontier settlements was a foregone conclusion. The frontiersmen, however, were not of a character to yield to such an abstract conclusion unaided by the logic of events, but it is unquestionably true that the uncertain future was faced with silent forebodings that greatly modified the audacious courage of the pioneers.

Events which closely followed the "defeat" only confirmed the general impression. The savages seemed inspired with a new boldness; creeping into the very shadows of the stations, they would suddenly assault the unsuspecting pioneer, kill and scalp him before the surprised gaze of his companions, and, escaping with the bloody trophy, would instantly be lost in the mazes of the surrounding wood. The next attack would fall upon some distant point, and often, while commiserating the misfortunes of some remote station, the startled pioneer would be confronted with death at his own door. Occasionally the savage paid the penalty of his temerity with his own life, but this was too infrequent to relieve the fear of the settlers or discourage the Indians. At the beginning of the summer, these depredations suddenly ceased and the months of June and July were passed in such quietude that the people began to hope the worst was passed. But this was only the final precursor of the storm of war that was about to fall upon the border.

The Shawanese had been unusually active in preparing for the new campaign. Their runners had visited all the western tribes between the Ohio and the Mississippi, and Cherokees, Wyandottes, Tawas and Pottawatomies, besides a detachment of Canadians and the Shawanese, were represented in the grand assemblage of warriors which had been convened at old Chillicothe to take part in the grand expedition that was designed to break the power of the whites in Kentucky. To this gathering, even the outlying scouts were

called, and thus the stations experienced the lull of battle which precedes the furious charge. The assembled savages, already eager for the fray, were excited to the pitch of madness by the artful harangue of the notorious Girty, when the chiefs led out their followers to the number of about 500 men, with the renegade as commander-in-chief. Of all this preparation the settlers seemed profoundly ignorant, and it was not until the hostile horde was at their doors that the Kentuckians became aware of the terrible danger that threatened.

The first renewal of hostilities occurred on the 10th of August, when an advance party committed depredations at Hoy's Station,\* and retired, taking with them two boys as prisoners. The alarm was given out, and Capt. John Holder, from his station on the Kentucky, two miles below Boonesboro, set forth in pursuit of the marauders, recruiting his party, as he passed McGee's and Strode's Stations, to the number of seventeen. The Indians were overtaken near the Upper Blue Lick, and though greatly superior in numbers, the whites boldly attacked them. There was little hope of success, and after a short engagement, finding the enemy was about to overpower his little company, Holder gave orders for a retreat, which was successfully accomplished after losing four men killed or wounded.

After the destruction of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations in 1780, Bryan's occupied the advance line on the frontier, and it was against this station that the Indian host was led. Intelligence of Holder's discomfiture was brought hither late on the 16th instant, and the rest of the day, with the greater part of the night, was spent by the garrison in fitting out the fighting force to go to the relief of the endangered settlement. Amid the bustle of this preparation,† the savages silently surrounded the fort with the intention of assaulting it when the inhabitants were asleep, but disconcerted by the unwonted activity of the settlers, which was manifest at

\*This station was erected in Madison County, about 400 yards southwest of Foxtown, in the spring of 1781, by William Hoy.

†Appendix A, Note 14.

a distance, the enemy changed his plans and decided to make a regular attack in the morning. Their preparations completed, the whites took advantage of the few remaining hours to gain some refreshment in sleep, but at early dawn the whole force was under arms, and the gates thrown open to permit their egress. The Indians, utterly misapprehending the movement, greeted the first advance of the troops with a storm of bullets and war-cries, which revealed to the astonished whites that the enemy they sought was before their walls. The gates were quickly closed, and, rushing to the port-holes, the garrison observed about 100 of the savages plainly exposed to view, firing and yelling, and expressing their defiance in violent gestures.

The fort consisted of some forty cabins disposed in parallel lines and joined at the ends by palisades. It was situated on a gently rising bank on the south side of the Elkhorn, a few yards to the right of the Maysville and Lexington road. The station was ill-prepared to withstand a siege; the palisades had been allowed to get out of repair, and the small supply of water within threatened a greater danger than the foe without. The walls were readily patched, but the lack of water, which was obtained from a spring situated some distance from the fort, was more difficult to remedy. The more experienced of the garrison were not deceived by the antics of the savages. They correctly divined that the object of the Indians was to draw the main body of the whites in pursuit of those who were feigning an attack, when the principal force of the assailants, concealed on the other side, would master the walls thus left undefended. The garrison was not at a loss how to deal with this attack, but the first duty was to place the fort, so far as possible, in condition to successfully sustain a siege, and to that end secure a supply of water before active hostilities made it impossible.

The spring was near a large thicket, in which it was certain the main body of the enemy was concealed. Nevertheless, it was believed that if the women were to go with their pails and bring the water as was their custom, they would be allowed to do so un-

molested, as the Indians would believe from this bold adherence to the ordinary procedure that their ambush was undiscovered, and therefore would not hazard the complete success of their plans by revealing their presence in a premature attack. This was sound reasoning, but it required a bold resolution and most determined courage on the part of the women to effect the movement with success.

The women of the station were summoned and the proposition stated. There was some natural demur in acceding to a plan which necessitated such reckless exposure of non-combatants to the mercy of an enemy who regarded neither age nor sex in his warfare, but the matrons of the settlement, confirming the judgment of their husbands, the whole body determined to dare much in a cause which involved the fate of all. The fancy can scarcely picture a more heroic scene in the whole range of border experience than this utterly defenseless company of women, led by those whose lives on the frontier had taught them rightly to appreciate the barbarities of savage warfare, marching out of the stockade gates; and one is at a loss which to pity most in this trying ordeal, the brave women with a show of equanimity facing the lurking horrors of an uncertain fate, or the equally brave men, as from the port-holes they watched the progress of those whose every forward step strained the cracking heart-strings to an anguish that, however intense, must make no sign. The whole journey to and from the spring was made with the most decorous deliberation, the young and timid gaining confidence from the steadiness of their elders. Fortunately the event justified the judgment which planned the undertaking, and the supply of water thus secured, the men at once turned to their part of the work.\*

Thirteen young men were then sent out to attack the savages, who had kept up their noisy demonstrations in the meantime. The sallying party was directed to fire rapidly in order to convey to the ambushed enemy an

\*It may rob this incident of some of its heroism to allow that the danger of the exploit has been exaggerated in the generally accepted accounts, but the author of "Annals of the West," in a foot note, says: "We have it on the best authority, however, that Simon Kenton said this was all romance; by his account there was a covered way to the spring." *Annals of the West*, p. 250.



exaggerated impression of the number of the whites engaged, but to discontinue the pursuit as soon as the main body of the Indians attacked the fort. On hearing the heavy firing of the garrison's detachment recede in the distance, confident that their ruse had succeeded, some 300 or 400 savages, with ferocious yells, rushed from their cover to assault what appeared the abandoned walls. Some reached the cabins and fired them with their lighted torches, others reached the pickets with the intention of hewing their way into the inclosure, but the great mass of the assailants fell back in utter astonishment before the deadly volley that did frightful execution on the crowd of unprotected warriors. In two minutes, not an Indian was to be seen. The wind being favorable to the whites, the flames did but little damage, and were soon extinguished, and the young men returning in safety to the fort, both assailants and assailed settled to the duties involved in a regular attack. Thus matters progressed until about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when re-enforcements arrived.

On the first intimation of danger, two of the garrison, well mounted, had broken through the Indian line and hastened to Lexington to secure assistance. Arriving at this station about sunrise, they found it occupied only by women and children, the rest having gone to the aid of Hoy's Station, which was supposed to be in danger. The messengers pushed on and overtook this party, which had been joined by some volunteers from Boonesborough. The situation of Bryan's Station was soon told, when the whole force, consisting of sixteen horsemen and about twice as many footmen, turned back and marched to the relief of the beleaguered fort. The messengers had left before the full strength of the enemy was known, and the firing having temporarily ceased the re-enforcing party boldly approached the station. The horsemen, taking the usual route, rode rapidly along a narrow lane, on both sides of which the Indians had disposed themselves to receive them. The horsemen were within a few feet of the enemy, until then undiscovered, when they received a ter-

rific fire from both sides. Fortunately the motion of the riders as well as the clouds of dust raised by the horses so protected man and beast that neither received a wound.

The footmen did not fare so well; they were approaching the fort through a cornfield some distance from the position of the savages when the firing began. Anxious to aid their comrades, and heedless of the indications which pointed out the greatly superior numbers of the enemy, the footmen rushed to the attack only to find themselves suddenly cut off from the fort, and in the midst of an overwhelming force. The savages had not had opportunity to reload their guns, and turned upon the footmen with the tomahawk. The whites were still in the corn, which with their loaded rifles alone saved them from annihilation. Reserving their fire the footmen retreated toward Lexington as opportunity offered, while the savages, careful not to precipitate themselves upon the threatening rifles of their enemy, were greatly hampered in their pursuit by the tall corn. Although this outside skirmish continued for an hour or more before the Indians gave up the chase, the whites lost only six men killed or wounded.

The attack upon the fort was renewed, but the events of the day had not been such as to assure the assailants of final success. The chiefs were manifesting a disposition to abandon the enterprise, and about sunset, the fire slackening on both sides, Girty determined to try the effect of negotiation. Approaching the station in the shelter of a stump, he hailed the garrison and demanded the surrender of the place under the pretense of a desire to prevent the further effusion of blood. He declared resistance was useless; that he expected soon to be in possession of cannon, when the destruction of the defenses and the massacre of the defenders would inevitably follow. While the settlers knew Girty and the general unreliability of all he said, the fate of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations was fresh in their minds, and the effect of Girty's address was such as to make many falter. Before there was any opportunity to make any expression of faint-hearted senti-

ments, if any wish to do so existed, Aaron Reynolds returned a taunting defiance, which so exasperated the renegade that he summarily closed the parley. It was apparent to the savages that there was no hope of success. The fort could not be taken by assault, and the whole country was rising. To linger much longer was to invite destruction, and, killing such stock as they did not take away, the Indian host quietly withdrew just before daylight.

In the meantime the interior settlements had not been inactive. From Lexington, Col. Todd had sent the alarm to Boonesborough and Harrodsburg, leaving Lieut. Col. Trigg of the latter place to notify his superior, Col. Logan, of the situation. There was neither time nor disposition to indulge in "red tape" formalities, and Trigg hurried to the appointed rendezvous with his hastily raised force, not less promptly than Lieut.-Col. Boone. By noon, therefore, on the 18th instant, Col. Todd, at the head of 182\* men, reached the imperiled station. The Indians were found gone with evidences of precipitation in their movements, though these were probably intended to deceive the whites, whom the enemy evidently wished to draw into rapid pursuit. The question of following the enemy was discussed, and conflicting suggestions urged with some persistence. On the one hand it was represented that Logan was undoubtedly raising a considerable force, which would arrive within twenty-four hours, and that the large force of Indians suggested the necessity of observing every precaution to guard against disaster. On the other hand it was urged that the pursuit of the savages, if not undertaken promptly, would find them across the Ohio and disbanded, when it would be impossible to inflict any salutary punishment. As to the authors of these opposing arguments, writers are not agreed, but the latter opinion prevailed, and late in the afternoon the

whites moved forward in pursuit of the retreating enemy.

The trail of the savages was plain, and the whites had not proceeded many miles when Boone's observant eyes discovered evidence which clearly indicated the wish of the savages to be followed. The trees along their course were marked, and instead of concealing their route everything indicated their intention to leave a broad trail, but at the same time pains had been taken to conceal their numbers. For this purpose, they had marched in single file, each one stepping in the footsteps of his leader, and at their camps the limited number of fires and other indications showed a studied care to disguise their strength. The irresistible inference to be drawn was that an ambush was to be expected, and Boone's thorough knowledge of the country and hunter's instinct at once suggested the Lower Blue Lick as the probable site where a surprise would be attempted. This lick is situated about thirty-five miles from Bryan's Station. "The Licking River at this place is about 300 feet wide at common water, and forms a semi-ellipsis, which embraces on its northeast side, toward Limestone, a great ridge of rocks which had been made bare by the stamping of buffaloes and other game, drawn together from time immemorial to drink the water and lick the clay. Two deep ravines, heading in this ridge near each other, and extending in opposite directions, formed the longest diameter of this ellipsis. This ridge had very little timber on it, and what it had was very indifferent and exhibited a very dreary appearance; but the ravines were furnished, not only plentifully with timber, but with a thick brushwood also."\*

The whites encamped that night within about five miles of this point, and on the following morning cautiously proceeded forward. On reaching the southern bank of the Licking, they, for the first time in their march, saw a number of Indians leisurely ascending the rocky ridge on the other side. Here the pursuers came to a halt. Col. Todd was the senior officer and in command;

\*Marshall (Vol. I, p. 141) gives the number at 166; Butler (p. 25), on the authority of Gen. Clark, gives the number at 182. This is confirmed by Bradford. The two may perhaps be reconciled by taking the latter estimate as the number which set out from Bryan's Station, where the party must have received some accessions, as there were some sixty men in the fort after accounting for the losses and re-enforcements. If the latter number be correct, the whites must have engaged in the battle of Blue Lick with upward of 200 men.

\*Notes on Kentucky by John Bradford.



Trigg was next in point of seniority, and Boone third. Other officers were Maj. Harlan, McBride, McGary and Levi Todd, and Capts. Bulger and Gordon, most of whom were volunteers without command. These, with other officers, to the number of a dozen or twenty, met in front of the ranks and joined in consultation. That the situation was undoubtedly critical was apparent to the least observant of the company. The action of the retreating savages afforded a strong presumption that an ambuscade was formed just where Boone had suggested it would be. At this juncture the officers all turned to the veteran woodsman, and, in response to Col. Todd's request, he said that it would be proper to do one of two things: "Either to await the arrival of Logan,\* who was undoubtedly on his march to join them, or, if it was determined to attack without delay, that one-half of their number should march up the river, which there bends in an elliptical form, cross at the rapids and fall upon the rear of the enemy, while the other divisions attacked in front. At any rate, he strongly urged the necessity of reconnoitering the ground carefully before the main body crossed the river." (McClung.)

Scarcely had Boone submitted his opinions when Maj. McGary "raised the war-whoop," and, spurring his horse into the river, called vehemently on all who were not cowards to follow *him* and *he* would show them the enemy. Presently the army was in motion. The greater part suffered themselves to be led by McGary; the remainder, perhaps a third of the whole number, lingered awhile with Todd and Boone in council. All at length passed over, and, at Boone's suggestion, the commanding officer ordered another halt. The pioneer then proposed, for a second time, that the army should remain where it was until an opportunity was afforded to reconnoiter the suspected region. So reasonable a proposal was acceded to, and two bold but experienced men were selected to proceed from the lick along the buffalo trace to a point half a mile beyond the ravines, where the road branched off in different directions. They were instructed to examine the country with the utmost care on each side of the road, especially the spot where it passed between the ravines, and upon the first appearance of the enemy to repair in haste to the army. The spies

\*A statement, made by Benjamin A. Cooper, who took part in the battle, was furnished by Mann Butler, the historian, to the *St. Louis Era*, from which it was copied in the *Frankfort Commonwealth* of January 15, 1846. In this statement he contradicts the common account that Todd's party expected Logan to bring re-enforcements.

discharged the dangerous and responsible task. They crossed over the ridge, proceeded to the place beyond it, and returned in safety without having made any discovery. No trace of the enemy was to be seen.

The little army of 182 men now marched forward. Col. Trigg was in command of the right wing, Boone of the left, McGary in the center, and Maj. Harlan with the party in front. Such is Boone's account of the positions of the several officers. He does not define Col. Todd's. The historians have assigned him to the right with Col. Trigg. The better opinion seems to be that he commanded the center.

As they approached the ravines, it became apparent that Boone's anticipations were well founded, and that the vigilance of the spies had been completely eluded. The enemy lay concealed in both ravines in great numbers. The columns marched up within forty yards of the Indian line before a gun was fired. The battle immediately commenced with great fury and most destructive effect on both sides. The advantage of position and overwhelming numbers soon determined it in favor of the savages. The fire was peculiarly severe upon the right. Col. Trigg fell, and with him nearly the whole of the Harrodsburg troops. Boone manfully sustained himself on the left. Maj. Harlan defended the front until only three of his men remained. He also fell, covered with wounds. The Indians now rushed upon them with their tomahawks, spreading confusion and dismay through their broken and disbled ranks. The whole right, left and center gave way, and a mingled and precipitate retreat commenced. Some regained their horses; others fled on foot. Col. Todd was shot through the body, and when he was last seen was reeling in his saddle, while the blood gushed in profusion from his wound. The Indians were then in close pursuit.—*Morehead Address*, p. 99.

The obvious line of retreat was by way of the ford where the army had passed over, and from the battle ground to the river pursued and pursued mingled in confused flight. *Sauve qui peut* was the sentiment of the distressed whites, while the exultant savages plied their murderous tomahawks upon the unresisting fugitives. The mounted men generally escaped, but the footmen, cut off from the ford, threw themselves into the river, where they were shot by the remorseless foe, or drowned through their inability to swim. One, Netherland, who had previously been suspected of cowardice, being mounted, had gained the farther bank in safety, but, seeing the terrible danger to which his dismounted comrades were exposed

in the water, called upon others who had escaped with him to turn and defend their friends in the river. A temporary rally was thus effected and a few volleys drove the savages back to a less resisting foe, and many were thus saved from destruction. This check to the enemy was very brief. The Indians were discovered crossing the river farther up the stream, and the stampede was renewed.

Boone bravely sustained his position on the left, until the crumbling of the right and center left him to bear the brunt of the attack unsupported. He still manfully disputed the progress of the Indians, until his demoralized son and many of his friends were stricken down, and himself surrounded by some 200 infuriated savages, when he sought to escape. Intimately acquainted with the ground, accompanied by a few friends, and bearing the body of his wounded son, he plunged into the ravine abandoned by the Indians. Escaping the immediate attack of the enemy, and baffling one or two small parties that pursued him a short distance, he swam across the river to a point where he was unobserved. Here, in a well-noted place, he laid the body of his son, who had died in his arms, and made his way in safety to Bryan's Station.

Another instance of that heroism which everywhere embellishes the pages of frontier history, was exhibited by Reynolds, whose reply to Girty before Bryan's Station constituted one of the closing features of that memorable siege. With one or two others he was among the last to turn toward the river, but being well mounted soon overtook the flying crowd and among them discovered Capt. Robert Patterson slowly making his way on foot. This officer was in the rear of the wrong, exhausted by his exertions, and impeded in his progress by the effects of injuries received from the savages in previous encounters. The Indians were rapidly approaching and escape was impossible. At this moment Reynolds rode up, hastily dismounted, and, assisting Patterson to take his place, the gallant young fellow pushed rapidly forward and crossed the river on foot.

In effecting this passage, his leathern breeches became so heavy with the water they had absorbed that he sat down on a log to remove them, in order to facilitate his movements. In this position he was captured by the enemy. Being in a sound condition he was not dispatched, but hurried forward under heavy guard to be reserved to grace the triumph of the returning victors. A small party of Kentuckians soon attracting the attention of his captors, he was left in charge of three warriors, two of whom, eager to join in the active pursuit, left him in care of their comrade. In this way the two proceeded some distance, when, the savage stooping to tie his moccasin, Reynolds assaulted his guard with his fist, and quickly disappeared in the thicket. The young pioneer eventually escaped and received from Patterson as a token of his appreciation "200 acres of first-rate land."

The Kentuckians sustained few losses after crossing the river, notwithstanding the victorious enemy urged the pursuit for twenty miles. The nearest point of safety was Bryan's Station, and thither the demoralized force made its way, each man after his own fashion. The horsemen followed the buffalo trail and reached their destination in about six hours; the footmen, abandoning the beaten path, reached the station by circuitous routes, most of the survivors gaining the station by nightfall.

In the meantime, Logan had reached a point some miles beyond Bryan's, when he met fugitives from the scene of disastrous battle, and returned. Halting here until the rear came up, late in the afternoon, the troops again set out, marching most of the night. About noon on the following day the battle-ground was reached. Here the bodies of their slain countrymen were found strewn about the ground, mangled by wounds, torn by birds and beasts of prey, and some floating in the river, partly eaten by the fish; all were so swollen and disfigured as to defy recognition. Diligent search was made for evidence of the Indians, but no fresh "sign" being discovered, Logan concluded that they had gone beyond his reach, and having carefully collected and



buried the remains left upon the field, he returned to Bryan's Station, where his force was dismissed.

The battle of Blue Lick was the crowning event of a season which had brought only a succession of disasters to the distressed settlements. The hardy society which had grown up amid the perils of savage warfare was not unaccustomed to endure the vicissitudes of such a life with rare fortitude and uncomplaining resignation, but the shadows of this disaster spread over the interior settlements like a pall. Of the sixty men killed in the vigor of manhood, there was scarcely one who did not leave wife and children to mourn his death. Nearly one-half of this terrible loss fell upon Harrodsburg; in Lexington, "many widows were made;"\* and Bryan's Station and Boonesborough suffered in proportion. In the loss of the leading men the whole community shared, and to the memory of those whose gentler virtues shone with peculiar luster in the crude civilization of the border, rude strength paid the sad tribute of a tear. Of the gallant men who fell there was none more brave or more beloved than Maj. Harlan. The death of Cols. Trigg and Todd was greatly deplored. They were men of fine intelligence, of personal worth, and of public usefulness. "They were particularly qualified to counsel, enlighten and guide the people in their private and civil concerns; while the suavity of their manners and the urbanity of their minds rendered them easy of access, and always ready to assist those who sought their information or advice."

Col. John Todd was universally beloved; he died without a stain upon his character and, it is believed, without an enemy in the world. He was the eldest of three brothers, was educated at his uncle's in Virginia, and at maturity entered upon the study of the law, subsequently obtaining a license to practice. He settled at Fincastle, Va., for the practice of his profession, but attracted by the glowing accounts of Kentucky visited

Boonesborough in 1775, and became a resident there until 1779, when he moved Lexington. In the spring of 1780 he was delegate from Kentucky to the assembly Virginia, and while attending on this session married Miss Hawkins. From the year 1780 he might be considered as residing in Illinois until his marriage. Settling his wife in Lexington, he was obliged to make a long and dangerous trip to visit his family, and beside aiding in the councils held by Clay and accompanying him in one or more of his expeditions, it is believed he passed the journey from Lexington to Kaskaskia twice a probably four times a year. His duties as lieutenant of Illinois County, and after the fall of 1780 of Fayette County, gave ample scope for the exertion of his great executive ability, and made large demands upon his time and attention. It is said that he had only recently returned from Illinois when the depredations of the Indians summoned him to the battle of Blue Lick\* and an untimely grave.

The details of this disastrous engagement were soon known throughout the Kentucky border, and rendered the settlers especially watchful for "signs," as it was feared the enemy might be emboldened by their success to attack other points. But the Indians did not prove in this case an exception to the general rule, and the greater part retired to the towns to enjoy their triumph. The western tribes, which had formed a part of this expedition, however, took their departure from the main body near the scene of the battle and pursued their homeward course through Kentucky with the hope, probably, of adding to their trophies, and at the same time extending the alarm and confusion created by their unexampled victory. Their presence was heard of about the 1st of September on the Salt River, and Col. Floyd promptly went out at the head of a good force in quest of them. After scouting several days without finding the savages, the party disbanded, the members retiring to the several stations from which they were drawn, believing the enemy had left the country.

\*In a letter to Gov. Morehead, in 1840, Nathaniel Hart wrote: "I went with my mother in January, 1783, to Logan's Station to prove my father's will. He had fallen in the preceding July. Twenty armed men were of the party. Twenty-three widows were in attendance upon the court to obtain letters of administration on the estates of their husbands, who had been killed during the past year."

\*Appendix A, Note 15.

Among others, Kincheloe Station, on Simpson's Creek, in what is now Spencer County, had contributed to the scouting party. During the absence of its contingent the women were kept watch and ward without noticing any indications of an enemy. On returning from the fruitless scout, the men, worn out by their duty, and confident that all danger had passed, went to bed without taking any special precautions against a surprise by the savages. Unfortunately, the Indians had only killed the whites, and observing the exposed condition of this station, made a simultaneous attack upon the cabins, when the occupants were wrapt in the deep slumber which their fatigue induced. Bursting open the doors, the savages commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, and almost before the victims realized the nature of their danger, the whole settlement was still in death. A few women and children were taken prisoners, several of them only to be basely murdered on their journey toward captivity. A few others, taking advantage of the darkness, escaped in the melee and reached other stations.

One of the settlers received the alarm early enough to place his wife and a young woman of the family under the cabin floor, and then escaped in the darkness. Remaining in the neighborhood until assured of the departure of the savages he returned to his cabin, relieved his wife and companion and conducted them in safety to another station. Another, occupying a small cabin with his wife and two children, one an infant, bravely stood at bay and fought the savages who had forced his cabin door, though outnumbered five to one. He had succeeded in killing several of his assailants, when, seeing his wife, with the babe in her arms, cruelly murdered, he instantly placed the other child in the loft, and hastily mounting after it escaped through the roof. On alighting upon the ground, he was assailed by two savages whom he had driven out of his cabin. Wounding one with his knife, he prostrated the other with a powerful blow of his empty gun, and, snatching up his child, plunged into the surrounding woods and escaped.

A Mrs. Polk, who was captured with four children, after narrowly escaping death at the hands of her captor, finally reached Detroit, where she was ransomed with her children by a British officer. A letter from her to her husband apprised him of her fate. He immediately set out for the place of her detention with her letter as his only passport. He succeeded in making the journey in safety, and subsequently returned to Kentucky with his family unharmed: Another of the captive women made her escape, but, totally unacquainted with the region, she wandered about in the wilderness, subsisting on sour grapes and green walnuts until, on the eighteenth day, she was accidentally discovered entirely denuded of clothing and reduced to the physical proportions of a skeleton. She was taken to Lynn's Station, where she eventually recovered. Such is the terrible story of this devastating raid. The whole population of Kentucky was panic-stricken, and if the savages could have been brought to repeat it in the fall, scarcely a station would have remained tenanted through the succeeding winter. On August 30th, Boone wrote the governor of Virginia: "I have encouraged the people in this county all I could; but I can no longer justify them or myself to risk our lives here under such extraordinary hazards. The inhabitants of this county are very much alarmed at the thoughts of the Indians bringing another campaign into our country this fall. If this should be the case, it would break up the settlements." The demand for some measure to restore the pioneer's lost faith in himself was imperative, and Clark early summoned the leading men to Louisville to aid in concerting some movement of reprisal. At this conference it was determined to organize an expedition for the invasion of the Indian country, which should be of such a formidable character as to completely counteract any encouragement the savages might have derived from their recent campaign. To this end it was provided that in case volunteers should not be forthcoming in sufficient numbers, a draft should be enforced, and that horses and



provisions should be impressed if necessary. The duty of organizing the force to be employed was assigned to Cols. Floyd and Logan. The troops of the interior were to rendezvous at Bryan's Station, from whence they should march to the mouth of the Licking, there to be joined by the body organized at Louisville.

No compulsory measures were necessary; men and officers offered their services with eagerness, and beef-cattle, horses and other supplies were freely granted by those who could not well be spared from the settlements. It was the last of September before the expedition was organized at the mouth of the Licking River. Here Clark took command, with Floyd and Logan as his lieutenants. The army, consisting of about 1,000 men, marched rapidly and undiscovered until it approached the first of the towns on Mad River. After arriving in this region, when about half a mile from the camp of the rear party of the savages who were engaged in the late raid, the whites were discovered by a straggling Indian, who hastily gave the alarm of "a mighty army on its march." The camp was quickly broken up; the towns with their surrounding fields of grain were abandoned, and the overwhelming force was compelled to satisfy its thirst for vengeance in the destruction of several towns, with their corn-fields, and Loramie's store, which had been rebuilt and restocked since the former invasion. Not more than six or seven Indians were found within range of a rifle, but these were instantly killed. With these rather meager results, the army returned and was disbanded.

However inglorious this campaign may seem, it sufficed to show the savages that their recent bloody victory had not affected the main question of possessing the debated hunting-grounds, and to restore the self confidence of the settlers, which had been so rudely shaken by the events of the summer. The succeeding fall and winter were passed in unusual freedom from hostilities, and spring brought the welcome tidings of peace. A provisional treaty had been signed at Paris, between England and the colonies, on the

30th of November; on January 20, 1783, the forces of the belligerent powers had ceased active operations; and on the 19th of April following, peace was proclaimed to the American army. While this brought a cessation of hostilities in the East, Kentucky was still threatened with a continuation of the war. The Indians, loth to give up the struggle, were found on the border early in the spring, but at length, becoming convinced that they must prosecute their enterprise unaided by their former allies, they ceased their depredations for a time.

These hostilities obtain importance principally from the fact that they resulted in the death of Col. Floyd. That gallant officer was waylaid and shot by the Indians about three miles north of Shepherdsville, on the 12th of April. There had been some trouble with the Indians in the neighborhood of the Beargrass settlements, but the enemy was supposed to have retired across the Ohio when the Colonel and his brother Charles unsuspecting of danger, rode into an ambush. Col. Floyd was wearing his wedding coat of bright scarlet cloth at the time, and thus presented a conspicuous target to the savage marksman. He was mortally wounded at the first fire. Charles Floyd, observing the effect of the shot, abandoned his own horse which had been struck, mounted behind his brother, steadied him with his arms, and seizing the reins escaped with him to the station, where the wounded man died a few hours later.

Col. John Floyd was born in Virginia about 1750. His father was of Welsh descent; his mother was of English and Indian parentage. Her mother, it is said, was the daughter of Powhatan's brother. Floyd received a good education for the time, which was enriched by the culture derived from unusual advantages of travel. He married at the age of eighteen, but was left a widower within a year afterward. Some ten years later he formed a second marriage with a lady who, with three children, survived him. He made his advent into Kentucky as a surveyor in 1774, and from that time, with the exception of a little more than a year, he

devoted himself to the interests of the growing frontier settlements. In the fall of 1776 he went back to Virginia, fitted out a privateer, and cruised extensively upon the sea with considerable success. He was captured, however, and lay in a British prison for some time, when he made his escape through the assistance of the jailer's wife. Returning to Kentucky he became one of the leading actors during the stormy period of the revolution. He was with Clark in most of his expeditions, and was feared by the Indians and respected by the English. It is said that he was offered a large sum of money, and promised an English title by the British authorities at Detroit, if he would transfer his influence to their cause, an offer which he rejected with scorn. Col. Floyd was a man of fine military bearing, over six feet tall, of an attractive personal appearance and an agreeable manner. His whole character was marked by a calm, impressive confidence in himself, which gave him great influence, while his intelligence and energy made him one of the foremost men in Kentucky. Fortunately for the community, his loss fell at a time when circumstances rendered it less severe, but his memory will ever be cherished as one of the early heroes of the border.

But the era of peace had now dawned, and ever was it hailed with more unfeigned joy, than by the Kentuckians in 1783, though the glory of its rising was still dimmed by the clouds that marked the passing storm. The success of the savages in the preceding year had filled the land with mourning, and the opening months of the new year gave no evi-

dence that the expedition led by Gen. Clark had taught any salutary lesson to the indefatigable foe. And yet, while it was generally recognized that the treaty provided only for the civilized belligerents, the restored confidence of the borderers was such that they felt no fear in meeting the savages alone. A further expedition against the Indians, to bring them to terms, seems to have been contemplated, but this was eventually given up and affairs in Kentucky were reduced to a peace basis in the following letter from the governor of Virginia to Gen. Clark:

IN COUNCIL, JULY 2, 1783.

*Sir* : The conclusion of the war, and the distressed situation of the State, with respect to its finances, call on us to adopt the most prudent economy. It is for this reason alone I have come to a determination to give over all thought for the present of carrying on an offensive war against the Indians, which you will easily perceive will render the services of a general officer in that quarter unnecessary, and will therefore consider yourself as out of command; but before I take leave of you, I feel myself called upon, in the most forcible manner, to return you my thanks, and those of my Council, for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of the hands of the British enemy, repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on successful war in the heart of their country. This tribute of praise and thanks, so greatly due, I am happy to communicate to you as the united voice of the Executive.

I am, with respect, Sir, Yours, &c.,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

The pacific influences of the time at length reached even the savages. Organized hostilities entirely ceased, military rank was lost in the common sovereignty of the citizen, and peace, the "gladness-giving queen," reigned supreme over the "dark and bloody ground."



## CHAPTER IX.

## THE PIONEER AND PIONEER DAYS.

THE peace of 1783 marks the close of the pioneer period in the history of Kentucky. For more than a decade, a few chosen spirits had suffered the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" with a patient fortitude unexcelled on any other page of history; but with the dawn of peace, a great tide of immigration set in toward the frontier, bringing new men and questions, and they who had laid the foundations of the State, amid the red billows of savage war, were, in the natural order of things, gradually supplanted. For a little time their influence is traced in the budding civilization which arose out of the crude frontier society, but art and time have at last left only the memory of their virtues to be cherished by an age which finds it difficult to realize that the pioneer was not a privileged character, who led a life of romantic adventure, absolved from the penalties of that primal transgression, which "brought death into the world and all our woe."

The pioneer was the peculiar product of the period in which he acted. The separating and classifying influences of an advanced civilization were not yet prominent, and, save in the tidewater valleys along the Atlantic coast, the homogeneous character of the people was undisturbed by the factitious distinctions of wealth and education. Worth made the man, the want of it the fellow, and comfortable surroundings affected the character of immigration only in restraining such as enjoyed them from giving up a certain good for the untried but flattering promises of the new land, though many well-to-do persons were found among the early settlers. Education played even a less important part than wealth in this matter.

Popular education was at a low ebb everywhere, and few of the leading mind comprehended more of learning than the fundamental branches of "reading, writing and arithmetic," and had but a rudimentary acquaintance with these. Of general culture there were scarcely a half-dozen in Kentucky who may be said to have possessed any knowledge, and yet the community on the frontier did not compare unfavorably with that from which it was drawn.

These men and women were not a sordid folk, and in moving to the new country they were influenced scarcely less by the natural beauty of the region than by the opportunities it afforded to improve their fortunes. They were born or reared in a frontier community. They came of a race who sought refuge in the New World to escape the oppression and bigotry of the old, and here, amid the influences of the boundless forest, had drawn in a spirit of freedom, self-reliance and of a contented righteousness which characterized their new settlement. They were not saints, indeed, but the first settlers were generally characterized by a sobriety of habit and judgment that counted "the life more than meat." They were enlightened children of nature, and, in their simplicity, they entertained a deep affection for the primitive charms of this new land, as of a fostering mother. To the pioneer, nature was vocal with "a various language." The poet, only, can voice his creed:

The bubbling brook doth leap when I come by,  
Because my feet find measure with its call;  
The birds know when the friend they love is nigh,  
For I am known to them, both great and small;  
The flower that on the lonely hillside grows  
Expects me there when spring its bloom has given;  
And many a tree or bush my wanderings know,  
And e'en the clouds and silent stars of heaven.

To such people the new country beyond the Big Sandy was an Eden, for the possession of which few trials or dangers were considered too great an exaction.

But in all this the pioneers were not visionaries. There can be no greater mistake than the popular error which confuses the character of the founders of this commonwealth with that of the heroes of modern sensational writings, the theatrical terrors of which harrow up the imaginations of the young and timid. The early Kentuckians were not generally adventurers simply in search of hazardous experiences; they were not "one-eyed trappers," nor professional Indian-slayers." On the contrary they were eminently practical men, who sought new homes where their growing families could reap the benefit of cheap lands, and where persevering labor might lead to competence. To this unique blending of sentiment and common sense, Kentucky appealed with captivating power. Its primitive fertility and beauty entranced every beholder, and description became rhapsody. It is somewhat in this strain that Imlay pictures the country in 1784:

"Everything here assumes a dignity and splendor I have never seen in any other part of the world. You ascend a considerable distance from the shore of the Ohio, and then you would suppose you had arrived at the summit of a mountain, you find yourself upon an extensive level. Here an eternal verdure reigns, and the brilliant sun of latitude 39 degrees, piercing through the azure heavens, produces in this prolific soil an early maturity which is truly astonishing. Flowers, full and perfect, as if they had been cultivated by the hand of a florist, with all their captivating odours, and with all the variegated charms which colour and nature can produce, here, in the lap of elegance and beauty, decorate the smiling groves. Soft zephyrs gently breathe sweets, and the inhaled air gives a voluptuous glow of health and vigor that seems to ravish the intoxicated senses. The sweet songsters of the forests appear to feel the influence of this genial climate, and, in more soft and modulated tones,

warble their tender notes in unison with love and nature. Everything here gives delight, and in the mild effulgence which beams around us, we feel a glow of gratitude for the elevation which our all bountiful Creator has bestowed on us. \* \* \* \*

"You must forgive what I know you will call a rhapsody, but what I really experienced in traveling across the Alleghany Mountains in March, when it was covered with snow, and after finding the country about Pittsburgh bare, and not recovered from the ravages of winter; there was scarcely a blade of grass to be seen, everything looked dreary, and bore those marks of melancholy which the rude hand of frost produces. I embarked immediately for Kentucky, and in less than five days landed at Limestone, where I found nature robed in all her charms.

"From Limestone to Licking Creek the country is immensely rich, and covered with cane, rye-grass, and the native clover. The cane is a reed which grows to the height frequently of fifteen or sixteen feet, but more generally about ten or twelve feet, and in thickness from the size of a goose quill, to that of two inches diameter; sometimes, yet seldom, it is larger. When it is slender, it never grows higher than from four to seven feet; it shoots up in one summer, but produced no leaves until the following year. It is an evergreen, and is, perhaps, the most nourishing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has such flavor and richness as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horses which are fed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn, provided care is taken to give them once in three or four days a handful of salt, otherwise this food is liable to heat and bind their bowels. The rye-grass, when it arrives to maturity, is from two feet and a half high to three and a half, and the head and beard resemble the real rye, and sometimes produces a small grain, long and slender, not unlike rye. Whether cultivation would bring it to the same perfection, I can form no idea; it is, however, certain that it is a very good and valuable grass. The clover is in no respect different from the clover



in Europe, but it is more coarse and luxuriant. There is a variety of grasses which are found in different places, but I have only mentioned the two former, they being esteemed the most valuable.

"In order to travel into the interior parts of the State, the route lies across the branches of Licking Creek. There are several of them which take their rise in the high hills of Great Sandy River, and the spurs of the Alleghany Mountains. They traverse a most delightful country, and form a junction a small distance below the lower Blue Lick. A salt spring is called a lick, from the earth about it being furrowed out in a most curious manner by the buffalo and deer, which lick the earth on account of the saline particles with which it is impregnated. The country from the fork to the Ohio is considerably broken, but generally rich, and continues uneven, except on the banks of the river, quite to the mouth of the Kentucky. \* \* \* \*

"After passing the Blue Lick the soil, if possible, increases in richness. From thence to Danville is about fifty miles. Lexington is about midway, and is nearly central of the finest and most luxuriant country, perhaps, on earth. From Lexington to Leesburg is about twenty miles; to Boonesburg it is about twenty; the upper Blue Lick nearly thirty. This square, which is nearly fifty miles, comprehends entirely what is called first-rate land. Leesburg lies on the Kentucky about twenty miles from its mouth by land, and nearly forty by water. The country between that and the Ohio is broken but rich, though it is not deemed a valuable body of land. The Kentucky is bounded everywhere by high, rocky precipices, which are generally 200 feet and upward perpendicular, and which make its passage difficult.

"Few places on it have any bottom land, as the rock rises mostly contiguous to the bed of the river, which confinement, after the heavy rains, renders it very formidable from the impetuosity of its current. On ascending the banks of this river, the land on either side is equally good for a considerable distance above Boonesburg; but adjacent to the mountains, from which the river rises,

the country becomes broken, sterile, and of little or no value. Boonesburg lies on the Kentucky, about sixty miles above its mouth by land, and about 130 by water. From Leesburg down the river on the south side for about ten or twelve miles, the hills are considerably high and steep, but when you pass the waters of Drinnon's Lick Creek, you fall into a body of good champaign land which extends with little variation to the Rapids of the Ohio. From Leesburg to Danville the country, for the first twenty miles, is of an inferior character of land for this country, but farther on you get into the rich country I have mentioned, comprehended within the square of fifty miles.

"Large bodies of good land lie on every side of Danville for twenty miles and upward, but in the course from thence to the Rapids of the Ohio, on the waters of Salt River (which takes its name from a salt spring called Bullitt's Lick that is on its banks, about twenty miles from the mouth of the river), the country is, in some places, broken into ridges of hills, which are in general good land, but not well watered. As you approach the Rapids the country becomes more level, better watered, and the soil more fertile. The country of Beargrass is beautiful and rich, as indeed is the land on Goose and Harrod's Creeks. In the fork of the Ohio and Salt Rivers, which form a junction about twenty miles below the Rapids, the country is flat and interspersed with small lakes or ponds, occasioned by the extremeness of the banks of the Ohio in this fork, which, when flooded, overflows the country, and the water fills these ponds periodically, or as often as those inundations happen, which are frequent from December until April.

"The Rapids of the Ohio lies about 700 miles below Pittsburgh; and about 400 above the confluence with the Mississippi. They are occasioned by a ledge of rocks which stretch across the bed of the river from one side to the other, in some places projecting so much that they are visible when the water is not high, and in most places when the river is extremely low. The fall is not more

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POST OFFICE AND CUSTOM HOUSE, LOUISVILLE, IN COURSE OF CONSTRUCTION, (1887.)



can between four and five feet in the distance of a mile, so that boats of any burthen may pass with safety when there is a flood, but boats coming up the river must unload.

"The situation of the Rapids is truly delightful. The river is full a mile wide, and the fall of water, which is an eternal cascade, appears as if nature had designed it to show how inimitable and stupendous are her works.

\* \* The view up the river is terminated at the distance of four leagues, by an island in its center, which is contrasted by the plain on the opposite shore that extends a long way into the country, but the eye re-echoing, finds new beauties and ample subjects for admiration in the rising hills of Silver Creek, which, stretching obliquely to the northwest, proudly rise higher and higher as they extend, until their summits are lost in air. \* \* \*

There lies a small island in the river, about 200 yards from the eastern shore, between which and the main river is a quarry of excellent stone for building, and which in great part is dry the latter part of summer. The banks of the river are never overflowed here, they being fifty feet higher than the bed of the river.

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"In leaving the Rapids in a southwesterly direction the country is flat, it bordering upon the country I have described in the fork of the Ohio and Salt Rivers. After passing the main branch of the Salt River near Bullett's Lick, ten miles distant, in the fork of the north and the south branches, the country becomes broken and hilly, but between which and the Cumberland Road, that leads from the upper parts of Kentucky, there is a considerable extent of fine land; but traveling a few leagues farther southward you arrive at extensive plains, which extend upwards of 150 miles in a southwest course, and end only when they join the mountainous country. Some few clumps of trees, and a grove here and there, are the only obstructions to a boundless horizon. It is pleasant to behold the deer bounding over the scraggy shrubs which cover the earth. While the setting sun gilds those extensive plains, the mild breezes of a summer's eve playing upon the

enraptured senses, soften the heart to love and friendship. Unperceived upon some eminence you may enjoy the sports of wild animals, which here rove unconcerned lords of the field. Heavens! What charms there are in liberty!

"We now have arrived on the waters of Green River. \* \* \* The plains extend upon the head-waters of this river quite into the limits of North Carolina, but at the mouth, and for forty miles above, there is a large proportion of good land, particularly upon Panther Creek. From the mouth of Green River up the Ohio to Salt River, the land upon the banks of the Ohio is generally fertile and rich; but leaving its banks you soon fall into the plain country, which is considered as little better than barren land,\* \* \* yet it is of superior quality to great part of the soil in the lower parts of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. It abounds with hazel, which, it is well-known, never grows kindly in a poor soil.

"The native strawberry is found in these plains in the greatest abundance, as are likewise plums of different sorts; and if we can form any idea of the native grape that grows spontaneously here, what the same soil is capable of producing where they are cultivated, it would appear that no climate or soil in the world is more congenial to the vine, for I have never tasted more delicious grapes; and it is the opinion of some judicious foreigners, who have visited these Arcadian regions, that as good wine as can be made in any part of the globe might be produced from the native grape properly cultivated. There is nothing more common than to meet with a pleasant wine made here by the settlers, who know nothing of the use of vats, or the degree of fermentation necessary to the perfection of the art of wine-making. But I flatter myself some progress will be made in this business, as several foreigners have long had it in agitation to undertake it.† The country between Green and Cumberland Rivers is, in general, rich and finely watered. There is in it a most valuable lead

\*Appendix A, Note 16.

†Appendix A, Note 17.



mine, and several salt springs, and two of bitumen, which, when analyzed, is found to be amber. But so much do we stand in need of chemists and mineralists, that we remain ignorant of the properties and value of many fossils which have been discovered. \* \*

"Cumberland River rises among the mountains, considerably to the northeast, and after its several branches have joined it, runs a long way south, and enters the limits of North Carolina. After a course of half a degree within those limits it turns to the northwest, and empties into the Ohio, at some distance above its junction with the Mississippi. The Tenasee runs into the Ohio, not a long way below the mouth of Cumberland. The Tenasee is the most important of the southern branches of the Ohio. \* \*

"After you leave the plains which extend into the Cumberland country, in your course to the Tenasee, the country is somewhat broken, but mostly rich. Great part of the land lying between these rivers was in military grants, made by Virginia to their officers and soldiers, and is esteemed a valuable situation for its proximity to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi. Their grants extend as low on the Mississippi as the partition line between Virginia and North Carolina, all of which is a beautiful country, and the banks of the river, which are very high, prevent it from overflowing, which is not the case lower down."\*

This early survey of Kentucky has the rare merit of being generally confirmed by experience. But while this is true, and undoubtedly expressed the collated judgment of the early settlers, there were details unnoted which were of the first importance in deciding the pioneer's choice of a new home. A fertile soil was an important consideration, but not so important as others which have long since become obsolete. The demands of the pioneer grew out of the undeveloped condition of the whole country, and made him a hunter rather than a farmer. His resources, as well

as inducement for the cultivation of the land were of the most limited kind, and obliged him to depend upon nature far more than upon art for his subsistence. His education and experience prepared him to prefer this kind of existence, and while he sought a locality which was likely to invite immigration and thus lead to the appreciation of his pre-emption, his only hope of an ultimate competence, his experience led him to seek land where the meager demands for the support of his family could be most readily supplied. This implied an abundance of game, a good range for his few head of stock, convenient materials for the construction of his rude dwelling and limited fencing and plenty of good water.

These conditions were all happily blended in the new land. Springs bubbled up in all parts of the very garden spot of Kentucky; tall forests crowned the uplands, while in the glades and on the river-bottoms flourished the luxuriant cane, rye-grass and clover. But what more excited the admiration of immigrants was the profusion of game, which everywhere abounded and included "beasts of every American kind." Elks were found in the broken country; deer moving in small companies, or herding together to the number of a hundred head, thronged the uplands and valleys, where bears and buffaloes in large numbers were also found, adding piquancy to the mingled duty and pleasure of the hunt. The latter, it is said, came in vast herds of a thousand head, making broad paths to the licks, which they frequented and shaking the earth in their ponderous flight.

The buffalo was a new game to the pioneers. The oldest hunters often found themselves at fault in its pursuit, and Butcher relates that, in 1781, a body of forty emigrants were discovered by Clark and two companions, "actually starving, from inexperience of the hunters in killing the buffalo." Clark's company soon killed fourteen of these animals for the famished party, much to their astonishment as to their gratification. "It seems that skillful hunters can arrange themselves so as to run parallel

\*"A Description of the Western Territory of North America," by G. Inlay; Dublin, 1793; pp. 39-52. This work consists of a series of letters by the author to a friend in England. The original edition was published at London, 1792. Several editions were subsequently published, that of 1797 being in two volumes, the second of which contained the work of Filson. A good copy of this edition is rare.

with a herd of buffalo, killing and loading as fast as they can run. This conduct of our hunters struck the group of strangers with much astonishment, when they contrasted the success of the new hunters with the failure of their own men, themselves expert woodsmen with all other game, that they were ready to look upon Clark and his two coadjutors as something more than mortals in disguise. A party thus strangely rescued from starvation, in the midst of wild game, might well be disordered in their judgments at first."

The secret of the successful pursuit of this animal was soon learned by all, and it became the general object of the hunter's prowess, hundreds eventually being slaughtered simply for their tongues, which were considered a great delicacy. Such improvisation in the use of nature's bounties soon drove the buffalo beyond the Mississippi, and in 1784 only a few were to be found in Kentucky. Deer, turkeys, wolves, foxes and those woodland friends of man, the squirrel and raccoon, remained much later, the last two still being the sport of the younger hunters. The departure of the deer and turkey was in some part supplied by the quail and summer-duck, which early followed in the wake of the grain-fields, and still remain.

Into this earthly elysium, the older frontiersmen sent forth an eager throng ready to riot at its charms, and had not the Indian interposed his claim, nature's magic would have raised up in the Kentucky forests a state which could have been scarcely less turbulent than that which a quarter of a century later arose on the Pacific slope. Desperate as was the contest that ensued, society gained no slight recompense in the clarifying influences of danger. The sordid and vicious were largely deterred from coming, or were frightened into a hurried retreat to safer neighborhoods, where they remained until the frontier community became so far established as to hold disintegrating elements in control.

But with the limitations of an Indian war and an early attempt to plant an orderly col-

ony, the growth of the early society in Kentucky was spontaneous, and exhibited in its evolution a show of regularity which is discoverable in the normal development of the average pioneer community. The first settlers, though not unacquainted with the formalities of government, lightly esteemed its functions, and were prepared to reject its sanctions in their new home. The early attempt to establish a formal government by the Transylvania colonists, though liberally devised, was rejected, primarily, as an innovation upon the inherent freedom of the frontier. The pioneer claimed, by virtue of the risk of his bold adventure, a certain absolution from legal responsibility which the necessities of the case obliged society at large to grant, and it was only when a different class of interests became prominent that the unwritten law of the community assumed something of regularity. With the increase of numbers democracy delegated its powers, and, by a single step farther, lost itself in the embryonic government of the commonwealth.

The order of this development cannot be clearly defined. It was the result of a succession of influences rather than the legislation of classes, and the character of society gradually changed, partly through a change of sentiment in those already on the border, and partly through the accession of others who entertained more advanced notions. The earliest dominant influence was exerted by the hunter or scout, whose presence on the frontier was due to the attractions of the abundant game and the adventures of an unrestrained life; then succeeded the pioneer, whose chief aim was to establish a home and provide for the future; and finally the man of affairs, the prototype of the modern politician, who prepared the way for a more stable order of society. No distinct line of division defined these classes, however. The one often merged into the other, and there were individuals who were successively eminent in each of them, though this was exceeding rare, Benjamin Logan alone affording a conspicuous example.

Of the first class of pioneers, Logston and



Kenton may be taken as types of the two extremes. Big Joe Logston, as he was called, was the son of somewhat remarkable parents, who lived in the region of the Alleghany Mountains. Old Joe Logston, as his father was known, was of extraordinary size, superior in athletic accomplishments, and possessed of great muscular strength. His wife, while not remarkably tall, was large of bone and coarse of fiber, and possessed the strength of three ordinary women. The son of such parents was predestined to excel in physical power, and in early manhood he exceeded his father in size, strength and activity. His size became proverbial, and "great as Big Joe Logston" was the most exalted standard of physical excellence in his neighborhood. He early became noted for his skill with the rifle and in athletic sports, and is said to have boasted, with an accuracy that none felt willing to contest, that he could "out-run, out-leap, out-jump, throw down, drag out and whip any man in the country."

Logston took to the woods as naturally as a bear's cub, and spent his early years in quest of such game as the mountain region afforded, resorting to the settlements only to exchange his peltries for powder and lead. As pioneer improvements encroached upon his solitude he grew restive, and when a cabin was erected within two miles of his accustomed haunts, he accepted the fact as a notice to leave, and in 1790 went to the Barren River, in Kentucky. Here he first met the hostile Indian, whom he considered as only a nobler kind of game. With them he had numerous adventures, which gave him distinction among friends and foes, and their recital afforded entertainment at many a frontier fireside. One of the most notorious of these exploits was a fight with two Indians, in which he succeeded in mortally wounding one, and in mauling the other to death with his fists. As the settlement increased in his neighborhood, and Indian hostilities ceased, he went to Illinois, where he was subsequently killed in a contest with a band of desperadoes.

The class of adventurers of which Log-

ston is in some respects rather a mild type was not so conspicuous in numbers or progress in Kentucky as elsewhere on the western border, but no part of the frontier was without its representatives. They seldom had families, made no pre-emption, or lightly abandoned it with the crude improvements they made, and preferred to live apart from their fellows. They were too often of quarrelsome disposition, which developed into ferocity when the natives were concerned and led them to defy law, the general welfare and every consideration of humanity, to satisfy their abnormal thirst for the blood of the savages. These characteristics, if well observed, represent the least favorable development of a class of people generally designated as "first settlers," "a kind of men," to use the language of Michaux: "who are unable to stop on the soil which they have cleared, and, under pretense of finding better land, a more healthy country, or a greater abundance of beasts of chase, keep always moving farther, constantly direct their steps to the point most remote from every part of the American population, and establish themselves in the vicinity of the nations of the savages, whom they brave even in their own country."

Kenton, in contrast with Logston, while indubitably of the same class, was of a superior order. His endowments were intellectual rather than physical, and while possessed of great powers of endurance and a taste for hazardous exploits, he was endued with a sagacity which alone warrants the higher place accorded him in pioneer annals. The almost tragic event which cast him upon the frontier in the guise of an outlaw undoubtedly turned the course of his life to nobler purposes; and where he sought simply an asylum from outraged justice, he found a field of action in which he could employ his expanding powers and redeem the good name which the passion of undisciplined youth had forfeited. His advent upon the frontier has been noted in the preceding pages. From that time forward he was a prominent actor in Kentucky affairs, though occupying the position of scout until the expedition of 1782, in which he

commanded a company. Thus up to the peace, which was announced the following year, his powers found congenial employment in the warlike activities of the border, or during the interval when a temporary cessation of hostilities gave him leisure for peaceful pursuits, in aiding the surveyors as guide and hunter.

In the meantime Kenton had been known on the border as Simon Butler, having assumed his mother's family name to further avoid discovery of his identity; but some time in 1782 he met his brother, who relieved him of further necessity for disguise by the information that the victim of his assault had recovered and long since forgiven the injury. The supposed crime had long weighed on his heart, and his emancipation from the galling bonds of self-accusation opened a new prospect in life, and gave his activity a new direction. He had secured claims to large tracts of land, and was considered one of the wealthiest men in Kentucky. On the announcement of peace he repaired to his claim on Salt River, and began cultivating it. A considerable settlement gathered about him, and, having prepared a home for his parents, he set out in the late fall of 1783 to visit Virginia for the first time since his flight, nearly thirteen years before. His reception by his family, and even by his old-time rival, was of the most cordial character; old differences were forgotten, and the illustrious scout, whose exploits were the theme of every fireside discussion, became the hero of the hour.

The hardy pioneer spent little time in such seductive dalliance, and early in the spring, with the whole family, whom he had induced by his glowing description to emigrate, he reached Redstone. Here, while preparations were being made to continue the journey by water, his father died and was buried. The rest of the party subsequently proceeded to their destination. At this time the route followed by the great tide of immigration was by way of the river to Limestone (Maysville), and thence by the old trail to the interior. This travel made the site of Kenton's old camp and claim especially valuable, and

in July, 1784, he repaired to this point with a party, intent upon establishing a station upon his land. A blockhouse was built, but the Indians, while not generally renewing active hostilities, were beginning to show their restlessness and dissatisfaction by sundry depredations which discouraged Kenton's companions from joining in his venturesome project, and the enterprise was for the time abandoned. In the fall, however, Kenton resolved to take advantage of the circumstances, which were likely to enhance the value of his property, and removed his family to this exposed region. A few of the more venturesome families joined him at once, and in the succeeding spring many newcomers swelled the new station into a strong frontier settlement. Here the distinguished hunter discharged the duties of captain and leader of the settlement with the same success that had crowned his efforts as scout and guide. About 1799,\* after reaching the rank of major, and taking an active part in all the campaigns which followed the renewal of the Indian war, he went to the newer lands north of the Ohio, confounded by the subtleties of the land-laws, robbed by unprincipled speculators and beggared by land-suits.

Boone, also, in all his instincts, tastes and habits, was closely allied to this class of "first settlers." He had, at the same time, a prudent regard for the future, which led him to labor for an eventual competence for his family, and amid all the strange vicissitudes of the frontier he never neglected the cultivation of his plantation near Boonesborough. He was, in fact, one of those connecting links between the hunter and the farmer which blended the social product of the early adventurers into the more stable form of society which arose out of the influence of the pioneer husbandman. After the declaration of peace, his name loses significance in the annals of the border, and while at one time he occupied a prominent place in the county government, and once represented the frontier in the Virginia assembly, he was soon superseded in those functions, and wandered

\*Appendix A, Note 18.



amid the scenes of an expanding civilization, a relic of a by-gone period, unappreciative and unappreciated.

In 1779 he accumulated a considerable sum in paper money, amounting to \$20,000, it is said, and set out for Richmond, Va., to invest it in land warrants, but on his way he was unfortunately robbed of the whole of it. He subsequently made claims to considerable land, but eventually lost it all through the intricacies of the law. Rendered discontented by misfortunes, which his unfamiliarity with and distaste for legal niceties made him incapable of repairing or avoiding, he began to long for the untrammelled freedom of the forest. His family no longer needed his care, and about 1794, with his wife, he left Kentucky never again to find here his abode until the State brought his remains to be interred in the public cemetery at Frankfort.\* Subsequently the commonwealth,

Slowly wise and meanly just,  
To buried merit raised the tardy bust.



MONUMENT TO DANIEL BOONE.

These figures, whose outlines a happy

chance has fixed upon the historic page, were not dissimilar to the throng which constituted the advance line of civilization on the border. Of the many, only here and there an exaggerated tale perpetuates the memory of their valor or their virtues, and of them it may be written, as it was of the Romans: "History has left a thousand of their more brilliant actions unrecorded, which would have done them great honor, but for want of eloquent historians." To the curious gaze of the foreigner, these people presented an object of peculiar interest, and a French traveler, who descended the Ohio in 1802, has left the following pen-picture of a common representative of the class:

Before we arrived at Marietta, we fell in with one of these *settlers*, an inhabitant of the neighborhood of Wheeling, who, like us, was descending the Ohio, and we kept together for two days. Alone, in a canoe of eighteen or twenty feet long, and twelve or fifteen inches wide, he was going to visit the banks of the Missouri, at 150 miles from its mouth. The excellent quality of the land, which is reported to be more fertile than the banks of the Ohio, and which the Spanish government at that time distributed *gratis*, the multitude of beavers, elks, and more particularly of bison, were the motives which induced him to emigrate into these distant countries, from whence, when he had determined on a convenient spot to settle with his family, he had to return and seek them on the banks of the Ohio, which obliged him to make a voyage of 1,400 or 1,500 miles three times.

His dress, like that of all the American hunters, consisted of a round waist-coat with sleeves, a pair of pantaloons, and a broad woolen girdle of a red and yellow color. A carbine, a *tomahawk*, a small hatchet used by the Indians to cut wood and to complete the death of their enemies, two beaver traps and a large knife hanging to his girdle, composed his hunting equipage. One blanket was all his baggage. Every evening he encamped on the banks of the river, or passed the night by a fire, and when he judged the spot to be favorable to the chase, he penetrated into the woods for several days and, from the produce of his hunting, procured the means of subsistence, and obtained fresh supplies with the skins of the animals he had killed.

Such were the first inhabitants of Kentucky and Tennessee, of whom very few are now left. It was they who began to clear those fertile countries and wrested them from the savages, who obstinately disputed the possession of them; it was they who finally secured the property in them after five or six years of bloody war. But, long habituated to a wandering, unemployed life, they were unable to enjoy the fruits of their toil, or to benefit by the

\*Appendix A, Note 19.

extraordinary value to which they had raised these lands in a short time; they have emigrated into more remote countries, where they are forming new establishments.\*

These western nomads were not the precursors of the permanent population in every settlement. Like birds of passage their flight was "from zone to zone," and once the migration was begun they did not stay their course until they reached the remote locality to which rumor, or a kind of instinct, led them. It was a common occurrence for the head of a family to be moved by a sudden impulse to go "farther west." With the facility of the Arabs, the whole household could be on its way in a day or two, sometimes in as many hours, and, boldly plunging into the unmarked wilderness, travel hundreds of miles,

Lone, wandering, but not lost.

Occasionally, necessitated by the exigency of the way, a stop would be made long enough "to raise a crop," but, this secured, the journey was resumed and prosecuted to the end. This class of immigrants left slight impress of their personality upon permanent social institutions, but their service to the state was none the less real. Fitted by their tastes and experience to meet the rude shock of border life, they prepared the way for higher forms of society, and then passed off the stage of action almost unheeded.

The pioneer husbandman was a more prominent figure, and while more permanent than his predecessor, he paved his way to obscurity by the unobtrusive diligence which alone assured his permanence. It will be observed that he was the successor of the "first settler" in wielding the dominant social influence rather than in the matter of immigration. He was among the earliest to reach the frontier, though doubtless in fewer numbers; and here amid the distractions and dangers of an Indian war he gradually extended the area of his clearings, furnished the sinews of war, and, in case of a general expedition, swelled the ranks of the invading army. Many of this class were men of some wealth, for the time, who "took up" large tracts of land and on some favorable spot

erected a station. Such places of protection were the welcome resort of the less provident class, who, in return for board or the use of certain lands, became the retainers of the founders of the station.

It is difficult to draw a typical figure of these pioneers. Like the men of average and general uniform characteristics of to-day, who constitute the "forgotten millions" of the world, they can be reckoned only in the mass, and indiscriminately designated as "the people" of that day. Among them, more distinguished than the many, may be mentioned the founder of the first settlement in Kentucky, James Harrod. Nothing is known of his early antecedents. He probably came from the Pennsylvania border of Virginia, and justly claimed the distinction of having erected the first cabin in Kentucky. He was tall, erect and commanding in appearance, bold, resolute, and energetic in action, and possessed qualities of a lofty and generous nature. He was unlearned in books, but deeply read in nature and human character. His mild and conciliating manners, his integrity and generous kindness, served to attract and hold in friendly allegiance the rudest characters with whom he came in contact, and made him a power, which neither the advantage of wealth nor prestige could withstand.

In the first years of the Kentucky settlements, when Indian hostilities made stations the only prudent form of habitation, and when the growth and stability of such stations depended upon the numbers that could be attracted to them, Harrod found no difficulty in establishing the most popular one on the frontier, the influence of which eventually proved the most stubborn obstacle to the success of the Transylvania colony, although supported by the reputation of Daniel Boone. Up to 1783, Harrodsburg, originally known as Harrod's Town, continued to be the largest settlement beyond the Big Sandy, and the center of frontier influence. But with the division of Kentucky into three counties, Harrod, whose public importance had some time before begun to wane, became one of the people.

\*Michaux's Travels, pp. 136-138.



From the first, Harrod was diverted from the cultivation of his land only by the exigencies of the situation. He was an adept in the use of the rifle, and took keen pleasure in the excitement of the hunt, but in this pursuit he was eminently practical; he hunted for the necessary food which his skill enabled him to procure. He was a formidable adversary to the hostile Indians, and during the first three or four years was prominent as a partisan leader. In succeeding years, when the number of settlers had somewhat increased, he seemed to have left the performance of these duties to others to whom they were more congenial. The attempt of some writers to make him figure as an "Indian-slayer" appears entirely gratuitous. While incidents are related which show him to have possessed a spirit of great daring, his noted encounters with the savages were unsought, and occurred when alone in quest of game. His widow related an incident which is characteristic of the man:

When in the fort, I dreamed one night that the Indians had attacked some of our men outside the fort; and that when my husband ran out to help them, I saw an Indian shoot him, and when he fell, stoop over and stab him. The very next day three men were chopping on a log on the creek alongside the old Harrod fort, close by, when we heard guns fire and saw the three men killed and the Indians scalping them. The Colonel started out with the others, but so forebly now was my dream impressed upon me that I elung to him. He forebly tore himself from me, and hurried out. I ran up to the highest point and looked out. The Indians were in turn fired upon, and I saw the Colonel shoot one and run him a short distance down the creek, and when the Indian fell, I plainly saw my husband stoop over (just the "contrary" of my dream) and stab him. When he came back, he did not exult, but seemed distressed, and said he wished never to kill another of the poor natives, who were defending their fatherland, and that this feeling was forced upon him by the rebound of his knife, when he plunged it into the heart of the fallen Indian, who looked up so piteously into his face. He shed a tear when telling me.\*

Abundant testimony to his kindly spirit is found in all the books of border tales. New comers, whether prospectors, speculators or surveyors, found a cordial welcome at his station, the reputation of which found its

way across the border. Inexperienced settlers found him, in many a case of need, providential friend, who, without solicitation provided a haunch of venison, restored missing animal, or recovered a stolen implement, as though that was his sole business in the world. No case of distress appealed to him in vain, and there were few families in the central settlements to whom his disinterested kindness had not given special cause for gratitude. "In after times," says Gov. Morehead, "when peace and quiet ensued, and the range of the buffalo was filled up with civilized and enterprising population, and he had become the father of an interesting family, the veteran pioneer would turn away from the scenes of domestic and social life and plunge again into the wilderness to indulge himself in the cherished enjoyments of his earlier years. From one of these excursions into a distant part of the country he never returned."\*

Of those who directed the larger movements of frontier society, the names of Trigg, Floyd, Todd, Clark and Logan were more prominent—names which have not lost their brightness even in the blaze of what it is common to call the civilization of the nineteenth century. In no period of the State's development has its destiny been shaped with greater fidelity or more conspicuous ability than it was by these noble-minded men during the first two decades of its history, but it is of "the people" that this chapter is designed to treat.

The settlement of Kentucky was made under conditions somewhat different from those met with elsewhere on the western border. Nowhere else was the Indian opposition urged with equal determination; nowhere else were the settlements so completely isolated and dependent upon their own unaided resources, and nowhere else were such meagre numbers so often called to defend their homes, not only from the assaults of overwhelming savage hordes, but of savages led by trained officers, re-enforced by white soldiers, and supplied with the most effective war material of the day. How this was accomplished, un-

\*Dr. Christopher Graham in Collins, Vol. II, p. 615.

\*Appendix A, Note 20.

aided, save by an unwavering fortitude and the rude defenses of the station, may be read in the thousand tales of daring exploits, of personal heroism, and of unselfish devotion which have their scenes in Kentucky.

At the same time, these tales are not to be relied upon as a complete portraiture of the people. They were not uncouth knights-errant, nor was woodcraft a species of witchcraft. Kentucky immigrants were drawn from the same classes as their contemporaries in other parts of the border, though circumstances already pointed out had a powerful influence in remolding their character as a whole. The approach to this famous "cane-land" was not made by the ordinary extension of the frontier, and a considerable extent of good land intervened between the old and the new settlements. The story of its attractions had reached far into the interior, and emigrants were drawn hither by its enchantments rather than urged by their necessities, and, once in possession, they adopted it as their native land, and defended it with the fervor of patriotism. The spirited opposition with which their advent was met had a salutary influence in driving out the faint-hearted, so that of those who remained each was a hero in the strife. Otherwise the Kentucky pioneer was not unlike his fellows elsewhere. He brought to his new home only the accomplishments of the woodsman. He was a good marksman, was well versed in the habits of the familiar game, possessed a keen faculty of observation, and was teachable, patient, persevering. The rest he learned from his experience here.

Upon the character of men thus endowed, the stirring scenes of Kentucky, from 1775 to 1795, could not fail to leave a deep impress. New dangers and difficulties developed new powers to meet and overcome them. Men, whose early experience at most had only revealed the crude astronomy by which they traced their course in the unmarked wilderness, and the natural science which led them to discover the meaning of a mossy bark or the peculiar trail of the various animals, now learned to read a deep significance in a displaced leaf, the bending of a twig, a floating

log, or the turning of a human foot-print. Instead of studying the habits of the savage beasts, the pioneer's attention was drawn to a grander quarry, and insensibly acquired many of the habits of the object they so persistently studied. In many respects, Campbell's picture of the Indian might well be applied to the pioneer:

As monumental bronze unchanged his look;  
A soul that pity touched, but never shook;  
Train'd from his tree-rocked cradle to his bier,  
The fierce extremes of good and ill to brook;  
Impassive—fearing but the shame of fear—  
A stoic of the woods—a man without a tear.

A characteristic story is told of one of the prisoners captured by the Indians at the battle of Blue Lick. With two companions he was taken to Detroit, and in the route passed through several towns of the natives, at each of which he was compelled to run the gauntlet. On one occasion, taking advantage of the arrangement of the Indians, he ran so close to one of the ranks as to come out almost unhurt. Immediately running up to a young warrior, with equal strength and adroitness, he picked up the astonished Indian and hurled him violently to the ground. In another instant, thrusting his head between another Indian's legs, he threw him over his head; then, springing into the air, he knocked his feet rapidly together, and crowed like a victorious cock, finishing this remarkable performance by rallying the natives as a pack of cowards. Such dauntless behavior elicited the admiration of the savages, and one old warrior promptly adopted him as his son.

Such exhibitions were not rare among white captives, and are to be referred for their origin rather to the settler's adoption of the stoicism of the Indian than to a spirit of bravado. There was but little encouragement for the development of such a spirit where all were brave. One excelled another in woodcraft or experience, but all were to be relied upon in emergencies, and many a deed of daring, which is now thoughtlessly assigned to the adventurous class, was done by men in whose quiet career it formed the single notable exception, and was attempted



only after a cool calculation of the alternatives. Such a case is the incident related of Alexander McConnell by McClung.

McConnell was a resident of Lexington. He had been out on foot, in quest of deer, had killed one, and had returned to the station for his horse to bring in the game. In his absence, a party of five Indians had chanced upon the carcass, and correctly divining its meaning, they carefully hid near to await the hunter's return. Not suspecting danger, McConnell rode into the ambush; his horse was instantly killed, and while freeing himself from the fallen animal, he was pounced upon by the savages and borne off. His captors, who appear to have been in a peculiarly pleasant mood, permitted him to proceed unbound and to retain his accoutrements. These ill-assorted companions thus traveled harmoniously together for several days, the captive accepting his fate with the *sang froid* of the true borderer, and gaining favor with the savages by his dexterity in providing game for the party.

On approaching the banks of the Ohio, McConnell felt that his chances of escape would be greatly diminished by crossing the river, and he accordingly determined to make an earnest effort to get away at once. His captors had taken the precaution to bind him each night, though not with their accustomed care, but on this occasion he complained strenuously of the pain it caused him, and had the satisfaction of observing that the thong which bound him to the body of the Indian, was only loosely tied to his wrists. Waiting until his captors were asleep, he cast his eyes about for some suggestion, when he saw a knife blade glittering in the light of the camp-fire. This proved to be within reach of his feet, and grasping it with his toes he succeeded in drawing it near and getting it into his hand. In another instant his thongs were severed, and carefully withdrawing from the embrace of his sleeping guard, he was free to escape to the woods.

The success of such a course was very doubtful. His flight would soon be discovered, and a vigorous pursuit made. In that event, with so long a distance to travel, his recap-

ture seemed certain, when death would undoubtedly seal his fate. The only alternative was to destroy his foes, which was a scarcely less hazardous undertaking. There was no opportunity of taking them off in detail; they were notoriously light sleepers, and what was done, must be done quietly and quickly.

After anxious reflections for a few minutes he formed his plan. The guns of the Indians were stacked near the fire, their knives and tomahawks were in sheaths by their sides. The latter he dared not touch for fear of awakening the owners, but the former he carefully removed with the exception of two, and hid them in the woods, where he knew the Indians would not readily find them. He then returned to the spot where the Indians were still sleeping, ignorant of the fate preparing for them, and taking a gun in each hand, he rested the muzzles upon a log within six feet of his victims, and having taken deliberate aim at the head of one and the heart of another, he pulled both triggers at the same moment.

Both shots were fatal. At the report of their guns, the others sprang to their feet, and stared wildly around them. McConnell, who had run instantly to the spot where the other rifles were hid, hastily seized one of them and fired at two of his enemies who happened to stand in a line with each other. The nearest fell dead, being shot through the center of the body; the second fell also, belching loudly, but recovering quickly, limped off into the woods as fast as possible. The fifth and only one who remained unhurt darted off like a deer with a yell which announced equal terror and astonishment. McConnell, not wishing to fight any more such battles, selected his own rifle from the stack and made the best of his way to Lexington, where he arrived safely within two days. (McClung.)

A similar development was silently wrought in the female character. Women who, in 1773, terror-stricken by the Indian attack near Cumberland Gap, demanded the retreat of the first emigrants to Kentucky, in later years stood unswerving amid the vicissitudes that made death, wounds, and captivity the almost daily fate of their sex. So accustomed did they become to the violent form of death that, as Judge Hall relates on one occasion, when a young man died the natural way, the woman of the station sat up all night, gazing at the remains as an object of beauty. The matrons of the frontier, in time, seemed to lose all womanish fears and weaknesses, and emulated the dexterity of their fathers, brothers and husbands in the use of the gun.

and ax in defense of their homes and children. McClung relates an incident which occurred in the summer of 1787, when the cabin of John Merrill of Nelson County, Ky., was attacked by Indians and defended with singular address and good fortune.

Merrill was alarmed by the barking of a dog about midnight, and, upon opening the door in order to ascertain the cause of the disturbance, he received the fire of six or seven Indians, by which his arm and thigh were both broken. He instantly sank upon the floor and called upon his wife to close the door. This had scarcely been done when he was violently assailed by the tomahawks of the enemy, and a large breach soon effected. Mrs. Merrill, however, being a perfect amazon, both in strength and courage, guarded it with an ax, and successively killed or badly wounded four of the enemy as they attempted to force their way into the cabin. The Indians then ascended the roof and attempted to enter by way of the chimney; but here again they were met by the same determined enemy. Mrs. Merrill seized the only feather bed the cabin afforded, and hastily ripping it open, poured its contents upon the fire. A furious blaze and stifling smoke instantly ascended the chimney and brought down two of the enemy, who lay for a few moments at the mercy of the woman. Seizing the ax she quickly dispatched them, and was instantly afterward summoned to the door, where the only remaining savage now appeared, endeavoring to effect an entrance while Mrs. Merrill was engaged at the chimney. He soon received a gash in the cheek, which compelled him, with a loud yell, to relinquish his purpose, and return hastily to Chillicothe, where, from the report of a prisoner, he gave an exaggerated account of the fierceness, strength and courage of the "long-knife" squaw.

All were not Amazons in strength, nor was it chiefly by their strength that the women achieved such prodigies of valor which everywhere adorn the pages of frontier history. In presence of mind they were not excelled by the acutest scout, and often outwitted the cunning savage by a bold face or a quickly

conceived stratagem. One night, when a settler was forced to be away from his home on business, his wife learned by the snorting of a horse, feeding near by, that the Indians were prowling about. Putting on a bold front, she immediately built up a large blaze in the fire-place, which, sending its light far through the chinks, indicated to the savages the presence of a large company, whereupon they decamped without offering any molestation.

Similar address, under more trying circumstances, was exhibited by the wife of Samuel Daviess, in 1782. On going out of his cabin early one morning, Mr. Daviess was startled, on stepping a few paces from the door, to find an Indian with an upraised tomahawk, barring his return. Entirely unarmed it instantly occurred to him that by running around the cabin he could gain an entrance before his pursuers could overtake him. To think was to act, but on making the circuit he found the cabin occupied by four Indians, whom he had heretofore failed to observe. His pursuer was close upon him; there was no room for hesitation, and he at once plunged into a field of standing corn near by, where, with difficulty, he eluded his pursuer and finally set off for help to the nearest station, five miles away.

The unsuccessful savage, after carefully staining his hands and tomahawk with pokeberries, returned to the cabin and exhibited them to Mrs. Daviess to convince her that there was no hope of rescue. She readily detected the fraud without giving any sign of her discovery, and in response to signs indicated on her fingers that the nearest cabin was eight miles away. Thus lulling the immediate fears of the savages, she slowly arose from the bed and dressed herself and children, at their command. This done, she attracted the Indians by displaying various articles of clothing one after another, and in this way delayed their departure for several hours. Finally, when every resource for effecting delay was exhausted, she was forced to accompany her captors with her children, some of whom were too young to keep pace with the party. Observing this, and knowing the Indians would not hesitate



to murder them to save annoyance, she placed them on the backs of the older boys, and carrying an infant at her breast thus preserved their lives.

By her shrewd devices, the rescuing party was enabled to overtake the Indians about 9 o'clock in the morning. Noticing by the agitation of the savages that the pursuers were close at hand, she saved herself and infant by jumping into a sink-hole just as the whites attacked the band, and rescued the whole family. The elder boy, about eleven years of age, was struck down and scalped, but not killed, and his first utterance on rising was: "Curse that Indian, he has got my scalp."

Children of such parents and brought up in such surroundings could not fail to catch something of the heroic spirit of the times. Quieted in their infancy by suggesting the proximity of the Shawanese, supplied with tomahawk and bows and arrows for their earliest toys, they early displayed a precocity in those accomplishments upon which their safety often depended. It is sometimes said that infants of pioneers were less addicted to crying than those of a later period; but whether this be true or not, numerous well-attested incidents are related where nursing children have passed through the terrors of a midnight attack, and afterward lain quietly in hiding, when a single sound would have sealed the doom of mother and child. Children, at an age when parents are now loth to allow them out of their sight, were then found successfully eluding the savages, uninstructed, and carrying appeals for aid through miles of forest beset by Indians.

Boys were early instructed in the use of firearms, and a rifle or shotgun was usually their first piece of property. As a garrison for the station when the men were drawn off for some expedition, or as messengers and hunters, they performed conspicuous service, and greatly augmented the military strength of the frontier. During the winter of 1776-77, the settlements suffered much from the scarcity of food. The small stock of corn was soon exhausted, and, while the forest teemed with game, the Indians were so nu-

merous and watchful that hunters were almost daily killed or wounded. In this predicament a lad only about seventeen years of age became Harrodsburg's sole dependence. This was James Ray, who was accustomed to mount an old but strong horse, the last of forty head belonging to his step-father, Maj. McGary, and starting off before day-break rode up the beds of streams to hide his trail. After gaining a safe distance from the fort, he spent the day in hunting, and returned by the same route after dark, bringing his game with him. Thus day after day and week after week he successfully eluded the enemy and supplied the fort. Older hunters tried his plan but were discovered, and finally resigned the perilous duty to the lad whose boldness and sagacity preserved him through all the peril which beset him.

A more striking incident is related of some lads from eleven to fourteen years of age. At Col. Pope's settlement, near Louisville, several lads were instructed by a tutor whom the Colonel had engaged for the education of his own sons. One Saturday, five of these boys—two sons of Col. Linn, Brashier, Wells, and a lad whose name is not remembered—taking advantage of a holiday, set off for a hunt. They encamped near the bank of the Ohio, some six miles southwest of Louisville, where a wide bottom and a large pond afforded abundance of game. It was February, and in the night a light snow had fallen, which made their trail perfectly plain. The lurking savages soon discovered it, and just as all had laid down their guns and were busy fastening a bear cub, which they had killed, on the back of the elder Linn, the Indians pounced down upon them.

Escape was impossible, and the lads were hurried over to the White River towns, where they showed such spirit in thrashing the Indian boys who molested them, that they were adopted into the tribes of their delighted captors. Wells was taken to a distant nation, with whom he grew to manhood, married a sister of Little Turtle, and subsequently became a noted and trusty

out for Gen Wayne. The rest adapted themselves to their new surroundings, but added their time for an opportunity to escape.

This came at last; several months after their capture, the four boys found themselves some distance from the village, fishing in the company of an old man and woman. After some natural hesitation they determined to kill their guardians and escape. Their plans were put in execution, and, having dispatched the Indians at night, they took the nearest course for their homes, traveling by night and lying concealed by day. Their flight was soon discovered by the tribe and a vigorous pursuit made, but they fortunately escaped detection until they reached the Ohio opposite Louisville. Here they found themselves in the greatest danger. Firing their guns to attract their friends made no impression upon the whites, as they supposed it was done by the Indians, but their pursuers were thus guided to their vicinity. In this dilemma the boys marched up the river and, constructing a raft, put such as could not swim upon it, while the elder Linn swam and propelled it across the river. They had scarcely got beyond rifle range of the northern shore when the Indians appeared on the bank, but too late to intercept their flight.

In all this there is much material for romance, and it is in this form that pioneer life is too often presented. But it should not be forgotten that the actual experience was far from what such narratives make it. The dangers were real; the heroes, once dead, did not revive to bow before an enthusiastic audience; the "star" was also the "supe;" and the "acting" was done, without tinsel or false color, in the broad glare of everyday life. It was a play only as

"All the world's a stage,

And all the men and women merely players."

The pioneers had their exits and their entrances, and each one played many parts, but necessity and not applause was the motive power. Each year wrought its changes in the scene; increased numbers multiplied the isolated stations; added power changed the

military character of the community for the garb of peace; and the unrestrained life of the forest gave place to the less romantic but more enduring forms of civilization.

The remarkable immigration of 1780 marks the turning point. Thenceforward the tide of population flowed across the border with persistent power; cabins sprang up singly or in settlements of two or three throughout the central region, and in 1783, "the settlement of Kentucky was considered as formed." It was no longer viewed as a hunter's paradise, but a place where a home could be readily planted and a competence easily achieved. It is related of Col. William Whitley that, soon after marrying and setting up an independent establishment, he said to his wife that he heard good reports of Kentucky, and believed that they could make a better living there with less hard work. "Then, Billy, if I was you, I would go and see," was her quick response, and acting upon this advice, they were both soon settled on the frontier. Such was the readiness with which so important a change was made, and such the inducement which subsequently led thousands of families to seek the new land.

The route followed by the greater number of these immigrants, and, indeed, from 1780 to the beginning of the present century by all travelers seeking any part of the West, was by the Ohio River. The principal point of embarkation was Redstone Old Fort—Brownsville, Penn.—a place equally accessible from Maryland, Virginia, and in a direct line from Philadelphia and the East. The emigrant from Virginia directed his course to Cumberland, and thence by Braddock's Road to his destination, some sixty miles northwest. Previous to 1783, and for several years later, the roads were impracticable for wheeled vehicles, and overland transportation was effected by means of pack-horses. Even to this mode of transportation the paths across the mountains were difficult and often dangerous. In some places they were barely passable; at other points they ran along the brink of a precipice, where a single misstep involved great danger if not



destruction, or were overflowed by streams, which it was necessary to ford.

Most of the early settlers had little to bring with them. Farming implements, a few cooking utensils, a small stock of supplies, and the women and children were all that the emigrant found it necessary to provide for. These were placed on the backs of horses, which with one or more cows and an occasional sheep or hog made up the cavalcade, which was led by the men and boys on foot. Horses which carried the younger children were furnished with a pack-saddle, to either side of which was hung a creel, fashioned from hickory withes in the form of a crate. In these were stowed the clothing and bedding, in the center of which a child or two was securely placed and guarded against accidents by strong lacings, which prevented their falling out. Occasionally a creel would break loose and roll with its precious freight along the ground, throwing the whole company into confusion and alarm. Not unfrequently, accidents and difficulties of the way would separate mothers from their children throughout the day, and the whole family assembled only at the evening meal, when the rear of the train reached the chosen stopping place long after the van. No friendly inn then opened its doors to the weary emigrant, nor could they have afforded to pay for its accommodations, had it existed. The meal was prepared in the open air, and the night was well advanced before the tired parents could seek repose in the protection of a blanket in a retired nook by the road-side.

Arrived at Redstone, the first care of the emigrant was to provide a Kentucky boat,\* in which to transport his effects to Limestone, which now became the general landing place of emigrants bound for Kentucky. The building of these boats became, at a later date, quite an important business at this place, but the earlier voyagers, either from necessity or motives of economy, constructed their own vessels, which caused considerable delay. The journey was usually so timed that the party arrived early enough

to accomplish this preparation before the end of the spring flood, which began about the middle of February and continued about three months. Considerable numbers were often thus brought together at this general rendezvous, and proved of mutual advantage. Several families often occupying the same boat, and several boats frequently making the voyage in company. A familiar scene of that period is thus described by Michaux:

I was alone on the banks of the Monongahela when, for the first time, I observed five or six of these boats floating down the river. I could not conceive what these large square boxes were, which were abandoned to the current, presented by turns their ends, their sides and their corners. As they approached, I heard a confused noise, but the height of their sides prevented me from distinguishing anything. By getting on the bank of the river, I at length discovered several families in these boats, which also conveyed their horses, their cows, their poultry, their dismounted carriages, their plows, their harness, their beds, their agricultural tools, and in fact everything which is required for furnishing a farm house, and cultivating the land. These people abandoned themselves in this manner for several hundred miles to the current of the river, probably without knowing the place where they might stop and enjoy in tranquility the fruits of their industry under one of the best governments existing in the world. (*Travels Westward, etc.*, 1802.)

The mouth of Cabin Creek, about five or six miles above Limestone, had long been the accustomed landing place of Indian war parties from north of the Ohio, and from this point two trails led to the Upper Blue Lick, the one known as the Upper War Road, and the other, sometimes called the Lower War Road, but generally the Buffalo Trace. The Upper Road was the one generally traveled by the whites and the best known. War roads were distinguished by their leading by the shortest practical route from one point to another, and by having their course blazed by torches and hawk-chips in the trees. Buffalo trails were made by the travel of these animals; were much broader than the others, but were otherwise unmarked and wound along ridges and creeks. From the landing place a trail led to Washington, a settlement three or four miles in the interior, which was for years the only place in this part of the country for

\*Appendix A, Note 21.

the accommodation of travelers. Although formally laid out in 1786, under an act of the Virginia assembly, it continued for some years completely hidden in the tall cane which grew upon its site. Here the newcomers gained information as to the lands open to settlers or of improvements for sale, and could procure a guide for the exploration of the country if they wished.

This region was permanently occupied in 1834 by Kenton. A vigorous settlement was planted, but its growth was retarded by the dangers incident to its exposed location until 1890, when it took a new start and increased rapidly. The early immigration, therefore, pushed its way to the interior, where good lands were secured and homes established at a cost scarcely exceeding the labor involved in building a cabin or clearing the ground. Before the general pacification of the Indians, in 1795, few single cabins were reared in localities remote from others. The newcomer would usually select land in the immediate vicinity of some settlement which afforded his family shelter, while he, "camping out" in the meantime, would prepare the new home. When sites at considerable distance from settlements were chosen, it was the custom for several families to join in the enterprise, and locate their lands in such a way as to allow the several cabins to be erected within "supporting" distance of each other.\*

The earlier settlers generally brought their families to some strong station, and then, equipped with an ax, rifle, frying-pan and a small stock of salt and meal, the fathers would set out on a prospecting tour, to be gone, frequently, for several months. Before his return he often made the first necessary clearing, and erected a temporary hut to receive his family. Later, as cabins were more frequently found in the country, the immigrant manifested no hesitation in breaking up his home in a distant State, and with his family and household goods, on pack-animals or wagons, start out for a new home, influenced and guided solely by rumors and picked-up information on the road. Decid-

ing upon a locality for his future residence, he found no difficulty in securing temporary shelter for his family in some cabin, already well filled by its owners, but which the simplicity of early manners and an unstinted hospitality rendered elastic enough to comfortably entertain the welcome addition to the community.

A new arrival of this nature was heralded with a cordial welcome for miles about, and a neighborhood, which scarcely knew limits, hastened to lend its friendly offices in rearing a cabin. A day was appointed, and no invitation was needed to draw together a company of willing, capable hands. To assist in raising a cabin for a new family was a duty, which the unwritten law of the community imperatively laid upon every able-bodied man, and to know of the occasion was a sufficient invitation. On gathering, one party was told off as choppers, whose business it was to fell the trees and cut the logs of proper dimensions; a man and team brought these logs to the site of the proposed building; others assorted, "saddled," and otherwise prepared the logs to form the structure, which was finished on one day and occupied the next. It was not unfrequently the case that the necessity of preparing the ground for the first crop obliged the settler to forego the floor, and even a permanent roof, until the planted crop granted the opportunity. In its best estate\* it was a rude though not uncomfortable structure: a puncheon floor below, and a clap-board roof above, a small, square window without glass, and a chimney carried up with "cats and clay"—short pieces of small poles firmly imbedded in mud or mortar—to the height of the ridge-pole.

\*There were a few cabins which were quite pretentious, and one of these had the first shingle roof in the county. It belonged to Adams, who sold out to Kennedy in 1809, and is thus described by the latter: "Adams was a thrifty, industrious man, and said to my father, 'I gad, I thought I would build the best and finest house in all the country.' It was constructed of large, hewed white oak logs, twenty-four feet long by eighteen feet wide, covered with black walnut shingles rounded at the butt end, and every one put on with walnut pegs, bored through shingles and lath with a brace and bit. It was a good roof, and lasted about thirty years. Then the lower and upper floors were laid with poplar plank, sawed by hand with a whip-saw, nicely dressed, tongued and grooved, and put down with pegs. Three windows two feet square, with nice shutters, but not a pane of glass, nor a nail in all the house, save in the three doors. For these a few nails were made by a blacksmith, his brother, Andy Adams. The chimneys were of stone, the first in the country, and contained at least 150 loads of rock. The fire-places were six feet wide, with wooden mantel-pieces."—History of Todd County, Ky., published by F. A. Battey Publishing Co., Chicago, 1884.

\*Appendix A, Note 22.



There was little underwood in any part of the country, and in the more open lands it was only necessary to cut the cane and girdle the larger trees to prepare the ground for cultivation. In the more heavily timbered country the mattock, as well as the ax, was required to prepare the way for the plow and hoe, which were of the simplest construction, and were calculated more for strength and durability than to economize labor. Fortunately the fertility of the soil obviated the necessity of thorough tillage, as the roots, which ramified the soil, successfully defied the strongest plow. The first cultivation of the soil, therefore, was but a tickling of the surface, to which the prolific soil responded with a harvest of from fifty to eighty bushels of corn to the acre.

Maize was invariably the first crop, and until the beginning of the present century the only general crop cultivated in Kentucky. A small space was usually devoted to garden vegetables; a small patch of turnips was sown, the product of which in winter evenings afforded those who had enjoyed apples elsewhere a not unpleasant substitute; and occasionally a secluded spot in the center of the corn-field was devoted to water and musk-melons. It was several years before wheat could be grown on new lands, the weevil and its rank growth preventing its successful cultivation earlier. But even then its culture languished. Emigrants from Virginia and the Southern States brought with them a relish for corn, which is still a marked feature of the culinary predilections of the average Kentuckian; and wheat, save in the case of the emigrant from the Eastern States, or for "company" purposes, was for many years only raised for exportation. Other obstacles to its cultivation were undoubtedly the lack of the superior machinery which was required to prepare it for use, in the rather more exacting nature of its culture, and in the restricted uses to which it could be applied. The ground was prepared with a shovel-plow, and when sown was covered with a wooden-tooth harrow or the bushy limb of a tree. It was cut with a sickle and threshed with a flail, and there

was little to relieve the tedium of the duties. The whisky-jug did add a touch of luxury to the work, but the result was rather to intoxicate the laborer than to mitigate the severity of the mid-summer sun, or to dispel the stifling dust.

Nothing could equal the Indian corn for the necessities of settlers in a new and isolated country. It furnished food for man and beast, it often supplied a roof as well as a bed, and the harvest could be partially anticipated by several weeks, an availability which was not the least of its recommendations to public favor. Its earliest foes, the squirrel and crow, gave the boys a pleasurable occupation in defending the fields, which often afforded them the first opportunity of using a rifle or shot-gun. After the ear was formed and the grain half-grown this contest, which had ceased for a time for want of a pretext, was renewed, for the squirrel seemed to recognize the era of "roasting ears" as quickly as the farmer. The tender corn shaved off and eaten in meal was a dish that is still highly praised, and grated fine, in times of scarcity supplied a very palatable substitute for meal. As the ears ripened, the blades were pulled off and tied in bundles; the tops above the ears were cut off and shocked to cover the "fodder barn;" and finally the ear was pulled and stored to furnish the crowning occasion of the fall, the husking-bee.

Another and important source of wealth or rather of comfort, which was the form which frontier affluence expressed itself, was the stock, which immigrants took care to bring with them in unusual variety. Among them the cow obtained a prominence which the plainness of frontier fare exalted to the distinction of a public benefactor. As Drake expresses the fact—"old Brindle was then a veritable member of the family, and took her slop at the cabin door, while the children feasted on her warm milk with her. The calf grew up in their companionship and disputed with them for its portion of the delicious beverage which she distilled from the cane and luxuriant herbage in which it waded through the day."

Next to the cow, and scarcely second in the estimation of the early Kentuckians, was the horse, which acquired an importance unknown elsewhere on the western border. From the first these animals were used, to the almost entire exclusion of oxen, in all the labors of the frontier. This doubtless arose from the predilections of the people, who came largely from Virginia, where the passion for the horse had been fostered from an early date. The habit and necessity of traveling on horseback emphasized this tendency, and the demand for speed and endurance in the conflict with the Indians added an incentive to the cultivation of this animal, which produced a race-track before the Indians had yielded peaceable possession of the land. The first "tek" was probably a straight-quarter-horse in the neighborhood of Foxtown, Madison County, where, it is said, an enthusiastic horse-trainer was shot by an Indian from the cable-brake just as he was pulling up his stand at the end of the track.

Wine came quite as much a matter of course as of necessity. They had long occupied an important place in the domestic economy of the section which peopled this country and later years have so far confirmed the early taste that their favorite meat and cereal, "hog and hominy," have almost become of sectional significance. Sheep were also brought to the new country, but in small numbers. Most families had one or two, which, in some cases, increased to flocks of twenty to forty head, but in more instances the few first brought fell early victims to the wolves. They were brought principally in obedience to the necessity for material from which to manufacture clothing, and sufficient survived for this purpose. They were little cared for as food, and save during the presence of harvest hands, or a large company on other special occasions, mutton seldom graced the farmer's board.

Stock found in this new land a free support, unrestrained in range or bounty. The first settlers found little necessity for giving the stock other care, the year round, than to provide a little salt at stated occasions. Horses were used on all but the hogs, which

were marked by sundry slits and crops in the ear and allowed to run at large until wanted for food, when they were found in good condition, to which the abundant fall of nuts amply contributed. Horses were in regular use, and, as the farmer's crop increased, were fed more or less corn. Milch cows were fed the provender preserved from the corn crop, and pumpkins, which were raised for the purpose. In these the sheep sometimes shared, but it was not until the settlements considerably increased that even this was thought necessary. In a later day, when the store of provender ran short, and a peculiarly severe winter made it necessary to provide natural food, which the snow prevented the stock from procuring for themselves, recourse was had to "browsing." For this purpose the farmer drove his stock to the woodland, and, cutting down a red or white elm, or a white hickory, would leave it to the hungry animals, which needed no urging to attack the smaller and tender twigs, and even the bark stripped from the larger parts of the slippery elm. In the meantime the farmer and his boys prepared fuel for the evening fire, or, if not too pressed with care, would be drawn off by sundry tracks in pursuit of "coons" and rabbits.

Sheep were usually folded each night to guard them against the attacks of wolves. This protection consisted of a rude log pen near the cabin, and not unfrequently, when the configuration of the ground permitted, a space under the cabin was devoted to the purpose. As settlements extended, fences sufficient to guard the growing crops from the incursions of hogs and cattle were found necessary, and gradually restricted the home range. The stock was then frequently driven to some distance, where a good scope of unoccupied country and plenty of water afforded the desired range. Here a handful of salt laid on the ground established a rendezvous, which the stock never abandoned. Hunting the cows or horses was not then a trivial undertaking, and the "hunter" would often prosecute his search to such a distance from accustomed landmarks as to be obliged to depend upon the instinct of the animal to lead



him back. Failing to find the animal he was utterly lost, and not unfrequently within two or three miles of home. This service fell principally to the share of the younger members of the family, who early developed so acute and quick observation as to enable them to distinguish the peculiar tone of their own bells from that of their neighbors.\*

But outdoor activities were only of secondary importance in solving the problem of pioneer life. These produced the crude materials, but their adaptation to the necessities of life, the development of new possibilities from meager resources,† and the ingenious ameliorations of an experience full of obdurate exactions, pertain to the mysteries of the cabin, the presiding genius of which was the wife and mother. Woman was something more than man's helpmate on the frontier, and after a lapse of nearly two centuries the opinion of the first deliberative assembly on this continent (1619)—that, "in a new plantation, it is not known whether the man or woman be the most necessary"—remained unchallenged.

The interior of the cabin was in harmony with the rude simplicity of its outward construction. Housekeeping conveniences were not yet contrived, and the "inside finish" consisted solely of some pegs driven into the wall for the accommodation of the few articles of spare clothing, and two larger ones, or a pair of buck horns over the fire place, for the rifle. "Moving in" was a trivial affair. The limited possessions of the pioneers and the more restricted mode of early transportation compelled the immigrant to bring only

such necessary things as the frontier did furnish material for making. The furniture consisted of a few articles roughly made the spot. A split slab, smoothed with an and supported by four legs, did duty as a table. Three-legged stools or long benches of the same material supplied the place of chairs. A log-trough cradled the baby, while the bed if raised from the floor, rested upon a one-legged fixture in the corner of the cabin. The bed was often only a few bear and buffalo skins thrown upon the floor, but provident housewives generally took care to bring a bed-tick, which was filled with leaves until the first corn-crop supplied husks for purpose; and this, covered with bear or buffalo skins, lent a touch of luxury to this necessary feature of cabin furniture.

A similar ingenuity provided kitchen and table utensils, which consisted principally of articles turned or "coopered" out of wood. These included noggins, trays, trenchers, bowls, spoons and ladles, besides the larger vessels, such as buckets, milk-pails, churns, tubs, etc., etc. A kettle and frying-pan and "Dutch-oven" were almost the only metal articles used in the cabin. A tin cup was an article of delicate luxury, almost as rare as an iron fork, and few knives were to be found save those which each man carried as a part of his equipment; at best, two or three sufficed for the use of the family. Another article, which was an important factor in the domestic economy of the cabin, was a grater. A piece of tin, eight or nine inches long, its surface closely set with the jagged results of rude perforations, was bent in a circular form and fastened to a piece of wood. On this the unripe corn, too soft to pound or grind, was reduced to a sort of pulp, which could then be made into bread or otherwise prepared for food. It was often called the "blood-mill," from the frequent lacerations which befel the fingers of those who operated it. When the grain became hard, the "hominy-block," to be found about every cabin, was brought into requisition. This was a rude wooden mortar, the concavity of which was made by burning and scraping. The pestle was an iron wedge let into a well

\*The faculty of distinguishing the delicate differences in ordinary sounds was one of the prime essentials in successful woodcraft, and was possessed by all pioneers in a wonderful degree. An incident related by Judge Robertson in a public address, in 1843, illustrates this feature of the frontier education. Among the captured whites at the battle of Blue Lick was an excellent husband and father. He fortunately escaped the fate of many of his comrades in captivity, but for a year his wife and friends knew only that he was reported certainly dead—killed on the field of battle. She, however, hoped against reason, and when wooed by another, postponed the nuptials, declaring her belief that her husband would return. "Her expostulating friends finally succeeding in their efforts to stifle her affectionate instinct, she reluctantly yielded, and the nuptial day was fixed. But just before it dawned, the crack of a rifle was heard near her lonely cabin. At the familiar sound she leaped out like a liberated fawn, ejaculating as she sprang, 'That's John's gun.' It was John's gun, sure enough; and in an instant she was once more in her lost husband's arms." (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 289)

†The wife of William Poague, who came to Harrodsburg in 1776, brought the first spinning wheel to Kentucky, and, her husband having contrived a rude loom by sinking the posts in the ground and piecing the beams and sleys to them, she made the first linen manufactured in the State from the lint of nettles, and the first linsey-woolsey from this lint and buffalo wool.

the handle, which was often attached to a spring-pole to aid the operation.

In this day of diversified industry, when the labor-saving invention crowds another off the stage in endless and rapid succession, one can scarcely comprehend the patient, persevering effort required of the pioneer housewife, even for the successful discharge of the ordinary duties of the cabin. The lack of costly furniture, unwholesome carpets, of fragile bric-a-brac and expensive hangings, did not lessen her care. She was both mistress and servant, matron and nursery-maid, housekeeper and charwoman, dairy-maid and cook. Neatness was not less demanded of her than of the modern housewife, and her broom and scrub-brush found ample service in keeping floor and furniture clean and white. Food was abundant and wholesome, but, like everything else that the pioneer possessed, it was to be derived only from the native natural product. The richest milk, the choicest butter, and the finest meats, with wild fruit, nuts and honey, were to be had from the trouble of taking them from Nature's bountiful hand. Bread was most difficult to obtain, and its scarcity was often a great privation. At such times the corn-pone was esteemed a great luxury, but this would at length pall on the taste, and the settler would yearn for the "neat and abounding wheat-bread trays" of his earlier home.\*

The labor involved in this was not unequally divided between the sexes. "The men hunted and brought in the meat; they plowed and gathered the corn; grinding it into meal at a hand-mill, or pounding it in a hominy in the mortar, was occasionally the work of either, or the joint labor of both." It with these offices women's labor was scarcely begun. Custom and necessity united to lay upon her the duty of providing for every household need that the rude agriculture of the period did not supply, and in all the multifarious activities which engaged her

skill and energy, she labored unaided by labor-saving machinery. And so she milked the cows in all weather, while sturdy men and boys watched an operation too effeminate to enlist their service; churned the butter and pressed the cheese; carried the tubs to the spring or caught rain-water for the weekly "washing" from the eaves in troughs and barrels; made her own soft-soap; washed, picked, carded and dyed the wool; pulled, broke, hatched and bleached the hemp; spun the thread, and wove the cloth; contrived and made the garments; reared her children, nursed the sick, sympathized with the distressed and encouraged the disheartened laborer at her side. In all this, and above it all, woman was the tutelar saint of the frontier.

The dress of the women consisted of linen and linsey-woolsey—linen and wool combined. An over-shadowing sun-bonnet of linen, neatly washed and ironed, and a check apron made of the heavier material, with home-made stockings and a pair of heavy cowhide shoes, constituted the lady's outfit for the most important occasion. Deer skins were much used in men's wear, and both men and women so much resembled the savages in their general attire, that in the excitement of an attack they were often mistaken for Indians.\*

The hunting-shirt was universally worn. This was a kind of loose frock, reaching half way down the thighs, with large sleeves, open before, and so wide as to lap over a foot or more when belted. The cape was large and sometimes handsomely fringed with a raveled piece of cloth of a different color from that of the hunting-shirt itself. The bosom of this dress served as a wallet to hold a chunk of bread, cakes, jerk, tow for wiping the barrel of the rifle, or any other necessary for the hunter or warrior. The belt, which was always tied behind, answered several purposes beside that of holding the dress together. In cold weather the mittens, and sometimes the bullet-bag, occupied the

\*Dr. Drake relates that when a little child he cried and begged for bread, which could not be had, until his parents were obliged to leave the table to hide their distress. Casseday (Hist. of Louisville, p. 31,) records "that when the first patch of wheat was raised about this place, after being ground in a rude and primitive hand-mill, it was sifted through a gauze neckerchief, the best bolting cloth to be had. It was then shortened with lard, and the whole station invited to partake of a sumptuous feast upon flour cake."

\*Numerous incidents illustrative of this fact are to be found throughout the tales of the border. In the rescue of the Callaway sisters and Jemima Boone, Elizabeth Callaway was found sitting against a tree with a red bandanna handkerchief on her head. One of the rescuers was about to bring the raised butt of his gun down upon her head with fatal force, when one who happened to recognize her ward off the blow. Coomes, who figured in an adventure near Harrodsburg, was subsequently out with a party getting corn at a distant crib, when the Indians made an attack, killing eight of the whites at the first fire. The blood of a comrade was spattered in Coomes' face, and so changed his appearance that a comrade leveled his rifle at him which the former observed barely in time to declare his identity. These incidents might be added to almost indefinitely.



front part of it. To the right side was suspended the tomahawk, and to the left the scalping knife in its leathern sheath.\*

The hunting-shirt was generally made of linsey, sometimes of coarse linen, and a few of dressed deer skins. These last were very cold and uncomfortable in wet weather. The shirt and jacket were of the common fashion. A pair of drawers or breeches and leggins were the dress of thighs and legs, and a pair of moccasins answered for the feet much better than shoes. These were made of dressed deer-skins. They were mostly made of a single piece, with a gathering seam along the top of the foot, and another from the bottom of the heel, without gathers, as high as the ankle joint or a little higher. Flaps were left on each side to reach some distance up the legs. These were nicely adapted to the ankles and lower part of the legs by thongs of deer skins, so that no dust, gravel or snow could get within the moccasin.

The moccasins in ordinary use cost but a few hours' labor to make them. This was done by an instrument denominated a moccasin-awl, which was made of the back spring of an old clasp knife. This awl, with its buck-horn handle, was an appendage of every shot-pouch strap, together with a roll of buck-skin for mending the moccasin. This was the labor of almost every evening. They were sewed together and patched with deer-skin thongs, or *whangs*, as they were commonly called. In cold weather the moccasins were well stuffed with deer's hair or dry leaves, so as to keep the feet comfortably warm; but in wet weather it was usually said that wearing them was a "decent way of going barefooted;" and such was the fact, owing to the spongy texture of the leather of which they were made.

Owing to this defective covering of the feet, more than to any other circumstance, the greater number of our hunters and warriors were afflicted with rheumatism in their limbs. Of this disease they were all apprehensive in wet and cold weather, and therefore always slept with their feet to the fire to prevent or cure it as well as they could. This practice unquestionably had a very salutary effect, and prevented many of them from becoming confirmed cripples in early life.†

\*An almost inseparable companion of the early Kentuckian was the rifle, a small bored, long, heavy barreled gun, with flint lock. It required only a small charge, and up to 150 yards, the ordinary limit of forest range, it was exceedingly accurate. Such was the prejudice in favor of the long harrel that no other gun was thought fit for a woodsman. It is related that when the first attempt to run the boundary line between Kentucky and Tennessee was made, one of the guard, which attended the surveying party, had a short rifled gun, which was an object of derision to the whole party. On one occasion Dr. Walker called up the owner of the despised weapon, and said: "We don't think much of your short gun, but here's a chance to test it—a target for you; hit it if you can." The object was a turkey's head, about 100 yards distant, upon a dead limb of a standing tree. More in a spirit of desperation than of confidence, the challenged marksman drew sight on the object, fired, and brought down the bird. His success was greeted with approving shouts of the company, and Walker said, if his father had risen from the dead, and told him he could kill that turkey with that thing, he would not have believed it. (See Appendix A, Note 23.)

†Doddridge's Notes, p. 114.

Early emigrants came principally from "back settlements" of the Atlantic colonies. With few exceptions they came from poorer farming classes, and possessed little of the refinement to be found in the older communities in the region from which they came. But where refinement did exist, a few months of isolation and an experience of the dependence of each family upon the friendly offices of every other served to get away with any fastidiousness which might have been cherished at first, and gradually molded the whole community into a homogeneous society. The average early settlement consisted of a cluster of clearings—fewer than two to ten acres in extent and inclosed by a brush fence—separated by intervening woods, through which foot-trails, bridle-paths, and, finally, narrow wagon-ways wound their devious course amid stumps, pitfalls, and other obstacles to travel. Thus, a dozen more clearings were often situated within the sound of a rifle or falling tree, but completely hidden in the forest, and only marked the site of human habitation by a one-story round-log cabin, about which four or five ragged children pursued their noisy play. Neighborhoods were not limited to such narrow bounds, however, but several such settlements, situated miles apart, were closely linked together by social ties.

Social gatherings were frequent and very closely allied to useful occupations. Meetings to raise log-cabins, barns, etc., to roll up logs in a new clearing, or later for the opening of new roads, were occasions when the men, after a hard day's work, would spend the evening in the rough sports of the period. "Profanity, vulgarity and drinking" are described by Dr. Drake as the "most prominent characteristics" of these gatherings. "All drank, though not to excess, but all, of course, did not participate in other vices; but I am bound to say that coarse jocularities were scarcely frowned upon by any. Some sort of physical amusements, including fights, in which biting and gouging were essential elements, with the beastly intoxication of several, would generally wind up the

meetings.”\* Other gatherings in which the women took the leading part were quilting and spinning-bees. “Toward evening the younger men would assemble and amuse themselves by athletic exercises without, and talking to and ‘plaguing the gals’ within the cabin. The quilt being removed, the upper table took its place, and after the ladies had risen from the cream of the feast, the gentlemen, who had whetted their appetites by drinking whisky and looking on, proceeded to glut themselves on the *reliquiae*. Then came on plays of various kinds, interlarded with jokes and bursts of laughter till bedtime, when the dispersion took place.”

Corn huskings engaged both sexes, and were popular sources of rude but absorbing amusement.

When the crop was gathered in, the ears were heaped into a long pile or rick, a night fixed on, and the neighborhood notified rather than invited, for it was an affair of mutual assistance. As they assembled at nightfall, the green-glass-quart-whisky-bottle, stopped with a cob, was handed to every one, man and boy, as they arrived, to take a drink. A sufficient number to constitute a sort of quorum having arrived, two men, or more commonly two boys, constituted themselves, or were by acclamation declared captains. They paced the rick and estimated its contractions and expansions with the eye, till they were able to fix on the spot on which the end of the dividing rail should be.

The choice depended on the tossing of a chip, the side of which had been spit upon; the first choice of men was decided in the same manner, and in a few minutes the rick was charged upon by the rival forces. As others arrived, as soon as the owner had given each the bottle, he fell in according to the end that he belonged to. The captains planted themselves on each side of the rail, sustained by their most active operatives. There at the beginning was the great contest, for it was law-

ful to cause the rail to slide or fall toward your own end, shortening it and lengthening the other. Corn might be thrown over unhusked, the rail might be pulled toward you by the hand dexterously applied underneath, your feet might push corn to the other side of the rail, your husked corn might be thrown so short a distance as to bury up the projecting base of the pile on the other side; if charged with any of these tricks, you of course denied it, and there the matter sometimes rested; at other times the charge was reaffirmed, then rebutted with “you’re a liar,” and then a fight, at the moment or at the end, settled the question of veracity.

The heap cut in two, the parties turned their backs upon each other, and making their hands keep time with a peculiar sort of tune, the chorus of voices on a still night might be heard a mile. The oft-replenished whisky bottle meanwhile circulated freely, and at the close the victorious captain, mounted on the shoulders of some of the stoutest men, with the bottle in one hand and his hat in the other, was carried in triumph around the vanquished party amidst shouts of victory, which rent the air. Then came the supper, on which the women had been busily employed, and which always included a “pot pie.” Either before or after eating the fighting took place, and by midnight, the sober were found assisting the drunken home. (*Pioneer Life in Kentucky*; pp. 54-56.)

Courtship and marriage were marked by the same rude zest. There was a little romance and less formality in frontier life, and marriage was viewed with far more practical concern than now. There was little philandering; the character of pioneer recreations brought the young of both sexes frequently together, and marriages were made up with little previous formality. It was quite the thing, if the young man possessed the means, to escort one’s lady-love to church on horse-back; the less fortunate swain met his sweetheart at the church and walked home with her. On such occasions it was no uncommon occurrence, after getting out of sight of the church, for the young lady to remove her morocco slippers and stockings—when stores finally brought such luxuries in reach—and walk home with her escort barefooted. If an old pioneer\* may be trusted, “the general custom was to see your sweetheart at night, take your seat by her and embrace her in your arms, with many kisses sometimes reciprocated; take her in your lap, with your arms wound around each other in

\*Drake’s “*Pioneer Life in Kentucky*,” p. 184: A meeting for pad-making in 1797 is described in the autobiography of Rev. Jacob Young. The company consisted of about 100 men, each provided with an ax, three days’ provisions and a knapsack for baggage, under the direction of a captain. The day was spent in hard work, and as it was in November, and the night promised to be cold, large fires were built. This done and supper eaten, singing stories and “some pretty fine singing under the circumstances,” were the order. “Thus far well, but a change began to take place. They became very rude and raised the war-hoop. Their shrill shrieks made me tremble. They chose two captains, divided the men into two companies, and commenced fighting with fire-brands—the log heaps being burned down. The only law for their government was that no man should throw a brand without fire on it, so that they might now how to dodge. They fought for two or three hours in perfect good nature till brands became scarce, and they began to violate the law. Some were severely wounded, blood began to flow freely, and they were in fair way of commencing a fight in earnest. At this moment the loud voice of the captain rang out above the din, ordering every man to retire to rest. They dropped their weapons of warfare, rekindled the fires and laid down to sleep.” (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 734.)

\*Hou. Urban E. Kennedy, for seventy years a resident of Todd County, Ky. (See *History of Todd County*; pp. 56 and 273.)



all innocence and virtue." In describing an instance, where with a friend he put this theory into practice, the same gentleman gives the following illustration of early courtship:

Well, Henry took his girl to one corner and I the other one in the remote opposite corner. We sat down as close as we could, and Henry laid off his fine beaver (which cost \$12) carefully in the corner near the wall, and happened to set it very plumb in the skillet, in which they had fried meat for supper. It was quite dark in the house; the little fire had gone out, so we enjoyed ourselves until the small hours of the night. I proposed that we leave, and Henry, seizing his hat by the brim, raised with it the skillet and all. The gravy, a half inch deep, had cooled enough to stick tight. He soon discovered the situation, and the poor girls were greatly mortified. They got a little stump of a tallow dip, and with a case-knife we scraped off all we could. We were not in the habit of swearing, but Henry said that he could not do the subject justice without some profanity.

The early settlers generally married young, boys of eighteen and girls of sixteen entering into the marriage relation. There were no arbitrary social distinctions, a family establishment cost little more than labor to provide, and there were no prudential reasons to prevent the first impression of love being speedily followed by marriage. This was the usual order, and was a matter which enlisted the eager interest of the whole community. The wedding was a public occasion, and the only one in the social *regime* of the frontier that was not associated with a season of vigorous exertion. It was anticipated, therefore, with the liveliest satisfaction, and was attended by a revel in which the wildest spirit of frolic ruled the hour.

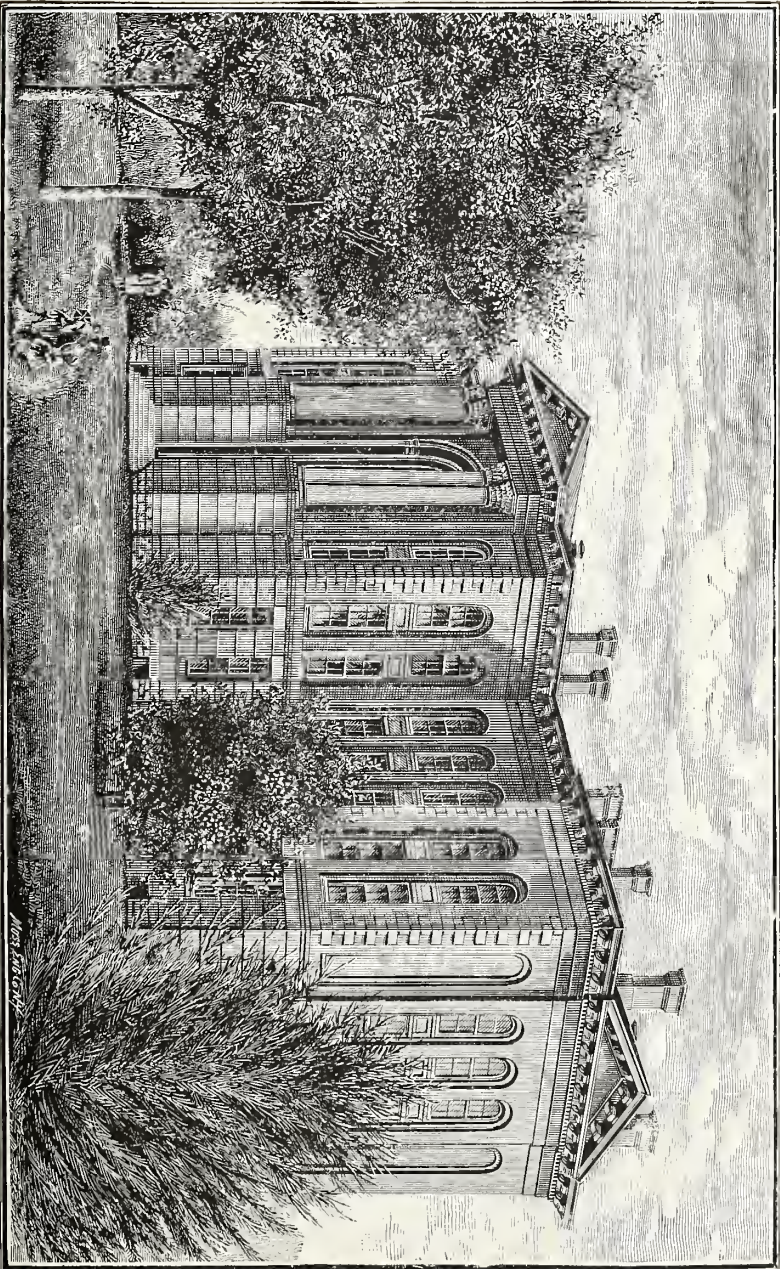
The wedding commonly occurred in the daytime. In the morning of the appointed day the groom with his friends of both sexes set forth on horseback from the house of his father in time to reach their destination about noon. On reaching a point about a mile from the bride's residence, two young men of the party would elect to "run for the bottle," and starting at a given signal would rush their horses by the most direct practicable route to the cabin. The more difficult the way, the better the sport, and

logs, brush, swail, hills and hollows were passed unheeded in their eager emulation for the victory. The one first at the door received from the bride's father a bottle of whisky, with which the victor returned to the approaching cavalcade, and, first presenting the trophy to the groom, it rapidly made its way to the mouth of man and maid throughout the company, when it was returned to the victor. The ceremony followed the arrival of the company; the dinner, made up of a great variety of substantial food and whisky, succeeded, after which dancing and games were begun and generally kept up until next morning.

About 9 or 10 o'clock, a deputation of the young ladies stole off with the bride and put her to bed in the loft; and this done, a delegation of young men took the groom and snugly placed him beside her. The merriment then went on, and if seats were scarce as was generally the case in the frontier cabins, the young men, when not engaged upon the floor, were obliged to offer their laps for seats for the girls, an offer that was never rejected. In the zest of the wedding hilarity the bride and groom were not forgotten. Late in the night some one would suggest that the new couple must be in need of refreshments, and "black Betty"—the whisky bottle—with a generous allowance of the fragments of the substantial dinner, would be sent up by a deputation, and bride and groom obliged to partake of a liberal portion of the fare provided. On the following day the "infare" would be held at the cabin of the groom's father, and thither the picturesque cavalcade, "headed by the bride and groom," would early wend its way. Here the scenes of the wedding occasion would be re-enacted "with such new accompaniments as new members of the company could suggest, or the inventions of a night of excited genius had brought forth."

Dancing was not a universal custom. Many of the early settlers were pious, opposed to this form of amusement, but there were few settlements from which the exercise was entirely excluded. As described by Doddridge, "the figures of the dance were





CENTRE COLLEGE, MAIN BUILDING, DANVILLE.—SEE PAGE 504.





three or four-handed reels, and square sets and jigs. The commencement was always a square four, which was followed by what was called jiggling it off; that is, two of the four would single out for a jig, and were followed by the remaining couple. The jigs were often accompanied with what was called cutting out; that is, when either of the parties became tired of the dance, on intimation the place was supplied by some one of the company without any interruption of the dance. In this way the dance was often continued till the musician was heartily tired of his situation. Toward the latter part of the night, if any of the company, through weariness, attempted to conceal themselves for the purpose of sleeping, they were hunted up, paraded on the floor, and the fiddler ordered to play "Hang on till to-morrow morning."

The use of intoxicants was nearly universal. For a short time the first settlers were abstainers from the force of circumstances. The nearest point where whisky could be obtained was hundreds of miles away, and its importation as well as manufacture was rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the hostile activity of the savages. But it was hardly to be expected that a class of people who had been educated to use it as a regular beverage would be forced to settle down to the practice of total abstinence by a danger which they braved without hesitation for objects of a much less pressing nature. When its manufacture was first introduced into Kentucky has not been ascertained, but its sale in hotels was regulated as early as 1781, and it was certainly manufactured here as early as 1783, if not before. As has been indicated in the foregoing pages, it rapidly came into general use, and formed a part of not only every public entertainment, but of every cabin's hospitality. For a friend to call and find the bottle empty occasioned the host a feeling of chagrin, and gave rise to a suspicion of stinginess in the mind of the caller. There were some, however, who were exceptions to the general rule. These were usually Methodists, whose discipline required abstinence, but it was a cause of reproach among members of other sects, and of no

sect, who did not hesitate to suggest that they probably "drank behind the door."

Dissenting religionists were an important element of the early society of Kentucky. So long as the people remained cooped up in stations, religious activity was held somewhat in abeyance, but this restraint removed, the zeal fostered by the conflict in Virginia sprang into new life on the frontier. Probably the first preacher on the border was the Rev. John Lythe, "of the Church of England," who conducted divine service under the magnificent elm at Boonesborough, in 1775. But the old antagonisms were transferred from Virginia to Kentucky, and the Episcopal Church found no encouragement in the new settlements. It was known only as the Church of England, and was generally regarded as "an organized body of Arminians enlisted in the service of despotism."

All dissenting sects found the freedom of the newly settled region congenial to the propagation of their faith, and each was represented in the creeds of some of the first settlers. Of these, the Baptists were the first to plant their organization here. As early as 1776, William Hickman, Sr., began traveling among the stations confirming the Baptist membership in the faith. In 1780, Lewis Craig, one of the valiant champions of the dissenting cause who was carried singing to prison in Fredericksburg, led the most of his church from Spotsylvania County, Va., to Gilbert's Creek, in Garrard County. Here a church was organized in the following year. In 1782 others were planted in the region of Nelson and Hardin Counties, and in 1783 a fourth was established on South Elkhorn, five miles south of Lexington.

In the latter year (1783) the Rev. David Rice, a minister of the Presbyterian faith, came to Kentucky and gathered the scattered membership of this church into three congregations, at Danville, Cane Run and at the forks of Dick's River. Other ministers followed, established other churches, and in due course of time the Transylvania Presbytery was formed, which, in 1786, represented twelve congregations in more or less perfect state of organization.



In this year (1786), also, the name of Kentucky first appears in the general minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The whole area of the present State was then constituted a circuit, and James Haw and Benjamin Ogden appointed the first itinerants. A class had been established as early as 1783 in the region of Mercer County, but the first church was not organized until three years later. In 1788 the original circuit was divided under the names of Lexington and Danville, and in 1790 the first Methodist Church edifice, a log-cabin at Masterson's Station, five miles northwest of Lexington, was erected.

The first Catholic emigrants were William Coomes and Dr. Hart, who came to Harrodsburg in 1775. Ten years later, a colony of Catholics emigrated from Maryland and settled principally on Pottinger's Creek, in the region of Bardstown. In the next year a second colony followed, and settled in the same vicinity; and in 1787 another company came, settling on Rolling Fork, in the present county of Marion. The number of Catholic families in Kentucky was now estimated at fifty, and at their solicitation a priest was sent to minister to them. Other of the clergy followed, who proved indefatigable missionaries, but it was not until after 1793 that the denomination gained strength enough to organize the first church.

From such beginnings the various church organizations developed, until there was scarcely a settlement without its meeting-house, and at least one rudimentary church. Where more than one sect was represented, as was generally the case, the same building served the purposes of all by turns, the whole church-going community attending whenever there were services. When the attendance of ministers became somewhat regular, Sunday became an occasion of special interest. As Dr. Drake describes it:

It was a day for dressing up; and none but those who labor through the week, in coarse dirty clothes, can estimate the cheering influence of a clean face and feet, a clean shirt and "boughten" clothes on a Sabbath morning. All preparation had to be finished at an early hour, for to reach the meeting-house was a work of time. At length we take our departure, mother in a calico dress, with her black silk bonnet

covering a newly ironed cap, with the tabs tied beneath her chin with a piece of narrow ribbon; father with his shoes just greased, and blackened with fat and soot mixed together; in his shirt sleeves if the weather was hot, or in his Sunday coat if cool; worn dress hat over his short smooth black hair; bandanna handkerchief in his pocket for that day and his walking-stick in his hand or the baby in his arms; myself in fustian jacket, with my hat brushed and set up, my feet clean, and a new rag on some luckless "stubbed" and festering toe; the younger children in their best Sunday clothes, and the whole of us slowly, yet cheerfully, playfully moving onward through the cool and quiet wood to the house of God.

The scene around this village temple can never fade from my memory and heart. Horses hitched along the fence, and men and women on foot on horseback arriving from all quarters; within the inclosure, neighbors shaking hands and inquiring after each other's families; a little group leaning against the fence in conversation; another seated on a bench "talking it over;" another little party strolling among the graves; and squads of children sitting or lying on the grass to rest themselves. The hour for worship arrived, the congregation were seated in and around the cabin-church on benches without backs, and there stood Deacon Morris, beneath the pulpit, giving out the hymn while Old Hundred, by twice as many voices, was mingled with the notes of birds in the surrounding trees. It was the custom of those who came from a distance to bring with them some kind of food and in the hour of intermission they might be seen in scattered groups engaged in lunching.

The early preachers were generally illiterate men, lacking in dignity and solemnity but possessing considerable natural talents and inspired by an indefatigable zeal. They were men who had grown up under the influences of the religious agitation which preceded and accompanied the Revolution, and were repelled by the apathy which followed the success of the dissenters, in their contest with the established church, sought fresher fields on the frontier. These circumstances brought to Kentucky a set of men who were well calculated to "turn the world upside down." Their lax system of morals, crude logic, and vigorous declamation met with great acceptance in a society where spiritism and action was much better understood than moral philosophy; and where religion meant the "belonging" to some church, the earnest opposition to the peculiar tenets of other sects, and the abstaining from certain capital

violations of the law-and-order sentiment of the community.

The camp-meeting was the mighty agency of pioneer propagandism. The lack of ministers as well as of commodious buildings led to frequent out-door meetings. To these a preacher who touched the popular fancy would draw large numbers, who gathered at the appointed time from miles around. The Methodists were the earliest to convert these services into a series of meetings held on successive days and nights, but the practice became general, and each denomination commonly held a series of camp-meetings each year. In such cases the people came prepared with provisions to remain several days, and even weeks on some occasions. In the meanwhile, when not in attendance upon the exercises, they found shelter in their wagons or in rudely constructed booths in the woods. The earliest of these religious gatherings occurred in Logan County, at the time of the great revival which originated under the preaching of the Rev. James McGready, taking form in 1799 and continuing for several years. Various denominations took part in the initial meeting, and, as the interest extended, camp-meetings multiplied, at some of which it was estimated that from 20,000 to 25,000 persons were in attendance.

A remarkable characteristic of these early camp-meetings was the bodily agitations which attended the excitement incident to the services. The manifestations, often bordering on the ridiculous, seem to baffle philosophical investigation. Men of rugged mind and physique and women and children alike succumbed to the "jerks," or rather the "exercises," as they were popularly termed.

The "jerks" were the most common form of this strange malady, and generally preceded the other forms of activity. An eye-witness thus describes these scenes:

Many times I have seen them unexpectedly jerked flat on their backs, and the next instant jerked full length on their faces. Ladies, while sitting intently observant of the exercises, were jerked so violently that their bonnets, capes, handkerchiefs and loose apparel would be thrown clear away, and their long, beautiful hair, unrestrained

by combs, fillets, etc., flowing down to their waists, would crack like an ox-whip with the violent vibrations of their heads and shoulders. Others would jump and run, like an antelope, perhaps for fifty or one hundred yards, and then fall prone upon the ground and lie apparently lifeless, sometimes for hours. Some would say it was the chastening work of an Almighty God, others, that it was the work of the devil. You might see the skeptical high-flyers stand on the outskirts of the assembly, winking and making sport of these manifestations, and often, in five minutes, they would be screaming and howling like madmen. Once two old church-members of great formality and incredulity visited a meeting of this kind to observe with their own eyes what they had heard and disbelieved of these manifestations. After critically scrutinizing the whole matter they pronounced it heterodox, and left the ground. However, before reaching home, they took the "jerks," and were thrown to the ground, giving utterance to piercing yells. After a time the ridiculing and unbelieving portion of the community became afraid to attend these meetings, lest they should feel this supernatural power, and stayed at home. But many, even here, in the midst of ridicule and philosophical speculation on the subject, would be taken with the jerks, and send for the minister and elders for instruction and relief. Most of those who were thus affected became members of some church, though quite a number, while they abated their skepticism in regard to the reality of the jerks, did not yield to its converting influence.\* (History of Todd County, p. 87.)

A large part of the explanation of these manifestations may probably be found in the superstitious and credulous character of the early settlers. Respect for signs and omens constituted a conspicuous feature of their mental characteristics, and made them easily moved by shrewd interpretations of natural phenomena. A peculiar storm-cloud, with vivid flashes of lightning, made the threatenings of the sacred word more tangible, and, under certain circumstances, even raised a fear that the end of all things was at hand. The preachers of the time were not always proof against the temptation to use the power thus put in their hands, and numerous anecdotes are related which indicate that much of their remarkable power was due to a somewhat unscrupulous play upon the credulity of unsophisticated minds.

\*It is said that the first camp-meeting held in Christendom was in 1800, at the Gasper River meeting-house, in Logan County. (See Collins, Vol. I, p. 434.) In the "Biography of Elder Warren Stone" (by Elder John Rogers, Cincinnati, 1847), p. 39, is found another and more complete description of these bodily agitations. In the same work, pp. 348-404, is a somewhat elaborate review of the history and character of these manifestations.



The ignorance of the people was not confined to supernatural things, however, and it is difficult, at this day, to conceive that such a degree of simplicity could anywhere exist among the adults of an enlightened nation. Dr. Drake mentions instances of families cooking bohea tea with a ham of bacon as greens, and cooking a considerable quantity in a Dutch oven, from which the whole family made their breakfast, each dipping it up with a tin cup. In this matter the early society was not without its gradations, the Eastern emigrant being counted the most intelligent, the Virginian next, and the Marylanders third in the intellectual scale. Books were rare, and included sundry volumes of hymns, the Bible, Pilgrim's Progress, and one or more almanacs. Even this limited supply was not found everywhere, and in the most favored families the variety was seldom enlarged by a volume of poems, and never by a romance.

Until the publication of a Kentucky almanac by Bradford, in 1788, these sybilline leaves were imported from Philadelphia, and were filled with anecdotes and *bon-mots*, "often profane, and oftener licentious in their character." "Poor Richard's Almanac" was a rare exception, and was used by the more refined. But it was the record of the moon's phases, which were held of most practical account. With the waxing and waning of this mysterious planet the whole tide of social affairs ebbed and flowed. Babies were weaned, grains and vegetables were planted, and hogs were killed with strict regard for the inconstant moon. This credulity was universal, and made the almanac as indispensable to the cabin as the newspaper in modern homes.

It is a creditable feature of this early society that with such training, and surrounded by the discouragements of poverty, lack of books and lack of school facilities and teachers, the people should have made such early efforts to secure the benefits of schools. The school teacher was early abroad in Kentucky. The first of these knights of the birchen rod was William Coomes. He was among the first settlers at Harrodsburg, and

from 1775 until he moved to the Catholic settlements in Marion County, he plied his vocation at that station. But schools were not generally established until some time after the large immigration of 1788, and were thenceforward, for years, only the crudest attempts to organize for educational objects. The schoolhouse was the familiar log structure, with greased paper covered windows, puncheon benches and desks, and a



mammoth fire-place. Dillworth's Speller and the New Testament were the sole text books; geography and arithmetic were taught orally, the propositions of these perplexing sciences often being further complicated by being expressed in a doggerel verse. Writing was more akin to manual than mental exercise, and required the teacher to be expert in making pens as well as marks. There was little of the orderly progression of latter-day systems, and few pretended to go beyond "capitals" and "large joining hand."

The teachers were generally of Scotch or Irish extraction, with now and then a Yankee. Unhampered by text books each teacher gave full scope to his peculiar theories, which generally expressed his mental limitations and peculiarities of temperament and habits, and seldom failed to include a liberal use of the rod. The first quarter of the present century was marked by a rapid progress in the scholastic attainments of the teacher, and in central Kentucky were found not only such mathematical and classical instructors as Filson and his contemporaries, but the beginnings of that higher instruction which has since developed into such grand proportions. The ear-

y common schools were of course supported by subscription, each patron bearing such a proportion of the general cost as his children bore to the whole number instructed. But the teacher, being a man of necessities similar to his patrons, made no difficulty in accepting his salary in pork, corn or whisky, and thus these grosser articles were transmuted into those faculties which charmed a senate or held the world in awe.

"Business" had little recognition in frontier society. The great occupation of the new settlers was clearing away the forest and cultivating the soil. They had access to no markets; produce had no commercial value at home; and accustomed to find all their necessities supplied through their own skill and industry from nature, they did not encourage a division of labor. Each man was his own blacksmith, carpenter, tanner, shoe and harness-maker, while the women supplied the place of weaver and tailor. The work of the turner and cooper was less readily accomplished, and when William Poague began the manufacture of tubs, churns, pails, noggins, etc., at Harrodsburg, the neighboring stations found it a great convenience to exchange their produce for these indispensable articles of cabin furniture.

Closely following this pioneer industry came the primitive inn. It was scarcely to be distinguished from the simple home of the private citizen, and differed from the ordinary cabin principally in that its hospitality was dispensed at a fixed price. Its patronage was derived from prospectors who thronged to the new land, the temporary character of whose stay rendered such an establishment a necessity. The earliest of this class of public purveyors was situated near "the Falls," and the regulation of its charges by the county court, in 1781, suggests the condition of things at that time. Whisky was provided at \$15 per half pint; corn at \$10 a gallon; "stabling" or pasturage one night at \$4; "a diet" at \$12, and "lodging in a feather bed" at \$6. These prices represent the depreciation of the continental currency rather than the scarcity of food, but the cost of all provisions which involved the use of machinery in their

manufacture was necessarily high for many years.

The first step toward the reduction of food prices was taken when the water-mill was introduced. The hominy-block and grater had, in many cases, been superseded by the hand mill, a small buhr propelled by hand, but this, while it improved the quality of the product, did not appreciably lessen the labor. The water-mill did both, but, dependent upon the inconstant streams, it proved only a partial substitute for the more laborious methods. Sawing facilities were soon added, and the pioneer began to rejoice in many conveniences which the ax had failed to supply. These, with an occasional tan-yard, comprised the public industries of pioneer days—enterprises which contributed much to the comfort of the early settlements, but failed alone to afford a support for those who employed their capital in them. There was, therefore, little inducement to "go into business," and those who did so still made farming their chief dependence for support and a future competency. Accordingly, the chief pursuit of the early settlers for more than a quarter of a century was the acquisition of land.

The public lands in Kentucky were acquired on easy terms. Before the "old French war," the commercial value of lands beyond the Alleghanies was very small, and the crown, anxious to build up a barrier of English settlements in the way of French pretensions, made liberal grants to corporations and individuals who would undertake to introduce immigration. Hostilities intervened, and these grants served rather to lay the foundation of land claims than of settlements. The five years which followed this war, before the purchase at Fort Stanwix, were characterized by great activity in multiplying these claims. It was provided that the land bounties of the Virginian troops should be located on the waters of the Ohio, but these with the earlier grants were suspended for a time, while their conflicting interests were examined by the English ministry. But in the meantime, regardless of royal proclamation or Indian threatenings, the individual prospector was pushing his explorations and marking his



claims farther and farther toward the west. The extinction of the Indian title and the adjudication of bounty claims removed the last barrier to the possession of the coveted region. Adventurous land hunters, under the provision of Virginia enactments, vied with the military claimants in securing "settlement rights." A few chips cut by a tomahawk from a tree, or a rude log pen without roof, door, or window, were sufficient with some show of cultivation to constitute a claim to certain adjacent lands, and "tomahawk" and "improver's" rights were well recognized property in that period. The latter class of claims became very numerous, the owners of which, who were in the habit of coming down the Ohio in the spring, doing a little work toward raising a crop of corn, and then returning to the older settlements, were generally known as "cabiners."

Thus up to 1779, land was acquired without money and practically without price, but at this time the public lands of Virginia assumed a new importance. The burdens of the war for independence were beginning to be seriously felt, and the eager demand for the western lands suggested their availability as a means of relief. Accordingly, the assembly enacted the famous land law, which, after providing for the various claims previously authorized, arranged for the sale of the remaining portion of the public lands for the benefit of the State treasury. The recognized claims may be classified as follows: First, those of the Ohio, Walpole and other companies, which had a title more or less perfect from the British government, though none of them were patented. Second, those founded on the military bounty warrants of 1763, some of which had been secured by patent. Third, Henderson's claim by purchase from the Indians at Watanga. Fourth, those based simply upon selection and occupancy. Fifth, those resting upon selection and survey without occupancy. Sixth, those of persons who had imported settlers, to whom an old law of Virginia allowed fifty acres for each settler thus imported. Seventh, those of persons who had paid money into the old colonial treasury for land. Eighth,

those of the officers and soldiers of the Revolution, to whom Virginia was indebted.

The adjudication of these claims was committed to a special court consisting of William Fleming, Edmund Lyne, James Barbour and Stephen Trigg, which, after hearing the evidence in support of claims, was authorized to render final judgment, though it was provided that such judgments should be held open for revision until December 1, 1780. The whole matter was an intricate and perplexing subject, and to facilitate the work of the commission the assembly laid down the following principles for its guidance:

First—When no patent existed, all *surveys* made before January 1, 1778, by any county surveyor commissioned by William and Mary College, and founded (a) upon charter; (b) upon importation rights duly proved; (c) upon treasury rights, *i. e.*, money paid into the colonial treasury; (d) upon entries not exceeding 400 acres, made before October 26, 1763; (e) upon acts of the Virginia Assembly resulting from orders in council, etc.; (f) upon any warrants from a colonial governor for military services, etc., were to be good; all other surveys were null and void.

Second—Where *no survey* had been made, claims made (a) under importation rights; (b) under treasury rights; (c) under warrants for military services, were to be admitted to survey and entry.

Third—Those who had actually settled or caused, at their cost, others to settle on unappropriated lands, *before January 1, 1778*, were to have 400 acres or less, as they pleased, for every family so settled, paying \$2.25 for each *hundred* acres.

Fourth—Those who had settled in villages *before January 1, 1778*, were to receive for each family 400 acres adjacent to the village, at \$2.25 per 100 acres, and the village property was to remain unsurveyed until the general assembly could examine the title to it, and do full justice.

Fifth—To all having settlement rights as above described was given also a right of pre-emption to 1,000 acres adjoining the settlement, at 40 cents an acre.

Sixth—To those who had settled *since January 1, 1778*, was given a pre-emption right to 400 acres, adjoining and including the settlement made by them.

Seventh—All the region between the Green River, the Cumberland Mountains, Tenn., the river Tennessee, and the Ohio was reserved for military claims.

Eighth—The 200,000 acres granted Henderson & Co. was to remain thus appropriated.\*

The commission began its work on the 13th of October, 1779, at St. Asaph's, and for the convenience of claimants held its sessions at various points in Kentucky until the 26th of April, 1780, when, having accomplished its mission, it adjourned without day. In this period about 3,000 claims were passed upon, the first of which, it is said, was a claim of Isaac Shelby to a settlement and pre-emption for having raised a crop of corn in 1776. The greater part of the claims thus adjusted required the survey and entry of the lands before a perfect title could be had, but such was the inadequate provision of Virginia, in these important matters, that few claims could be indisputably established. The radical and incurable defect of the law was the neglect of Virginia to provide for the general survey of the whole country at public expense. The plan of division by ranges and meridian lines had not then been suggested, but the Transylvania Company had conceived the idea of surveying "by the four cardinal points, except where rivers and mountains make it too inconvenient," and so far as this work proceeded it was superior to what followed. By the Virginia law each possessor of a warrant was allowed to locate the same where he pleased, and was required to survey it at his own cost; but his entry was required to be so exact that each subsequent locator might recognize the land already taken up. To make a good entry, therefore, required a precision and accuracy of description which was almost impossible. In the unskilled hands of the pioneers, entries, surveys and patents were filed upon each other, crossing each other's lines in inextricable confusion, the

full fruition of which was not reached until the country became more thickly settled. All vague entries became null and void, but a good entry did not give an undisputed title. All entries were accepted for record, and when any of them were found to conflict the claimants were referred to the courts; thus countless unhappy, vexatious lawsuits followed, in which scant justice was secured to any one.\*

The conclusion of the special commission's work was followed by an unfortunate scramble among the claimants to secure the survey and entry of their lands. George May opened his office in Harrodsburg in 1780, but was soon obliged to temporarily close it on account of Indian hostilities, and the offices at Lexington and Cox's Station were not opened until the latter part of 1782. This delay occasioned a great clamor which was re-enforced by the speculators and immigrant purchasers, whom the ill-advised legislation of Virginia had brought to Kentucky in large numbers. After satisfying existing claims the assembly provided that the remaining public lands should be offered to the general public in unrestricted quantities at 40 cents an acre. The purchase money was paid into the treasury, from whence a warrant was issued to the purchaser for the specified quantity of land. This authorized the county surveyor to locate and enter the land where the purchaser was pleased to select it. It was also provided that land to the extent of 400 acres in any single case might be sold on credit, the surveyor's authorization in such case consisting of an order from the county court. Such terms had the effect to greatly multiply the demand for surveyors, and so keen was the anxiety to select lands that even the fear of the Indians failed to deter the adventurous land-hunters from pushing their explorations.

In the closing month of 1781, land speculation received an additional impulse from the questionable funding plan of Virginia. The paper issues of the State had shared the fate of the continental scrip, so that a hat was valued at £100, a coat and waistcoat

\*See *Annals of the West*, pp. 218-220. *Laws of Kentucky*, J. Bradford, Lexington, 1799, pp. 210-354.

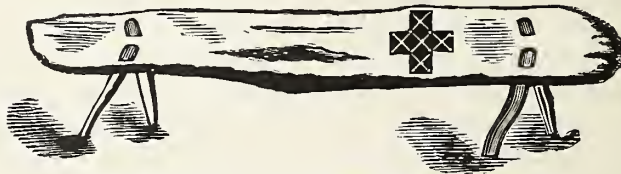
\*Appendix A, Note 24.



at £250, and a bushel of salt at £240. The depreciation of the State currency had been legally recognized, and a silver dollar rated at \$1.50 in paper, but trade had long since established a higher rate of exchange, and at this time the assembly sought to stem the current by additional legislation. It was accordingly provided that the early issue should be taken up by new certificates at the rate of \$1,000 in paper for one in silver. This new issue was made a legal tender for taxes and in the purchase of public lands, and the price of land was fixed at a specie valuation, but such was the depreciation of the new currency that 100 acres brought less than the value of 50 cents in silver.

The inevitable and immediate result was to flood the treasury with the discredited currency in exchange for Kentucky lands, and to involve all land titles in a ruinous state of insecurity. The discovery of flaws

in these titles eventually became the object of regular pursuit by unscrupulous men, who immediately took advantage of any legal defect to enter such lands and eject the settler whose industry had reclaimed it from the original wild condition. The almost universal distress and discontent which followed, seriously reacted upon the general prosperity, and such remedial legislation as was possible was early applied. The ejector was compelled to pay for the improvements made, which under the circumstances were not lightly valued. It followed, therefore, that the ejector found the investment rather unprofitable, for after such outlay the danger of being ejected in his turn still remained. The statute of limitations eventually ended these vexatious litigations, and land-titles in Kentucky are now as generally secure as elsewhere, though business prudence leads large investors to take the necessary steps to secure the court's confirmation of their titles.



PUNCHEON SEAT OF PIONEER SCHOOLHOUSE.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE ERA OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

THE period of the Revolutionary war was an era of the most rapid and marvelous development in America. It abounded in new forms of virtue and greatness. "Fidelity to principle pervaded the masses; an unorganized people, of their own free will, suspended commerce by universal assent; poverty rejected bribes. Heroism, greater than that of chivalry, burst into action from lowly men; citizens with their families fled from their homes and wealth in towns, rather than sold to oppression. Battalions sprang up in a night from spontaneous patriotism; where eminent statesmen hesitated, the instinctive action of the multitude revealed the counsels of magnanimity; youth and genius gave up life freely for the liberties of mankind. A nation without union, without magazines and without a treasury, without credit, without government, fought successfully against the whole strength and wealth of Great Britain; an army of veteran soldiers capitulated to insurgent husbandmen." (Harcroft.) Into this struggle the people had thrown themselves with a patriotic abandon which reserved no interest beyond the present, and when the victory was achieved and peace crowned the long and arduous contest, many found their occupation gone, the charm of old associations broken, and thousands, whose course of life was thus interrupted, discovered inclination not less than necessity suggesting the expediency of beginning life anew.

To people thus circumstanced, the availability of the western country was suggested in a hundred ways. The story of its beauty and fertility was well and widely known, and was further emphasized by the general discussion which preceded the cession of State

public lands to the general government. Bounties granted to State and continental troops took the form of warrants for certain of these lands, and the liberal terms on which Virginia offered her Kentucky possessions, all served to attract thousands of the Revolutionary soldiery to the western settlements. But this interest was not confined to the rank and file of the army. Large numbers of bounty warrants found their way, through the improvidence or ignorance of the original grantees, into the hands of capitalists, while the suicidal policy of Virginia, in making her depreciated currency a legal tender for lands, increased the speculative mania and added thousands to the throng of emigrants who crowded into the Ohio Valley. The New England "Ohio Company," originally projected in 1785 and taking form two years later, added its influence to the general movement, and the great immigration which began immediately after the proclamation of peace continued with almost unabated force until after the opening of the present century.

In 1783, Kentucky alone received an addition of 8,000 to her population. In the succeeding year 10,000 more came, and each flood-tide of the Ohio bore striking evidence to the increasing rage for westward emigration. In 1786, an observer at the mouth of the Big Miami noted the passage of thirty-four boats in thirty-nine days; another at Pittsburgh, in 1787, reported the departure of fifty flat-boats from that point between the 1st of March and the middle of April; at Fort Harmar, the adjutant recorded the number of boats passing that post between October, 1786, and May, 1787, at 177, carrying 2,700 persons. In 1788, it was estimated



that not less than 10,000 emigrants went by Marietta, and in twelve months, comprising portions of the years of 1788 and 1789, the official register kept at Fort Harmar showed that 20,000 souls had descended the Ohio in 850 boats, containing also 600 wagons, 7,000 horses, 3,000 cows and 900 head of sheep.\*

While the larger part of these emigrants found the end of their journey in Kentucky, another current came into this favored region by way of Cumberland Gap. This was the route followed by a considerable portion of the Virginia and all of the Carolina emigration. A block-house had been erected on the Holston, and here immigrants would collect until a sufficient number had rendezvoused to make it safe to pass the "wilderness," an uninhabited interval of 130 miles, which separated the Holston from Crab Orchard, the nearest settled point in Kentucky. In the broken country through which this path led, pack animals alone could be used for transportation, and a motley throng of horses, cows and oxen, all bearing packs, was a familiar sight on this route long after wagons were in common use elsewhere in the State.

The effect of this wonderful movement of the people was to increase the population of Kentucky with marvelous rapidity. In 1783 it was estimated at 12,000; in the spring of 1784 it was placed at 20,000; at the beginning of 1785 it was thought to have reached 30,000; and at the first regular census, in 1790, it was found to be 73,677. Of this number 61,103 were free whites, the remainder being chiefly slaves and free persons of color. About one-half of the white population and two-thirds of the slaves were drawn from Virginia; the balance came principally from Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, though there was a considerable representation of foreigners and of emigrants from Philadelphia, New Jersey, New York and the New England States.

But this vast in-flowing tide of humanity was not less remarkable in the character of its elements than in its great numbers. Ken-

tucky was no longer regarded as simply a haven for the repair of desperate fortunes but rather a land, the future prospects of which invited the investment of wealth, the promise of profit, and the employment of professional genius by the hope of pre-eminence. This mighty immigration was therefore something more than a curious incident; it was "the chaos of a mighty world rolling into form,"

The raw material of a State,  
Its [muscle and its mind].

Shelby and Brown had already come, in the throng which followed into the front settlements of Kentucky could be discovered such leading characters as Innes, Little, Marshall, Christian, Wilkinson, McNicholas, Daviess and the future "great commoner," Henry Clay.\*

All forms of social life felt the invigorating impulse. Isolated clearings expanded into fruitful and contiguous plantations. Stations grew into villages; and towns developed into cities with a sustained rapidity scarcely equaled by the present progress of the Northwest. Agriculture began to flourish, new arts and manufactures sprang up; stores were opened and trade with distant ports established; schools and churches multiplied, and society, re-enforced by wealth and culture, began to assume new airs of gentility.

Hitherto the adventurous population settled south of the Ohio had only been able to secure a precarious foothold in this contested region, and even this slight tenure was barely maintained by the greatest exertions. A few stations, principally confined to the upper valleys of the Kentucky, Salt and Green Rivers, and at the Falls of the Ohio constituted an isolated settlement on the verge of extinction. Five hundred men came away, through the "great woods" and over three mountain ranges, on the Atlantic side, to lay the seat of government at Richmond. Of the intervening country, the greater part was unmarked by human habitation. On the Kanawha, Greenbrier, Elk and Cheat Rivers, scattered at wide intervals, were feeble settlements which proved an inde-

\* McMaster's "History of American People," Vol. I, p. 149, and Monette's "History of Valley of the Mississippi," Vol. II, p. 177.

\* Came in 1797.

ment rather than a barrier to the incursions of the savages, while on the Ohio, Pittsburgh, with its hundred dwellings, Wheeling with half as many board and log-cabins, Point Pleasant, marked simply by a stockade, and later, Marietta, planted near the mouth of the Muskingum, served to mark the slender line which bound Kentucky to the older centers of colonial life.

Since Braddock's time, a well-marked roadway had connected the upper Potomac with Pittsburgh, and a bridle path, leading from the Shenandoah Valley by way of the Holston and Cumberland Gap to Crab Orchard, was nearly as old and well traveled, but it was not until 1782 that a route was thus marked out eastward from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, the great national center of commercial and political life. In Kentucky at this time there was not a single wheelway. The trail from Limestone to Lexington had been widened at intervals along its upper extent, and in 1783, a resolute pioneer by the name of Smith had managed to take his wagon from one terminus to the other; but so remarkable was this feat, that it gave this pioneer wagoner a certain claim to distinction, which was popularly recognized in the name of "Smith's wagon-road," a name that for years was applied to this route. Impelled by the increased demand for more convenient modes of transportation, this line of travel was gradually improved by private enterprise, until about 1788 it began to be a scene of busy traffic, with lines of loaded wagons passing regularly between the termini. The earliest attempt to improve the public roads by special legislation was in 1795, when the Kentucky legislature provided for the widening, leveling and otherwise improving the trail from Cumberland Gap to Crab Orchard. This was originally planned out in 1775 by Daniel Boone, but for which, he wrote Gov. Shelby, he received no compensation. He wished to contract for the work proposed, but it was eventually let to others. Under the Virginia law county roads were laid out thirty feet wide, and from this date (1795) forward, considerable attention was paid to the construction of wheel-

ways, but as late as 1840, bridle-paths and obscure wagon-trails greatly outnumbered the roads regularly laid out.

Under the changed circumstances, business instincts were quickened. The great increase of population created a brisk demand for every surplus product; money became fairly abundant, and the addition of a considerable number of wealthy settlers created new wants, to which those skilled in the various trades were not slow to cater. The tailor, weaver, hatter, cabinet-maker, workers in leather, the blacksmith and even the carpenter soon found well-paid employment. A few fields of wheat south of the Kentucky marked the improvement of agricultural pursuits, and several small distilleries gave promise of a home market for increased quantities of corn. Nor were trade activities long limited to domestic exchanges. Enterprising merchants, who had kept pace with the advancing line of settlements, had some time before opened their wares at Brownsville, and now felt the general impulse to move with the flowing tide. In 1783, therefore, Daniel Brodhead left the Monongahela and established a store at Louisville. In the succeeding year James Wilkinson, who had represented a New England trading company at the former place, also came to Kentucky and opened a store at Lexington.

From this beginning an important commerce sprang up between the thrifty settlements in Kentucky and Philadelphia and Nashville. This was soon very generally controlled by the merchants of Lexington, who brought their merchandise by wagon from Philadelphia or Baltimore to Pittsburgh, and thence by boat to Limestone, which early became the great *entrepot* for all the region south of the Ohio. Thirty-five or forty days were consumed in thus transporting goods to Lexington, including the two days and a half required to bring them from the landing place, the cost of carriage amounting to about \$7 or \$8 per hundred. The merchandise consisted of coarse and fine iron goods, cutlery, nails and tinware, dry goods, drugs, queensware and such groceries as tea, coffee and sugar, and were



in demand in about this order. From Lexington these commodities were distributed to the interior, the operations of the merchants extending to the growing settlements of Tennessee, to which goods were transported by land.

The scarcity of money which soon prevailed largely reduced business exchanges to a system of barter, which enabled the merchants to reap large profits. The local merchant was granted a year's credit by the importing houses of the East, and made a considerable part of his payment in such products of the country as would bear the expense of transportation. He was careful, nevertheless, to secure what money there was in circulation. In receiving produce in payment for goods, a difference of fifteen or twenty per cent in favor of the merchant was exacted. Certain goods were sold only for cash or exchanged for domestic, linen and hemp, articles which commanded a ready sale, and in this way the country was gradually drained of its circulating medium of exchange.

Coin was the only form of money in general use. United States bank notes, when issued, commanded a premium, but while these were accepted by the merchants without difficulty, the common people feared the skill of the counterfeiter, and generally refused to use them. The piaster, or Spanish dollar, was the current money of Virginia, and consequently of Kentucky and Tennessee, and was valued at six shillings sterling; but even when this coin was fairly abundant there was a great scarcity of fractional currency, which led to the evil practice of cutting the whole coin into quarters, eighths and sixteenths. This division was made by any one and every one, a custom which was promptly taken advantage of by unscrupulous persons to convert a portion of the metal to their own profit. "Sharp-shins," or cut coins, were, therefore, soon taken by the merchants only by weight, and even then at a discount on the whole coin. Still, under the rule of trade, the coin came in large quantities into the hands of the merchants, who packed it on horses and sent it to Philadelphia, as many as fifteen or twenty ani-

mals laden with this precious stuff at time setting out in company.

There was scarcely anything produced Kentucky which would bear the high cost transportation by way of Pittsburgh to the East. East-bound freight was carried cheaper than the goods coming west, from the fact that otherwise the great number of wags employed in this traffic would return empty but even with this abatement merchants found little save the more valuable furs and ginseng\* to export to their markets. When first discovered on this continent the latter was worth its weight in gold. It was subsequently found abounding in Pennsylvania and Kentucky, where it was secured by some of the inhabitants whose usual occupation allowed sufficient leisure to collect it. Hunters gathered a large proportion of the amount early exported from Kentucky, who, in addition to their usual accoutrements, carried a bag and a small pickaxe for the purpose. This found ready sale with the merchants about a shilling a pound, and was sold at the seaports at 100 per cent advance.

The expanding settlements of Tennessee and the Spanish possessions soon afforded a market for the more bulky products of Kentucky, and, among these, salt became the earliest article of trade. The region south of the Ohio was richly furnished with salt springs, and the pioneers found many places where this necessary condiment could be manufactured for their own supply, but many of them subsequently proved unprofitable for the purposes of commerce. There were at least twelve important salt springs between the Big Sandy and the Cumberland, of which the leading ones were May's Lick and the Blue Licks, on the Licking, Big-Bone Lick, Drennon's Lick and Bullitt's Lick. The latter was situated on Salt River, about twenty miles from Louisville, and was the first that was extensively worked. It eventually became the property of the United States and was leased to various contractors, under whose management the business expanded to such proportions as to engage fifty furnaces and 500 men in the manufacture.

\*Appendix A, Note 25.

The first attempts to produce salt were characterized by the rudest simplicity. The ordinary pots and kettles used in the cabins were hung over an open fire, to which was transferred the brine laboriously dipped from the spring. In this way twenty or thirty men were able to manufacture a few bushels of salt in a month. When the development of the country suggested the more methodical prosecution of the enterprise and gave protection to those engaged in the work, improvements were rapidly introduced. The brine was then collected in pits, some twenty feet deep, and transferred from thence to kettles designed for the purpose. These were of "yellow copper," had a capacity of "two hundred pints," and for some years were solely manufactured at "Probes' Furnace" in West Liberty, Penn. Ten or twelve of these kettles were arranged in a row upon a trench four feet in depth, and of a breadth stable to afford a support for them. The interstices between the kettles were stopped with clay, forming a rude sort of furnace which was universally used in this region for many years. In both ends of this trench a wood fire was maintained night and day, but the cost of cutting and transporting the fuel, and the weakness of the brine, made the cost of the manufactured article reach \$4 per hundred weight at the furnace, which proved a fatal obstacle to its exportation.

These furnaces were subsequently enlarged so as to accommodate sixty kettles, and the supply of brine improved by boring to a considerable depth in the ground. From these wells, the brine was pumped by hand or horse-power, and conveyed by means of troughs directly to the kettles. With these improvements, a single furnace produced thirty-five or forty bushels a day. By increasing the number of furnaces to ten or fifteen, the annual product was raised to 150,000 bushels, and the proportional cost of labor was so reduced, that the manufactured product was sold at \$1.40 per hundred weight. At this price, this commodity became the leading article of export, and was shipped in large quantities to Nashville, where it was disposed of for money, furs, cotton, etc. The

Kentucky works were not long without sharp competition. Salt springs were early discovered on the Kanawha, where the brine was found to be much richer. A large part of the product of these springs found a market in Pittsburgh, where it came in competition with the Onondaga salt, which, with improved shipping facilities, eventually monopolized the trade of all.

Fortunately, long before this event the fertile lands of Kentucky had developed new articles of commerce, for which the opening of the Mississippi provided a ready market. The isolated wheat-fields of 1783 rapidly expanded into a broad acreage, which, in 1802, furnished not less than 60,000 barrels of flour for the New Orleans market; tobacco, the cultivation of which, in 1802, had only recently been introduced, swelled the list with several thousand hogsheads, weighing from 1,000 to 1,200 pounds each; and the hemp-fields, beside supplying the busy hand-loom to be found in every cabin (in 1802) furnished 42,048 pounds of the raw staple, and 2,402 hundred-weight manufactured into cables and cordage, for export. To these should be added the rapidly expanding crops of corn, rye and oats, which, though not found in the list of exports, swelled the products of the soil to an immense aggregate. Almost the entire yield of rye was disposed of to the distilleries, while oats and corn found an equally good demand at home.

An increasing quantity of maize was each year consumed by the distilleries and fed to stock. This was especially true in the case of horses, the breeding of which was rapidly assuming a prominent place in the agricultural system of the new land. The number of horses was greatly augmented by the new immigration, and of the animals thus brought in, some were of breeds for which Virginia was then so justly celebrated. Many of the new comers were persons of wealth and luxurious habits, whose influence was such as to give a new impulse to the early predilections of the Kentuckians, and care in breeding this animal became well-nigh universal. Nearly every plantation had a portion devoted to horses. They were never tied up. An "un-



chinked" log stable afforded some protection from the weather, when they chose to avail themselves of it, and here a manger was kept supplied with corn, which the animals ate at their pleasure. Popular taste inclined only to carriage and saddle-horses, which were characterized by "a delicate leg, a well proportioned head, and an elegant slender form." Such an animal was worth in Kentucky about \$130 to \$140. Farther south, and especially in the Carolinas, they were worth from 25 to 30 per cent more, and large numbers were annually taken there for sale. Strings of from fifteen to thirty animals were frequently seen

Cows, valued at \$10 or \$12 a head, were found everywhere in large numbers. Milk formed an important part of the food of common people. Butter was made in considerable quantities, but not much used, and "barreled butter" formed a not insignificant item in the exports of the time. But of stock, hogs formed the most important feature in the domestic economy of the region, both in the matter of numbers and income. They were allowed to run loose in the unfenced forests, where they rapidly multiplied and fattened for market with little attention from the owners. They afforded the staple



AN OLD TIME "WAIN" OR WAGON.

setting off at the beginning of winter destined for Charleston, a distance of 700 miles, which they accomplished in eighteen or twenty days. Brood-mares found ready sale in Tennessee, and altogether, horses formed no inconsiderable part of the early commerce.

The growing prosperity of the planters was not less marked in the increase of other kinds of stock. The number of horned cattle rapidly redoubled, and many engaged in buying the surplus animals to drive to Virginia, where they were sold to the graziers on the banks of the Potomac to fatten for the markets of Baltimore and Philadelphia.

food of the whole people, and were represented in the exports of the first six months of 1802 by 272,000 weight of smoked, and 1,085 barrels of salted pork.

Such commercial activity early wrought great changes in the modes of transportation. The long lines of pack-horses gave way to huge covered-wains drawn by four curiously caparisoned horses, the passing of which, during a large part of the year, was indicated by large clouds of dust like that produced by a moving army.\*

\*The *Pittsburgh Gazette* of November, 1814, contains an account of a gentleman living on "the great road," four miles from the city, to the effect that the number of these wagons

These wagoners in time became exceedingly arrogant and often refused to grant the rights of the road to others. They became overbearing to immigrant travel, and especially to any who showed evidence of wealth in their equipage. Travelers in carriages considered themselves fortunate if they were permitted to stand by the roadside with no greater inconvenience than being stifled with the dust of the passing train, and having their ears assailed by the gibes of the drivers. Cases where carriages were maliciously overturned or broken down were frequent and undressed. A similar influence marked the development of the river traffic. The old Kentucky boat, with its ark-like capacity and heedless navigation, gradually gave place to the keel-boat and its professional crew.

Pittsburgh became more and more generally the point of embarkation for merchandise. Here, merchants found better storage for their goods while awaiting river transportation, and boats proceeded from this port with less difficulty at low stages of water than from any other. The Kentucky boat, built and navigated by the merchants, was employed by shippers for a time, but these boats were found to be carelessly made, and the dangers and difficulties of navigation so often resulted in serious loss to inexperienced mariners, that river transportation gradually fell into the hands of persons who made over freighting a regular business. Such persons were not slow to observe that the early modes of navigation were susceptible of easy improvements, and the keel-boat, with its lighter draught and better appliances, rapidly superseded the earlier vessel. These boats were commonly manned by from five to ten men, under the command of a "patroon," and carried from twenty to thirty tons of freight. After the opening of the Mississippi, the increased demands of trade gave rise to the barge, a vessel similar to the keel-boat, but of greater capacity, provided with oars, and carrying a crew sometimes reaching the number of fifty men. Both kinds of vessels were furnished with a mast,

a square sail and coils of cordage known as cordelles. A horn was also a regular part of each boat's equipage. It was originally intended for making signals, but it became the custom of the boatmen, at intervals, to sound on it a sort of cadence, the mellow notes of which, floating land-ward, announced the passing boat in melodious tones, which have been celebrated in a touching poem by Gen. W. O. Butler.

The trip down the river in times of freshet was made without difficulty in thirty-five to fifty days, but to return was a very different undertaking, and the boat which left New Orleans on the 1st of March seldom reached Louisville before the middle of June or 1st of July, and sometimes not until October. The celebrated ornithologist, Audubon, has left the following graphic picture of the tedious journey up-stream:

We will suppose one of these boats under way, and having passed Natchez, entering upon what were called the difficulties of their ascent. Wherever a point projected so as to render the course or bend below it of some magnitude, there was an eddy, the returning current of which was sometimes as strong as that of the middle of the great stream. The bargemen, therefore, rowed up pretty close under the bank, and had merely to keep watch in the bow least the boat should run against a planter or sawyer. But the boat has reached the point, and there the current is to all appearance of double strength and right against it. The men who have rested a few minutes are ordered to take their stations and lay hold of their oars, for the river must be crossed, it being seldom possible to double such a point and proceed along shore. The boat is crossing, its head slanting to the current, which is, however, too strong for the rowers, and when the other side of the river has been reached, it has drifted perhaps a quarter of mile. The men are by this time exhausted, and, as we will suppose it to be 12 o'clock, fasten the boat to a tree on the shore. A small glass of whisky is given to each, when they cook and eat their dinner, and after resting from their fatigue for an hour, recommence their labors. The boat is again seen slowly advancing against the stream. It has reached the lower end of a sand-bar, along the edge of which it is propelled by means of long poles, if the bottom be hard. Two men, called bowsmen, remain at the prow to assist, in concert with the steersman, in managing the boat and keeping its head right against the current. The rest place themselves on the land side of the footway of the vessel, put one end of their poles on the ground and the other against their shoulders, and push with all their

laden with merchandise which passed his farm for Pittsburgh, from the 1st of January, 1813, to the 1st of January, 1814, amounted to 4,055.



might. As each of the men reaches the stern, he crosses it to the other side, runs along it and comes again to the landward side of the bow, when he recommences operations. The barge, in the meantime, is ascending at a rate not exceeding one mile in the hour.

The bar is at length passed, and as the shore in sight is straight on both sides and the current uniformly strong, the poles are laid aside, and the men being equally divided, those on the river side take to their oars, while those on the land side lay hold of the branches of the willows or other trees, and thus slowly propel the boat. Here and there, however, the trunk of a fallen tree, partly lying on the bank and partly projecting beyond it, impedes their progress and requires to be doubled. This is performed by striking into it the iron points of the poles and gaff-hooks, and so pulling around it. The sun is now quite low, and the barge is again secured in the best harbor within reach for the night, after having accomplished her distance of perhaps fifteen miles. The next day the wind proves favorable, the sail is set, the boat takes all advantages, and meeting with no accidents, has ascended thirty miles, perhaps double that distance. The next day comes with a very different aspect. The wind is right ahead, the shores are without trees of any kind, and the canes on the bank are so thick and stout that not even the cordelles can be used. This occasions a halt. The time is not altogether lost, as most of the men, being provided with rifles, betake themselves to the woods and search for the deer, the bears or the turkeys that are generally abundant there. Three days may pass before the wind changes, and the advantages gained on the previous five days are forgotten. Again the boat proceeds, but in passing over a shallow place runs on a log, swings with the current, but hangs fast with her lee-side almost under water. Now for the poles! All hands are on deck, bustling and pushing. At length toward sunset the boat is once more afloat, and is again taken to the shore, where the wearied crew pass another night.

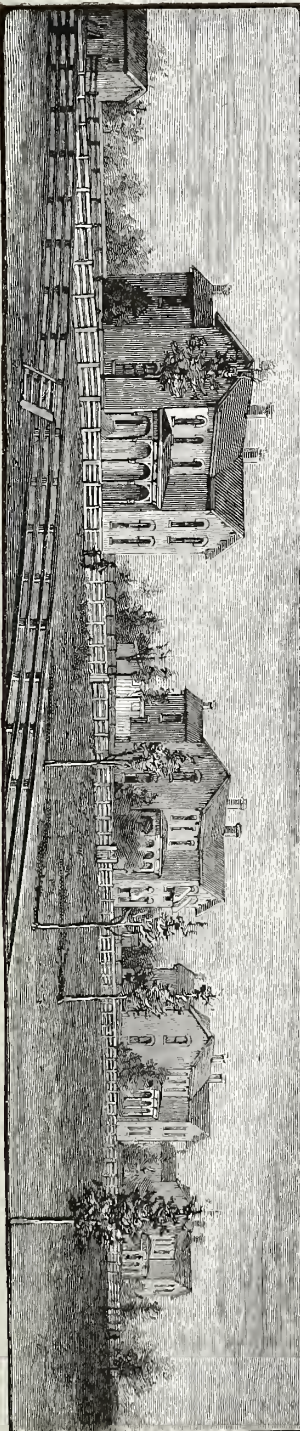
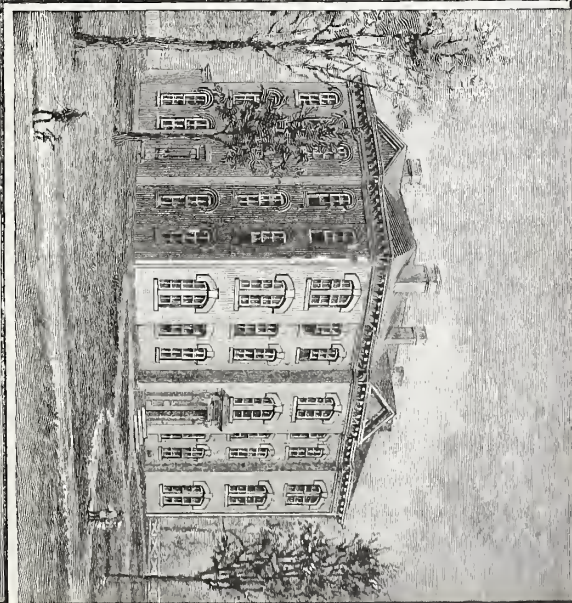
Such were some of the less serious difficulties of a river voyage. Until after the general pacification of the Indians, in 1795, the perils of the land were greater than those of the water, though these were not of a trivial character. Wrecks, more or less complete, were frequent, three-fourths of which were probably occasioned by the careless construction of the boats. The "broadhorns," as the Kentucky boats were popularly called, were especially distinguished in this way. A bad, knotty, or rotten plank in the bottom, a weak gunwale of tender wood, or the want of stoutness in the first or second row of plank—ang above the gunwale, was frequently the

causes of a total or partial loss of a valuable cargo. The character of the boatmen was another prolific source of trouble. Few of them had any experience as mariners, or observed anything like nautical discipline, and none, save the "patroon," seemed to feel any responsibility for the safe issue of the voyage. A boat often grounded or was staved in by obstructions, simply because the "patroon," being below, failed to give the necessary orders to avert the danger. Barges were sometimes overturned and lost by the ignorant handling of the sail, and sometimes by the willful abandonment of the crew.

Of the natural dangers to early navigation, ice was probably the most formidable. Eager to gain the utmost advantage of the flood-tide, shippers often ventured out with their frail craft before the river was fairly cleared, and, caught in a jam, the slender plank structure broke up like tinder-wood. In February, 1811, sixteen boats were thus caught in the ice at the mouth of the Tennessee, "three of which were sunk and lost; two stove and sunk but got afloat again and were repaired, five had their sides driven in, but were repaired before they sank, and the rest scarcely escaped from the general wreck." The passage of the falls at Louisville was dangerous, and many boats were lost in attempting it. This gave rise to a class of persons who offered their services to guide passing boats; but many of them proving incompetent, the danger was scarcely lessened until 1798, when the office of pilot was established and a regular officer appointed who was authorized to charge a fee of \$10 for each boat.

Another source of danger was the "boat wrecker," who infested the uninhabited region from old Fort Massac to the junction of the Mississippi River. These land pirates were accomplished in all the details of their nefarious business, and did not hesitate to boldly attack a boat's crew, or secretly scuttle the craft, whichever promised the easiest success. Their usual plan was to draw the crew into a game of cards, of which the boatmen were passionately fond, and then cheat them out of everything they possessed.





CENTRAL UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS, RICHMOND, KY.





When this plan did not serve, they frequently offered their services as pilots, or by suggestions from the shore too often insured fatal injury to the boat. At other times they would creep into the boat when tied up for the night, and bore holes in the bottom, or dig out the caulking. As soon as the boat showed signs of sinking, these miscreants would swarm out from the shore in their skiffs, to assist in saving the cargo, which they conveyed to secret places along the smaller affluents of the river beyond the chance of discovery. If an owner was hardy enough to push his search so far as to promise discovery of the hidden goods, he generally met his death in some of the obscure recesses of the marshy river margin.

A certain Col. Flugler, known on the river as "Col. Plug," was the leader of a band, which operated near Cache Creek. He was one of the boldest of the "wreckers," and was believed to possess skeleton keys to all the warehouses between that point and Louisville. On one occasion, the crew of a "broadhorn," which had suffered from his band in the previous year, determined on their next trip to be revenged. Before reaching the vicinity of his rendezvous, several of the crew went ashore, and, making their way unobserved by land, secreted themselves near the usual landing of the boat. This with its reduced crew subsequently arrived; the men were hospitably received by the freebooters, and the usual game of cards begun. When well engaged in the game and with considerable money on the table, a sharp whistle suddenly gave the signal for an attack by those of the band who were secreted nearby. The hidden boatmen heard it also, and understanding its import rushed to support their comrades. The struggle was short and sharp. Three of Plug's men were thrown into the river, when the rest fled, leaving their leader in the hands of the victorious boatmen. The freebooter was quickly stripped, compelled to embrace a good-sized tree, to which he was firmly bound, and then whipped with a "cow-hide" so long as any of the crew had strength to wield it effectively. In this condition, Plug was left to be relieved by the chance

return of his comrades. Not long after, this desperado met his death while digging the caulking out of a river boat. A sudden tempest tore the boat from its moorings, and dashing it into the raging river, wrecker and boat were both lost.

The life of the boatman was not calculated to invite the better class of men to enter the river service. A crew was engaged for the down trip only. The return trip was made overland or in the service of such returning boats as needed an increase of force for the upward voyage. The life was full of hazardous adventure, and none but the hardy, unsettled portion of frontier society could be induced to undergo the necessary privations and dangers incident to the service; but to this class there was an attraction in the unrestrained, irresponsible life, which kept the demand for hands fully supplied. The association of such characters brought on frequent collisions among themselves; and fighting, in which the most brutal practices were indulged, was of such common occurrence as to pass without particular comment, and gradually came to be looked upon almost as a pastime. Island No. 57, in the Ohio River, gained its name of Battle Island from an encounter which is described, in the barge captain's journal, as follows:

Two of my stoutest men having quarreled during the day while at the oars, and having clinched, had a small round under deck. Hearing the noise, I ran and parted them, and could appease them in no other way than by granting them permission to take it out on land. Accordingly at evening, as soon as we dropped anchor, the parties having chosen their stand-by friends, set out from the barge in the jolly-boat, and landed on Island No. 57, where, after it was agreed that it should be "rough and tumble," and the signal for parting should be "enough," the combatants stripped off their jackets—the weather being cold—and taking their distance, flew at each other most ferociously. Two rounds brought them fast clinched in each other's hug to the ground, when the undermost, finding the thumb of his antagonist removing his eye from its socket hollowed out vociferously to the bystanders: "Take him off! take him off! he's gouging me!" This was done immediately, and the boys got on their feet again; and discovering there was not much harm done except a bite from the one and a gouge from the other, they returned good-naturedly to the



barge again, and as usual worked friendly together during the remainder of the voyage.\*

Such encounters were not always so satisfactorily ended, nor were they confined to themselves. Bullies along the shore and at the principal ports, when opportunity offered, seldom failed to challenge the noted champions of the river, and the landing of a boat's crew was generally the signal for a drunken debauch, during which gambling and set fights were freely indulged. These rough champions adopted suggestive *noms de guerre*, such as "Half horse, half alligator," "Snapping-turtle," and the like, and the exaggerated reports which came to the peaceable portion of the community gave rise to the belief that these names were not inappropriately applied. Their unlawful and, too often, outrageous conduct on their return trip by land, made them the terror of such families as lived along their route of travel, and a rule "not to lodge Kentuckians on any account" was at length pretty generally adopted by such persons, to the distress of the innocent as well as guilty.

The exaggerated stories, in which the exploits of the boatman have been perpetuated, undoubtedly make him the "hero of fields his valor never won," but enough has been authenticated to give these tales a foundation in fact. Of these river heroes, none forms a more striking figure in early annals than Mike Fink. His early home was in Pittsburgh, where he distinguished himself as an Indian spy before he reached his majority; but while thus employed the wild, adventurous life of the boatman attracted his youthful fancy, and, lured away by the soft enchantment of the boat-horn, he engaged in the minor offices of the river service. Here he proved an apt scholar, and from this modest beginning became one of the most notorious of his class. When the river was low, Mike spent his time with his rifle and soon distanced his competitors in the use of this weapon. His skill was so universally acknowledged that whenever he made one in a shooting-match for beef, such as was then of common occurrence in Kentucky, he was

always allowed the "fifth quarter"—the hide and tallow—without a shot. This was a requisite of his skill; one which he always claimed, always obtained, and always sold for whisky with which to treat the assembled company. His capacity as a drinker was enormous; he could drink a gallon in twenty-four hours without its effect being perceptible in his language or demeanor. He was also something of a wag, and had an uncomfortable way of enforcing his jests. He used to say that he told his jokes to be laughed at, and no man should treat them lightly. The consequence was that when one refused to laugh, the offender received a sound drubbing as an admonition for the future, which usually proved effective.

His practical jokes, as he and his associates were accustomed to call their predations upon the inhabitants along the line of the river, were bold and ingenious. On a certain occasion, while passing down the river, Mike observed a flock of sheep grazing on shore, and hit upon a characteristic expedient to secure a supply of mutton without paying for it. As it was about dusk, he landed his boat in an eddy he had discovered, and having made all fast, he took some Scotch snuff, which formed a part of his cargo, and with it besmattered the faces of several of the animals. Returning to his boat, he sent one of his men to the owner to say that he would better come down and see what ailed his sheep. The startled sheep-owner found some of his flock bleating, rubbing themselves, and capering about in the strangest fashion, and sorely puzzled, turned to the plotter of the mischief for his opinion. With the gravest demeanor, Mike assured the man that the "black murrain" had attacked his sheep, and would probably destroy the whole flock if not promptly arrested. After exciting the farmer's fears to the highest pitch by an artfully concocted story, he convinced his victim that only the summary killing of the diseased animals could save him from total loss. Mike was at once deputed to shoot the infected sheep, which were then thrown into the river by the crew. After dark, the carcasses, which had been caught in the eddy, were

\*"The Navigator," p. 306. Pittsburgh, 1814.

hauled on board, and by daylight the boat, with its fresh supply of mutton, was gliding down stream to its destination.

But many of these "jokes" were characterized by a wanton cruelty which indicated a malevolent disposition on the part of the perpetrator. A negro had come down to the river bank to see the passing boat. Mike's keen observation caught sight of the negro's heel, which was peculiar in its excessive length, and quick as thought the boatman raised his rifle and fired, the bullet instantly tearing away a part of the exposed member. For this piece of devilry he was arraigned by the law officers at St. Louis, but there is no record showing that he was ever compelled to pay any penalty for his crime. The power of law was regularly defied by these audacious characters, and notwithstanding they were charged with the whole catalogue of infamous crimes, from murder down, the officers found themselves powerless to inflict punishment. Mike was finally outlawed, and a reward offered for his apprehension.

For a time the desperado evaded the clutches of the officers; but one day, when his boat was moored at Louisville, an old friend who had attained the dignity of a constable, came to him pleading the necessity of his family, and pointing out the fact that while his captor would secure the much-needed reward the captive would in all probability escape conviction, he persuaded Mike to permit himself to be taken. This compromise was effected only on one condition, which Casseday thus describes:

He felt at home nowhere but in his boat and among his men; let them take him and his men in the yawl and they would go. It was the only hope of procuring his appearance at court, and the constable consented. Accordingly a long coupled wagon was procured, and, with oxen attached, went down the hill, at Third Street, for Mike's yawl. The road, for it was not then a street, was very steep and very muddy at this point. Regardless of this, however, the boat was set upon the wagon, and Mike and his men, with their long poles ready, as if for an aquatic excursion, were put aboard, Mike in the stern. By dint of laborious dragging, the wagon had attained half the height of the hill, when out shouted the stentorian voice of Mike, calling to his men: "Set poles!" and the end of every long pole was set firmly in the thick mud. "Back

her!" roared Mike, and down the hill again went wagon, yawl, men and oxen. Mike had been revolving the matter in his mind, and had concluded that it was best not to go; and well knowing that each of his men was equal to a moderately strong ox, he had at once conceived and executed this retrograde movement. Once at the bottom, another parley was held and Mike was again overpowered. This time they had almost reached the top of the hill, when "Set poles!" "Back her!" was again ordered and again executed. A third attempt was successful, and Mike reached the court house in safety, and, as his friend, the constable, had endeavored to induce him to believe, he was acquitted for lack of sufficient evidence. Other indictments, however, were found against him, but Mike preferred not to wait to hear them tried, so at a given signal he and his men boarded their craft again, and stood ready to weigh anchor. The dread of the long poles in the hands of Mike's men prevented the *posse* from urging any serious remonstrance against their departure. And off they started with poles "tossed." As they left the court house yard Mike waved his red bandanna, which he fixed on one of the poles, and promising to "call again" was borne back to his element, and launched once more upon the waters.\*

Mike's end formed a fitting close to an infamous career. With the introduction of steam navigation his career as a boatman ended, but, unwilling to abandon his wild life, with two or three companions he turned his attention to trapping on the upper Missouri. Here he quarreled with a comrade, whom he cowardly murdered, only to meet a similar fate at the hands of the murdered man's friend. The latter assassin met his death a few months later, while attempting to swim across the river. Thus perished the last of the boatmen.

With all this laborious effort and risk, a barge could bring up the river only a few bags of coffee, and at best 100 hogsheads of sugar. A regular line of these boats was established at Cincinnati, which plied to and from New Orleans, each carrying in its downward trip a crew of nine men, which was re-enforced to twenty-five or thirty men on the return voyage. A similar line was established at Louisville and Pittsburgh, but as late as 1808, the whole number of barges engaged on the river did not exceed

\*"History of Louisville," p. 73. Much of the foregoing sketch of Mike Fink is compiled from this work, which is indebted for its data principally to sketches which appeared in the *Western Souvenir* for 1829, and in the *Western Review* for 1830.



twenty-five or thirty, the largest of which scarcely reached 100 tons burthen. Then succeeded the sailing vessel. It is said the inhabitants of Marietta first conceived the idea of exporting native products directly to the West Indies, a vessel being constructed at that place and sent to Jamaica. The success which attended this venture inspired a strong emulation among boat-builders and shippers on the Ohio, and Pittsburgh and Louisville at once engaged in similar enterprises, the vessels going to the West Indies or to New York and Philadelphia. From 1802 to 1805, there were built at Pittsburgh the ships "Pittsburgh," "Louisiana," "Gen. Butler" and "Western Trader;" the brigs "Nanina," "Dean" and "Black Walnut;" and the schooners "Amity," "Alleghany" and "Conquest." The "Monongahela Farmer" and the brig "Ann Jean" were built at Elizabethtown, besides others at Marietta and Louisville, of which the record has been lost. The misfortunes which attended many of these later vessels, arising from bad management in their course down the river, served to dampen the ardor of ship-builders, and the business had greatly declined, when the first steamboat, in 1811-12, was constructed.

But commercial circles were not alone in profiting from the invigorating impulse of the great immigration. Evidences of wealth and prosperity were everywhere multiplying among planters. The increasing number of stores brought in new articles of luxury, which the improved market for the products of the plantations enabled the owners to purchase to a considerable extent. This change was principally observable in the increase of home comforts. There was little of ostentation displayed. Log-houses, constructed, it is true, with greater care, continued the ordinary residence of all classes, though here and there plank and brick formed a more substantial as well as sightly material for this purpose. Orchards were multiplied, the peach forming the favorite fruit of the people, though apples were scarcely second in the public esteem. These were propagated from seed, and such was the

favorable character of the climate that the peach tree bore abundantly in three or four years from the planting. So general was this prosperity that, in 1802, Michaux found nowhere in Kentucky "a single family without milk, butter, smoked or salted meat and maize for their food; the poorest man has always one or more horses, and it is very seldom that a planter goes on foot to see his neighbors." Improved table furniture was gradually introduced; knives and forks of metal in limited numbers took the place of the earlier substitutes; tinware displaced the noggin and bowl; pewter plates, succeeding the wooden-platters, gave a touch of brightness to the somber interior of the cabin; and the tinker, with his small pony, nearly covered by a huge pair of saddle-bags, filled with the molds and soldering irons with which he turned old pewter dishes into new and by sundry patches prolonged the usefulness of dilapidated tinware, becomes a regular visitant of the scattered plantations.

There were growing signs of a more luxurious living among the wealthy. The habits of the "old dominion" society were gradually transplanted into the new land. Slaves rapidly increased; silver plate began to adorn their tables; imported wines cheered their guests; and a growing disposition, on the part of a certain class of the Virginians, to arrogate something of superiority to those of their neighbors, who could lay no claims to the mystic virtue expressed in the title of "F. F. V.," began to be manifested. With the progress of political development this tendency became confirmed. Public offices were filled for the period of "good behavior," and, once supplied, there was no rotation in office to act as a stimulant to the people to qualify themselves for places of honor and trust. It accordingly became very generally accepted that some were born to rule, and that the many were born to be ruled, and both parties came to view this division as natural and desirable. This was the starting point of that harmless form of caste which has dubbed every man of parts with a title.

With the increase of prosperity this society began to show some effort to supersede the

primitive style of clothing, and calico and broadcloth began to be seen more frequently. Little by little the old colonial magnificence appeared at official receptions and other important public occasions. At such times the representative part of the community appeared in a fine cloth or velvet coat, cut "round-breasted," with long or swallow tail, large gilt buttons on both sides, set from collar to waist; the vest, if for winter, was of swan's down; if for summer, white marseilles with small gilt buttons; the lower limbs were clothed in "breeches," made for winter of cloth or velvet, or corduroy, and of nankeen or linen for summer. These reached down from the waist to the knee, where a cloth band, reaching just below that joint, fitted close to the leg, and was ornamented by a silver buckle on the outside seam. A long stocking of worsted for winter, or of silk or home-knit fleece for summer, and held in place by the knee-band instead of a garter, clothed the calf of the leg, while low shoes with silver buckles on the outer slope of the instep clothed the feet. A white and black stock with silver buckle supplied the place of cravat. The hat was black, of fur or mixture of lamb's wool and fur, with very large brim, and if worn by a person of distinction the brim was cocked with a silver boss. Pantaloons, then called "overalls," were sometimes worn. Boots were equally rare, but when worn they extended to the knee and had a callop in front, from the center of which a silk tassel some three inches long was suspended. These were known as "fair-tops," being made of a nice piece of fair leather. Nearly all who could wore a queue. The back hair was suffered to grow long; this was wound round with blue or pink ribbon with a double bow-knot; and if the hair was not long enough, false hair was nicely spliced to the stub, which was thus sometimes extended to the waist. The dress of the ladies in the same social circle was somewhat less elaborate. A few silk gowns, or of bombazet or gingham, the latter often homespun, with what was then called a "spencer," constituted the indoor dress. Ladies' hats or bonnets were of straw or silk, moderately trimmed.

The gown was worn short, below which a neat pair of morocco shoes with buckles and fine silk or thread stockings were revealed. In Louisville, it was said, "There is a circle, small 'tis true, but within whose magic round abounds every pleasure that wealth regulated by taste can bestow. There the 'red-heel' of Versailles may imagine himself in the very emporium of fashion, and, whilst leading beauty through the mazes of the dance, forget that he is in the wilds of America."

The influence of this change upon the common people was very marked. Respectful deference to elders or those in official station became a notable feature of family and school-training, though generally unmixed with anything of servility. "Honor" became a prominent word in the early vocabulary, and the habit of attaching an exaggerated importance to insult, a strong and universal custom. In close correlation with these features was a marked courtesy in ordinary intercourse that approached the verge of gallantry. Friendships were warm and constant; resentments were bitter and revengeful. Unbounded hospitality, which freely offered entertainment to neighbor or stranger, prevailed. Neighborhoods lived, worked, feasted or suffered together in cordial harmony; families intermarried so that every one was the natural ally of each one, ready to espouse his cause in danger, or to congratulate him in success. The limits of neighborhoods extended over a wide area, and a ride of several miles on horseback to pay a friendly visit was an unnoted and frequent occurrence. Nor was this social duty devolved solely upon the women, as in the Northwest. The habits and agricultural system of the new land gave the man a large amount of leisure, which was employed principally in masculine gossip. On coming together, men disposed of each other's business projects and prospects with short shrift and fell to discussing genealogies and politics. The pipe was invariably an "unobtrusive third," the mild influence of which served to keep political talk well within friendly bounds. Short visits were neither desired nor made. The guest for the time



was put in full possession of the resources of his host, whose domestic habits experienced scarcely a ripple of interruption by the temporary addition to his household. The entertainment was without ostentation, and the table, though rudely spread with substantial food, was large in its bounty.

At the same time "smart signs of wickedness" began to appear in the popular amusements. A passion for gaming and spirituous liquors seemed to prevail; the taverns became the places of general resort, where drinking bouts commonly ended in the most sanguinary encounters. Horse-racing, dog and cock-fighting, raffling and shooting-matches were the favorite sports whenever the people came together. For many years it was the custom on each Saturday for the justices of the peace in the country around to repair to the nearest village to hold their courts. This brought together a large concourse of litigants, their friends and witnesses, besides those who came simply to see the sports. On this day, work was generally suspended in the country, and in the town the afternoon was usually observed as a holiday by the shop-keepers. The cases before the courts attracted little attention from any, save those directly affected by their decision, and were quickly disposed of, when all joined the throng and engaged in the real business of the hour. The drinking began early in the day, and by afternoon the fun grew fast and furious. The horse-racing and a cock or dog-fight were followed by various athletic contests. By this time the day was far spent, and the disappointed ambitions of the crowd were sufficiently inflamed by the constant drinking to bring on a number of disgraceful fights, which were always a part of the day's excitement. As night fell the crowd dispersed, some dangerously reeling on their horses, and all shouting and yelling like savages. Many were too drunk to get away and might be seen on Sunday seeking their homes after a night's drunken sleep in some secluded corner of the town. These scenes followed in a weekly round, each Saturday providing a programme for the succeeding one. The regular muster

of the militia was another occasion on which the whole people gave loose rein to their propensities. Not only the enrolled members but the whole population attended, who pony-racing, foot-racing, wrestling, fighting and drunkenness were engaged in far more than military movements. It was the favorite resort also of the candidate for political honors, who delighted his half-drunken audience with a speech, of which the most remarkable feature was its ribaldry.

But there was another side to the picture thus presented. While the arts of peace were rapidly removing the rude evidences of frontier life, war still hovered on the border. The provisions of the treaties made between England and the colonies did not include the savages, who still pressed their claims on the Ohio Valley with a pertinacity which even defeat could not abate. But the successful issue of the revolutionary movement none the less powerfully affected the interests of the savages. The re-enforced frontier settlements no longer thought solely of defense, but began to meditate revenge, and instead of a few despairing pioneers the Indians found themselves confronted by the strength which had humbled their most powerful allies.

On the conclusion of peace with the English, the national government set about measures for the pacification of the natives and as early as May, 1783, congress instructed the secretary of war to take steps to notify the savages of the results of the recent contest, and to bring about a general cessation of hostilities. On October 15, following, the secretary reported the result of his efforts and expressed the belief "that although the hostile tribes of the Indians in the northern and middle departments are seriously disposed to a pacification, yet they are not in temper to relinquish their territorial claims without a further struggle." Congress nevertheless determined to hold formal conventions with the various tribes in the hope that by establishing territorial boundaries between the two races "all occasion for future animosities, disquiet and contention" might be avoided. While doubtless sincere in the

avowal of this sentiment, this unwieldy body found itself greatly hampered in its action by its limited executive power, as well as by the almost entire absence of anything like national spirit among its members. Though generally agreed upon the object to be achieved, there was no end to the difficulties raised in effecting its accomplishment, and it was not until October, 1784, therefore, that the first of these conferences was held. This occurred with the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix, where, on the 27th instant a treaty was entered into by which the old indefinite claim of this confederacy to the West was finally extinguished. On January 21, 1785, a treaty was made with the warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa nations at Fort McIntosh, by which the southern half of the present state of Ohio was ceded to the whites. In the following November, a treaty of peace and friendship was negotiated with the Cherokees at Hopewell, on the Keowee, in Georgia; with the Choctaws on January 3, 1786; and with the Chickasaws on the 10th of the same month. In the meantime, while congress debated the matter of a convention with the "Pottawatama, Twightwee, Piankeshaw and other western nations" at Vincennes, prompt steps were taken to secure the ceded lands on the Ohio, and in the fall of 1785 Maj. Doughty descended the river and erected Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum.

Various circumstances concurred to change the original time and place set for the last-named convention, which eventually was held on January 31, 1786, at the mouth of the Big Miami, where Fort Finney, a temporary defense, was erected. A growing spirit of hostility was manifested by the savages. The Wabash tribes refused to attend, influenced by the Shawanese, who subsequently so far reconsidered their own determination as to meet the commissioners. They came in no very amicable spirit, however, and it was probably due to the sagacity of the congressional representatives that so favorable an issue of the convention was reached.

The Indians came into the apartment exhibiting marks of disrespect for the whites. The commis-

sioners, without noticing the disorderly conduct of the other party or appearing to have discovered their meditated treachery, opened the council in due form. They lighted the peace-pipe, and after drawing a few whiffs, passed it to the chiefs, who received it. Gen. Clark then rose to explain the purpose for which the treaty was ordered. With an unembarrassed air, with the tone of one accustomed to command, and an easy assurance of perfect security and self-possession, he stated that the commissioners had been sent to offer peace to the Shawanese; that the president had no wish to continue the war; he had no resentment to gratify; and if the red men desired peace, they could have it on reasonable terms. "If such be the will of the Shawanese," he concluded, "let some of their wise men speak."

A chief arose, drew his tall person to its full height, and assuming a haughty attitude, threw his eye contemptuously over the commissioners and their small retinue, as if to measure their insignificance, in comparison with his own numerous train, and then stalking to the table, threw upon it two belts of wampum of different colors—the war and the peace belt. "We come here," he exclaimed, "to offer you two pieces of wampum; they are of different colors; you know what they mean; you can take which you like," and, turning upon his heel, he resumed his seat.

The chiefs drew themselves up in the consciousness of having hurled defiance in the teeth of the white men. They had offered an insult to the renowned leader of the Long Knives, to which they knew it would be hard to submit, while they did not suppose he dare resent it. The council-pipe was laid aside. Those fierce wild men gazed intently at Clark. The Americans saw that the crisis had arrived; they could no longer doubt that the Indians understood the advantage they possessed, and were disposed to use it, and a common sense of danger caused each eye to be turned on the leading commissioner. He sat undisturbed, and apparently careless, until the chief, who had thrown the belts upon the table, had taken his seat; then with a small cane, which he held in his hand he reached, as if playfully, toward the war-belt, entangled the end of the stick in it, drew it toward him, and then with a switch of the cane threw the belt into the midst of the chiefs. The effect was electric. Every man in the council, of each party, sprang to his feet, the savages with a loud exclamation of astonishment, "Hugh!" the Americans in expectation of a hopeless conflict against overwhelming numbers. Every hand grasped a weapon. Clark alone was unawed. The expression of his countenance changed to a ferocious sternness, and his eye flashed, but otherwise he was unmoved. A bitter smile was perceptible upon his compressed lips, as he gazed upon that savage band, whose hundred eyes were bent fiercely and in horrid exultation upon him, as they stood like a pack of wolves at bay thirsting for blood, and ready to rush upon him whenever one



bolder than the rest should commence the attack. It was one of those moments of indecision when the slightest weight thrown into either scale will make it preponderate; a moment in which a bold man, conversant with the springs of human action, may seize upon the minds of all around him and sway them at his will.

Such a man was the intrepid Virginian. He spoke, and there was no man bold enough to gainsay him—none that could return the fierce glance of his eye. Raising his arm and waving his hand toward the door, he exclaimed, "Dogs! You may go!" The Indians hesitated for a moment, and then rushed tumultuously out of the council room.\*

The savages subsequently returned and sued for peace, when the Shawanese, with certain of the Wyandots and Delawares, united in a treaty of peace and friendship. The good results of such treaties were not likely to prove long-lived. None of the parties interested, save the general government, seemed to desire peace. "The British agents, our own traders, and the inhabitants of Kentucky, I am convinced, are all opposed to a treaty," wrote Parsons, "and are using every measure to prevent it. Strange as this may seem, I have convincing proofs of its reality." It happened, therefore, that while the "plenipotentiaries" of congress and the various Indian nations on the borders of Kentucky were negotiating treaties of "peace and friendship," the region south of the Ohio was the scene of predatory incursions and reprisals, scarcely less active, though attended with less serious results than before the close of the revolutionary war.

After the close of hostilities in 1783, the savages seem to have observed a kind of armed neutrality. Surveyors in the uninhabited region north of the Licking found "fresh sign" of Indians, and realizing the unsettled state of affairs prudently withdrew. In other sections similar indications of the presence of savages were found, and now and then small straggling bands were met. On such occasions, the natives were found sometimes rude and predatory in their behavior, at other times only suspicious, but at all

times sullen and distrustful, though offering no violence. The whites were in scarcely better temper, though many, desiring to avoid a renewal of the bloody experience of an Indian war, exerted themselves to cultivate friendly relations with these roving forsters. Mainly through such efforts, the natives were led to frequent the settlements and engage in an interchange of good offices, which promised to solve the perplexing problem of Indian affairs. Unhappily at this juncture a visiting native was lured into the forest and murdered by a vindictive settler. Some attempt was made to prosecute the murderer, but so powerful was the public prejudice that the attempt utterly failed.

The effect upon the savages was widespread and instantaneous. Their worst suspicions seemed confirmed, and the fact that the British had not yielded possession of the northern posts gave rise to a belief that the Americans had deceived them as to the actual issue of the war, a belief that was fortified by the representations of the traders and agents of the English. All friendly intercourse between the races was summarily ended, and old-time depredations were renewed. The southern tribes were the first to proceed to hostilities, and in the spring of 1784 emphasized the changed relations by stealing horses from the settlers in Lincoln County. Several encounters occurred in the course of the year, in which a number of the savages were killed, and in the fall such were the alarming rumors in regard to the Cherokees that Col. Logan called a convention of the leading people to concert measures to avert the danger. The rumor proved greatly exaggerated, and no action was taken by the assembled whites.

These minor depredations were continued, but in March, 1785, they were unpleasantly varied by an attack upon a new settlement at the mouth of the Kentucky by the Shawanese; Elliot was killed and scalped, his cabin burned and his family dispersed. Other evidences of the more determined character of the hostilities to be expected were observed from time to time, but no further murders are noted until October, when some of the

\*"Wilderness and War-path" by Judge Hall, in Wiley and Putnam's Library. By some writers, the leading role in this transaction is assigned to Gen. Richard Butler, who, with R. H. Parsons, was associated with Clark as commissioner. The intensely dramatic character of the interview is considered by others to be largely the product of Mr. Hall's fertile imagination. (See *Annals of the West*, note p. 278.)

southern warriors appeared on the Wilderness road, and attacked emigrants on their way to Kentucky settlements. McClure's company was assaulted one night while in camp near the head of Scagg's Creek; six were killed and scalped, and the rest dispersed. Mrs. McClure gained the underbrush with her four children, and would have escaped with three of them, had she been willing to abandon the fourth, an infant in her arms. This one by the cries discovered her retreat, and the savages coming upon her cruelly murdered the three children, and took mother and babe captives.

The news of the outrage was quickly brought to Whitley's Station, but the captain being absent, his wife promptly dispatched a messenger for him, and in the meantime summoned his company of twenty-one men. Hastily returning, Whitley found his men fully equipped for an expedition, awaiting him. Believing the savages would at once take the war-road toward their villages, the rescuing party directed their course to intercept the enemy's retreat. Fortunately for the success of this plan, the Indians delayed to divide their plunder, and the whites had just time enough to form an ambuscade, when the war-party came up. Two of the warriors were instantly killed and two wounded. The rest dispersed, leaving Mrs. McClure, her child, a negro woman and the scalps in the hands of the rescuers. Ten days later, a Mr. Moore and his party of emigrants were attacked near Raccoon Creek, on the same road, when nine of the company were killed and the rest scattered. Whitley was again notified, who, after five days' scout, came upon the hostile band, and inflicted a severe punishment on them. Three of them were killed, and a rich booty, consisting of twenty-eight horses, £50 in coin, and a quantity of household goods, was taken. In November two men were killed on Rolling Fork, of Salt River.

The inconclusive result which attended the meeting of the convention called by Col. Logan, in 1784, was occasioned more by the discovery that it lacked the authority to or-

ganize an expedition than by the conviction that such a measure was unnecessary. Here it dawned upon the frontiersmen, who had hitherto known no law save that of necessity, that the issue of the war had changed their relations to the natives, and that what had been permitted when the whole nation was engaged in a doubtful struggle for existence, in justice to the general weal, could no longer be allowed. Indian affairs had now become the care of the general government alone, by which the tribes were considered as independent nations with whom peace or war could be concluded only by its authority. Thus, with national independence came its responsibilities, and instead of prompt reprisal the Kentuckians found themselves obliged to employ official circumlocution—to prefer their complaints to the governor, by whom they were referred to congress for redress. This obviously did not prevent a defense of their homes and property, or the infliction of such punishment as was possible without an invasion of the territory secured by treaty to the several tribes, but the experience of former years had demonstrated that the only practicable defense of the frontier lay in such an invasion, and it was, therefore, with the greatest reluctance that the hardy woodsmen acquiesced in the new order of things.

As the depredations increased, the forbearance of the settlers diminished, and in the spring of 1786, after suffering repeated losses by the Indians, the inhabitants on the Blue Grass determined to undertake their own redress. In April, the savages made a successful raid after horses, and as usual effected their escape across the river. A party of settlers was immediately organized under the command of Col. William Christian, who had settled here in the previous year, and the thieves rapidly followed. A part of the predatory band was overtaken some twenty miles within the limits of their territory, and when brought to bay made a stubborn resistance. In numbers each party suffered an equal loss, two falling on either side; but one of the whites was Col. Chris-



tian, a man that the growing State could ill afford to lose.\*

Such action was undoubtedly without legal sanction, and can be justified only by a consideration of the undisciplined state of society, and the great provocation offered by the savages. At the same time the settlers did not fail to make urgent complaint to the governor, who promptly presented their case to the general government, but in the nature of the circumstances these complaints assigned the authorship of these troubles with such indefiniteness that congress, slow to move at best, found it difficult to act intelligently. A communication of the governor on May 16, 1786, however, elicited the prompt action of the government. Two companies of troops were sent to Louisville, and on June 30, the organization of the Kentucky militia for an expedition into the country of the mischief-makers, under the command of the leading government officer, was authorized. The expedition thus suggested does not seem to have been ordered by the national authorities, but while congress delayed, the governor appears to have given some general instructions to the Kentucky officials "to adopt the necessary means of defense." Under such authority, the county-lieutenants were convened, and the question whether the act of congress referred to empowered them to impress men and materials for an expedition,

\*William Christian was born in Augusta County, Va.; was educated at Staunton; and when a young man, commanded a company in Col. Bird's regiment, which served on the southwestern frontier in the early part of the French and Indian war. In this service he proved a brave and skillful partisan, and on the return of peace, retired to his private pursuits with a widespread reputation for ability. He subsequently married a sister of Patrick Henry, and settled in Botetourt County, where he was made colonel of militia. In the Dunmore war he again took the field at the head of 300 men, reaching Point Pleasant on the day following the great battle which was fought here on October 10, 1774.

In the following year he was a member of the general State convention, and in 1776 was appointed second in command of the First Virginia Regiment. The resignation of the colonel in the same year occasioned the promotion of Mr. Christian to the first place, when he was ordered with a force of 1,200 men to quell the Cherokee outbreak. This he achieved with singular ability and good fortune, and returned to find ample demand for his services in counteracting the machinations of the Tories. For this purpose he resigned his commission in the line, and served in command of the militia of his county. He was thus engaged during the war and rendered signal service to the patriotic cause, exhibiting the highest executive ability and good judgment in dealing with the difficult questions which the complicated state of society presented. He subsequently represented his county in the State assembly for several years, when, in 1785, he cast in his fortunes with those of Kentucky. His reputation had preceded him here, and he was at once advanced to the place in public esteem left vacant by the death of Col. Floyd. As the discussion of a separation from Virginia progressed, Col. Christian's ability made him a conspicuous candidate in the hearts of the people for the first governor of the projected State, but all such anticipations were summarily ended by his sudden death, which was learned with universal regret.

was submitted to the legal officers of the district.

On the receipt of a favorable reply, the assembled officers promptly decided upon a campaign against the tribes on the Wabash. Gen. Clark was chosen for the chief command, and such was the general enthusiasm that 1,000 men were quickly equipped and assembled at Louisville. Vincennes was selected as the base of operations, and thither the supplies for the army were shipped in nine keel-boats. The troops proceeded by land, and reached their destination some time in September, but the provisions and ammunition being delayed by the low water in the Wabash, it was decided much against Clark's wish, to await the arrival of the boats. Nine days were thus consumed in inactivity, and with the most disastrous consequences. The scanty supplies at hand had daily diminished; the troops began to manifest a restless, discontented spirit; and a rumor prevailed that a messenger dispatched by the general to offer peace or war to the savages had cut off the last hope, surprising the enemy. To these disheartening conditions was added a lamentable want of harmony among the officers, and a growing lack of confidence in the commanding general. In his retirement after the revolutionary war, Clark had contracted a serious habit of intoxication, and, overruled in his desire for prompt action by the majority of his subordinate officers, he sought relief from his vexation in drinking, and eventually appeared in camp completely under the influence of whisky. Seizing upon this fact, some of his lieutenants, acting, it is charged, from motives of jealousy, encouraged the growing feeling of general discontent.

It was under such circumstances that the troops were at length put in motion to achieve the design of the campaign. Early in the hour rendered the disintegrating influence more potent, and when only about two days' march from the Indian town, 300 men refused to proceed further, and, turning their backs upon their comrades, took up the march homeward. The most earnest entreaties

ies failed to shake their purpose, and after a somewhat disorderly council, and notwithstanding that sufficient remained to promise the success of the enterprise, the whole force was ordered to follow. On reaching Vincennes the greater part of the troops broke into small parties, each of which sought its own course homeward, ending the campaign in disgrace, for which none were wholly free from responsibility. The public censure, however, fell with greatest severity upon the commanding officer, of whom it was written at this time with too much truth: "The sun of Gen. Clark's military glory has set, never more to rise."

Logan set out with his expedition, but in crossing the river it was decided in council that he should return to Kentucky and organize a new force to be directed against the Shawanese, whose attention, it was thought, could be drawn toward the earlier movement, and would, therefore, be unprepared for nearer hostilities. This Col. Logan promptly accomplished. Seven hundred men were enlisted and rendezvoused at Washington, from whence the second expedition, commanded by Logan and guided by Kenton, at the head of his own company of scouts, proceeded by a rapid and direct march to the Mackacheek and Pickaway towns. The Indians were completely surprised, and the country east and west for 100 miles visited with terrible destruction. Four towns, with all their standing crops, were destroyed; about twenty warriors were killed, and a number of women and children taken prisoners, at a total loss to the whites of only ten men killed or wounded. But while the whites were thus exerting their power against the northern and western tribes, the savages still harried the southern border. Here, in October, 1786, the Indians made a night attack on McKnitt's company of emigrants, as they lay encamped between the Big and Little Laurel Rivers, killing twenty-one, and dispersing or taking the rest prisoners. In December, they made another night attack upon a party of whites at the mouth of Buck Creek, on the Cumberland, killing one man and putting the rest to flight. Thus the year, which was marked in its open-

ing months by the successful negotiation of treaties with the various Indian tribes, closed amid the discordant cries and angry clash of the embattled races.

The year of 1787 witnessed the renewal of warlike activities on all sides, with all their old-time barbarities. The invasion of the Shawanese country served only to exasperate that fierce and vindictive nation, and during the succeeding winter and spring they engaged in such active hostilities as to keep the whole country bordering on the Ohio, in a constant state of alarm. In the counties of Mason and Bourbon the settlers were again compelled to resort to stations for protection; labor in the fields and intercourse between settlements were interrupted or carried on under a strong guard, and the system of scouts and rangers, adopted only in times of great danger, was again established. The great increase in the number of settlers forbade the savages to hope for success in a bold attack upon the forts, and their vigilance rendered it impossible for large bands to safely penetrate far into the interior. The hostility of the natives, therefore, found expression chiefly in predatory raids, though attacks were not wanting, which evinced their prowess, and inspired the frontier with terror. Unwary settlers were everywhere picked off by the keen-sighted enemy, and on one occasion the savages descended upon the well-traveled road from Limestone to Lexington, capturing a wagon and teamster. In December a small detached station at Drennon's Lick was captured, and two men killed, but with these exceptions the great complaint was the loss of horses. In stealing these animals, the savages displayed a dexterity which threatened to exhaust the whole supply on the border.

At first it was the custom for one or two Indians to secretly make their way into a settlement at night, secure a horse for each one, and retire to their villages unobserved; but as they became more proficient in their operations, they improved upon the original plan. The parties were then increased from six to a dozen warriors, who selected some retired rendezvous on the south side of the



river, to which they brought their booty. Leaving their first captures in care of a guard, the rest would again disperse to bring other animals until fifteen or twenty were collected, when they would secretly take them across the Ohio, and thence to their towns. In this way it was no unusual thing for each savage to bring a horse to the rendezvous every night. It consequently often happened that a predatory party would set out from their villages, traverse the more than 100 miles to the settlements, and return in fifteen or twenty days with as many horses, while, such was the extent of these depredations, a single county in Kentucky often lost 100 of these animals in a single month.

Such wholesale depredations were calculated to exasperate the settlers and lead them to ignore the formalities imposed by existing treaties. Reprisals promptly followed. Early in the year Luttrell was killed on Fishing Creek by the Indians. Logan at once collected a party of settlers, repaired to the scene of murder, fell on a trail and pursued it across the Cumberland, where he came upon an Indian band. He attacked them without parley, killed several, and dispersed the rest, returning in triumph with the furs and skins found in the camp. A little later Kenton, who had been active in waylaying the marauders from the north, solicited the aid of Col. Robert Todd, of Fayette County, in making an expedition into the Paint Creek country. This appeal called forth a prompt response, and a formidable force penetrated the Indian territory to Chillicothe, burning the town and ravaging the country for miles around. The enemy made no resistance, and suffered a loss of three killed and seven taken prisoners, who were so carelessly guarded, however, that they made their escape before the expedition recrossed the river. In June Maj. Oldham crossed the Ohio River with a scouting party, and made his way to the Wabash, but without meeting any of the enemy.

These expeditions served little better purpose than to infuriate the Indians, and the depredations of the succeeding year (1788) were marked by greater frequency and audacity. The progress of the settlements

north of the river contributed to the same result. The different States claiming territory in the region northwest of the Ohio, having relinquished their pretensions, congress, on July 13, 1787, formulated an ordinance for its government; on the 27th instant Dr. Cutler and his associates had secured a grant of 3,500,000 acres on the Ohio and Scioto, extending eastward; in October St. Clair had been appointed governor, and 700 troops\* ordered for the defense of the region, and to prevent the unauthorized intrusion of the whites. In the succeeding winter the Ohio Company's surveyors and pioneers had reached the Youghiogheny, and on the 7th of April reached the mouth of the Muskingum, where the foundation of Marietta was laid. Here subsequent arrivals were more rapid than convenient covering could be provided, though houses were being constantly erected, and by the middle of December fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles as were to be seen in the older States, graced the first ball.

Such progress in the settlements of the whites might well challenge the attention of the savages, who, notwithstanding the recent treaties, still claimed the region north of the Ohio. Alarmed by the danger which thus threatened all alike, and exasperated by inclusive expeditions, the tribes generally united to resist the new encroachments. While the northern Indians were thus harassing the border settlements with redoubled effort, the southern tribes maintained their hostility with unabated vigor, and scarcely a month passed without its list of brutal murders and exasperating thefts. "In Kentucky," wrote Symmes, "a man a week falls by their hands, while on the river the increasing travel feels their vindictive power with scarcely less effect. An incautious landing was almost certain destruction, while skillful decoy narrow passages and accidents of navigation all served the murderous purpose of the relentless enemy. Emigrants soon learned to make the voyage in fleets, and were thus comparatively secure, but single boats, or the

\*These troops were stationed at Venango, Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh, on the Muskingum, on the Miami, at Vincennes and Louisville.

unshielded person of a passenger seldom escaped some permanent memorial of the sleepless enmity of the savages.

Despite these hostilities the settlements on both sides of the river continued to increase. Late in the fall, and in the succeeding winter, Symmes having secured his grant on the Miamis, the settlements of Columbia and Losantiville were established, which, contrary to expectation, were allowed by the savages, not only without molestation, but with expressions of good will and friendship. This change of sentiment did not extend to the settlements south of the river, however.

The hostile incursions into the Kentucky settlements in 1789 commenced early in March, and were continued occasionally until May, when they became frequent and alarming. These parties consisted chiefly of warriors from the towns upon the courses of the Little Miami and of branches flowing into the Scioto and Great Miami, and the field of their operations was the whole range of settlements near the Ohio, from Fort Harmar to the mouth of Salt River.

From the first of May to the first of August, there had been thirteen persons killed and ten wounded by the Indians in the county of Jefferson, beside twenty horses stolen. In the county of Nelson, two persons had been killed and two wounded, beside twenty horses stolen. In Lincoln County, two persons had been killed and two wounded, and twenty-five horses stolen. In Madison County, one person had been killed and three wounded, and ten horses stolen. In Bourbon County, two persons had been wounded, and fifteen horses stolen. In Mason County, two persons had been killed and forty-one horses stolen. In Woodford County, one boy had been killed, and several horses stolen. Many other harassing depredations of less note had been perpetrated by lurking parties of savages, so that the whole frontier region within thirty miles of the Ohio was kept in a state of continual alarm and apprehension. Parties of Indians often penetrated unperceived into the heart of Kentucky, at least fifty or sixty miles from the Ohio. In Woodford County, on the 10th of August, two men were fired upon by a party of Indians, but escaped with the loss of one horse, saddle and bridle. On the night succeeding, the same party stole eleven horses in that vicinity. A party of men set out next day in pursuit of the Indians, and, having overtaken them, killed two of them, and recovered most of the horses. On the 16th of August, a party of Indians in ambuscade captured six negroes. Having retreated half a mile with the captives, and bearing pursuit, they tomahawked four of them, and the other two escaped. Two of these, who were left for dead, finally recovered. The same

party on the following night stole a number of horses, with which they fled across the Ohio. Next day a party of forty men, under Lieut. Robert Johnson, set out in pursuit and followed them to the Ohio River, about twenty-five miles below the mouth of the Great Miami. Here part of the company returned, but twenty-six of them volunteered to cross the river, and continue the pursuit. Having followed their trail about twelve miles further, they came upon the Indians, encamped at a salt lick. By a vigorous and unexpected attack, in two divisions, the Indians were at length routed, and forty horses recovered. Lieut. Johnson lost two men killed and three wounded. Other parties of Indians had penetrated the settlements, and served to keep up alarm and apprehension among the frontier people; and occasional murders and depredations were continued, with but little intermission, until checked by the severity of winter. In December the Indians killed three men within twelve miles of Danville, at "Carpenter's Station," and five others on Russell's Creek, besides some who were wounded and escaped.\*

Early in January, 1789, new treaties were negotiated by the general government with the Iroquois, confirming the treaty of 1784 at Fort Stanwix; and with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies and Sacs, confirming and extending the treaty of Fort McIntosh, but these still left the cause of hostilities unsettled. So far as the Iroquois, Wyandots, Delawares and Shawanese were concerned, the transfers of territory thus effected were not disputed. But some time previous to 1787, a confederation of the other tribes of the northwest had been formed, which resolutely refused to acknowledge the act of certain of their tribes that were represented in the last named treaty. Of this fact they informed St. Clair, and demanded that the Ohio River be made the perpetual boundary between the white and red man. In spite of these representations, however, the settlements increased on the northern bank of the Ohio, and in June, 1789, Maj. Doughty, with 140 men, came to the site of Cincinnati and began the construction of Fort Washington, which, in the following December was further strengthened by the arrival of Gen. Harmar with 300 more troops.

Notwithstanding this show of power, the

\*History of Mississippi Valley, by John W. Monette, New York, 1846, Vol. II, pp. 158, 159.



hostile tribes continued their hostilities with the results noted, and opened the succeeding year (1790) with even more vigorous and extended effort to beat back the invaders than before. Again the vast numbers on the river attracted the vindictive rage of the savages, which fell with cruel effect upon inexperienced men, women and children, who were hastening to the inviting regions of the Ohio Valley. In January a boat containing ten persons was captured within sixteen miles of Limestone, and all murdered, save one woman, who was taken captive. In March a band of fifty Shawanese and Cherokees gathered at the mouth of the Scioto, and for several weeks almost blockaded the river. With white prisoners, whom they compelled to decoy boats to their relief, they deceived and captured a number of vessels, the crews of which fell an easy prey. Such as escaped this device suffered more or less from the rifles discharged from the banks. On the 20th of March they decoyed the boat of John May to the shore and captured it, killing May and a young woman, and taking the rest prisoners. On the following day an open pirogue with six men was fired upon and every one on board killed. In the latter part of the month a party of Wabash Indians captured a boat laden with salt, at the mouth of Salt River, and killed the three men in charge.

Nor were the settlements forgotten. In March, Indians captured and carried off three persons from Brashear's Creek, near Louisville, and a few days later killed two men working in a field in the same vicinity. Earlier in the month two men were killed, and a woman and five children taken captive in Kennedy's Bottom, twenty-five miles above Limestone.

The month of April was signalized by the remarkable audacity and success of Indian attacks. On the 2d instant several family boats were attacked near Kennedy's Bottom. One man was killed, and the rest of the company, abandoning one boat and its contents to the enemy, united their force, and after a chase of two hours, succeeded in effecting their escape with the others. On the 4th, after failing in their attempts to decoy three

family boats, the savages manned a capture barge with thirty warriors, and set out in vigorous pursuit. To preserve the lives of the non-combatants, two boats were abandoned and their crews transferred to the other barge, which, with oars double-manned, succeeded in escaping, after a vigorous pursuit of fifteen miles. The boats lost in this encounter contained twenty-eight horses, and dry goods, besides household furniture, to the value of nearly \$5,000. On Sunday, the 18th, a company of defenseless women and children, returning from church service at Hartford to a station on Rough Creek, were attacked by Indians, a boy and girl killed and scalped, an old woman tomahawked and scalped alive, and her daughter carried off captive.

On the 11th of May, a barge, containing a company of sixteen persons, including an officer and eight soldiers of the regular service, was captured by twenty warriors. Five of the captives were barbarously murdered, three escaped, and the rest were carried away. Soon after two boys out hunting near Loudon Station, on the head-waters of Drennon's Lick Creek, were captured. On the 23d a collection of men, women and children, returning home from a sermon on Beargrass Creek, were fired on by the savages, one man killed and a woman made captive. On being pursued, soon after, the captors tomahawked the woman and escaped unpunished. In June, of two spies, sent to reconnoiter toward the Ohio, one was killed near the Big Bone Lick. On the 19th, one man was killed and scalped, and another wounded, at Baker's Station. On the 26th, at Morgan's Station nine men were attacked and three of them wounded, one of them mortally. On the same day, a family boat, guarded by three men, was attacked near Three Islands, in the Ohio. There were sixteen of the Indians in four bark canoes. These approached the whites, boarded the boat in spite of their resistance, and took all on board prisoners.

Such effective hostilities on the part of the savages could not fail to call forth the most vigorous reprisals on the part of the Kentuckians, and, notwithstanding the peace policy

of the general government greatly hampered their movements, volunteer expeditions, carried on by individual enterprise and at individual expense, were constantly in motion along all the borders of Kentucky. Detachments were occasionally sent out from Forts Harmar and Washington to break up hostile camps in their near vicinity, but all these efforts did little more than to incite the unsubdued savages to more energetic action. In April, Gen. Scott, who had settled in Kentucky in 1786, led a body of 230 volunteers across the river at Limestone to chastise the marauders, who carried on their depredations from the mouth of the Scioto, but the expedition found the Indian camp abandoned, and effected nothing more serious than the killing of four of the enemy. This force was re-enforced by 100 regulars from Fort Harmar, but, in the main, in spite of this openly hostile attitude of the savages, the general government persisted in its policy of ignoring the state of war which actually existed, and from 1783 to 1790, exerted its influence to secure a peaceful solution of the trouble through treaties.

On the failure of the Wabash campaign in 1786, Clark had taken position at Vincennes with such troops as he could induce to remain, and, upon his own authority, attempted to negotiate with the neighboring tribes. This action was disallowed by the Virginian authorities, who recommended congress to appoint commissioners to conduct the negotiations. The suggestion reached congress too late for action in this matter, but in October (1787) action was taken to secure a conference with the savages early in 1788, and Gov. St. Clair was instructed accordingly. It was not until January 9, 1789, however, that anything was accomplished, when the futile treaties at Fort Harmar were negotiated. In pursuance of the general policy, and in order to reduce the exasperating conflicts between the Indians and Kentuckians, the president directed the governor of Virginia to discharge the scouts and rangers heretofore employed in the counties of Kentucky at public expense. This order was received (July, 1789,) by the settlers on the

exposed frontier with earnest protests from the leading men, and with practical refusal to obey it from the people.

There was little difference of opinion as to the character and necessities of the situation among those who were in a position to know the facts, and their oft-repeated representations gradually led the general government to adopt a less forbearing policy. As early as September 29, 1789, congress had empowered the president to call out the militia and he, on October 6, had authorized the territorial governor to draw 1,500 men from the western counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia, if absolutely necessary, but added instructions which required delay and further parley. Late in the same month, the Virginia legislature recognized the good intentions of the president, called his attention to the continued hostilities, and urged the adoption of aggressive measures. The Kentuckians supported this action of the legislature by numerous addresses, to one of which the president replied, on December 15, that measures for the defense of the frontier would certainly be taken, and a few days later, brought to the attention of congress a letter of Gov. St. Clair, in which he represented the nature of the Indian depredations;\* that the Kentuckians constantly traversed his territory in pursuit of the enemy, whom he was enabled to chastise; and recommending active measures against the savages. Accordingly, while the last means to avoid a war were being employed, the secretary of war wrote (April 13, 1790,) Judge Innes, that the president wished to extend to Kentucky the benefits of certain regulations adopted for the defense of the frontier, and empowered him to authorize the county lieutenants to call out the scouts in cases of emergency.

On the 1st or 2d of January, 1790, Gov. St. Clair reached Losantiville, the name of which he changed to Cincinnati, in honor of the military society bearing that name, and

\*The results of the partisan war, which had prevailed since 1783, were indeed startling, when summed up. In a calm presentation of the subject, it was stated upon personal knowledge that in the period referred to—1783 to 1790—1,500 persons had been killed or captured in Kentucky; 20,000 horses had been taken from immigrants or settlements, and household goods and other property stolen or destroyed to the value of \$50,000. (See American State Papers, Vol. V, p. 88.)



on the 8th instant reached Fort Steuben, on the site of Jeffersonville, from whence he set off for Kaskaskia. On the 5th of April, under instructions of the governor, the commandant at Vincennes sent Anthony Gamelin on a mission to the hostile Indians to learn their real sentiments. He first approached the Wabash tribes, the Piankeshaws, the Kickapoos and Weas, by whom he was severally referred to their elder brethren, the Miamis. Accordingly the envoy proceeded to the villages of the Miamis, who were closely associated with the Shawanese and Delawares. This point was reached on the 23d of the month, and on the following day negotiations were opened with the representatives of the three nations. Several days were consumed in inconclusive talks, the Indians wishing to confer with the neighboring and lake tribes, as well as the English commandant at Detroit, before rendering a final answer. This the instructions of the envoy did not permit, but on the 29th instant, the sentiment of the Indians was conveyed to him in a private manner, of which he makes record in his journal as follows:

In the evening, Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawanese, having taken me to supper with him, told me, in a private manner, that the Shawanese nation was in doubt of the sincerity of the Big Knives, so called, having been already deceived by them. That they had first destroyed their lands, put out their fires, and sent away their young men, being a hunting without a mouthful of meat; also, had taken away their women; wherefore, many of them would with a great deal of pain, forget these affronts. Moreover that some other nations were apprehending that offers of peace would, may be, tend to take away, by degrees, their lands; and would serve them as they did before; a certain proof that they intended to encroach on our lands, is their new settlement on the Ohio. If they don't keep this side (of the Ohio) clear, it will never be a proper reconciliation with the nations Shawanese, Iroquois, Wyandots, and perhaps many others. Le Gris, chief of the Miamis, asked me, in private discourse, what chief had made a treaty with the Americans at Muskingum (Fort Harmar). I answered him that their names were mentioned in the treaty. He told me he had heard of it some time ago; but they are not chiefs, neither delegates, who made that treaty; they are only young men, who, without authority and instructions from their chiefs, have concluded that treaty, which will not be approved. They went to the treaty clandestinely, and they in-

tend to make mention of it in the next council to be held.\*

With this Gamelin was forced to be satisfied, and on the 8th of May, returned to Vincennes. Three days later, traders from the Upper Wabash arrived at the same place bringing the news that the northern Indian had joined the Wabash tribes, and that three days after Gamelin's departure, an American captive had been burned in their village. War was thus seen to be inevitable, and St. Clair hastened to return to Fort Washington in order to concert offensive measures with Gen. Harmar. The governor reached his destination on the 13th of July, and two days later called upon Virginia for 1,000 men and on Pennsylvania for 500 more. A double campaign was planned, one movement to be conducted against the Wabash tribes, for which 300 of the militia were ordered to repair to Fort Steuben, to act in concert with the troops from Fort Knox, at Vincennes. The other was to be directed against the villages at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph Rivers, for which 700 of the militia were to gather at Fort Washington, and 500 just below Wheeling, to act in conjunction with a body of regulars, under Harmar, from Fort Washington.

Under the call for troops, the quota for that portion of the district of Kentucky included within the counties of Nelson, Lincoln and Jefferson was fixed at 300 men, to rendezvous at Fort Steuben on the 12th of September, and of that within the counties of Madison, Mercer, Fayette, Bourbon, Woodford and Mason, the quota was fixed at 700 men, to rendezvous at Fort Washington, on the 15th of September. There was a strong and widespread aversion, on the part of the frontier militia, to serve with the regulars, or under the command of their officers, and the troops which responded to the call of St. Clair, were totally unlike those who had hitherto afforded such exalted evidence of the prowess of the frontiersmen.

They were ill-equipped, being almost destitute of camp-kettles and axes; nor could a supply of these essential articles be procured. Their arms were generally very bad, and unfit for service; as I was

\*American State Papers, Vol. V, p. 93.

he commanding officer of the artillery, they came under my inspection, in making what repairs the time would permit; and as a specimen of their badness, I would inform the court, that a rifle was brought to be repaired without a lock, and another without a stock. I often asked the owners what induced them to think that those guns could be repaired at that time? And they gave me for an answer that they were told in Kentucky that all repairs would be made at Fort Washington. Many of the officers told me that they had no idea of there being half the number of bad arms in the whole district of Kentucky as were then in the hands of their men. As soon as the principal part of the Kentucky militia arrived, the general began to organize them; in this he had many difficulties to encounter. Col. Trotter aspired to the command although Col. Hardin was the eldest officer, and in this he was encouraged both by men and officers, who openly declared unless Col. Trotter commanded them they would return home. After two or three days the business was settled, and they (*i. e.* the Kentucky men) were formed into three battalions under the command of Col. Trotter, and Col. Hardin had the command of all the militia (both Pennsylvania and Virginia). As soon as they were arranged, they were mustered, crossed the Ohio, and on the twenty-sixth marched and encamped about ten miles from Fort Washington. The last of the Pennsylvania militia arrived on the twenty-fifth of September. They were equipped nearly as the Kentucky, but were worse armed; several were without any. The general ordered all the arms in store to be delivered to those who had none and those whose guns could not be repaired. Amongst the militia were a great many hardly able to bear arms, such as old, infirm men, and young boys; they were not such as might be expected from a frontier country, viz.: the smart active woodsmen, well accustomed to arms, eager and alert to revenge the injuries done them and their connections. No, there were a great number of them substitutes, who probably had never fired a gun. Maj. Paul, of Pennsylvania, told me, that many of his men were so awkward, that they could not take their gunlocks off to oil them and put them on again, nor could they put in their flints, so as to be useful; and even of such material, the numbers came far short of what was ordered, as may be seen by the returns.\*

\*Maj. Ferguson's evidence before court of inquiry. See American State Papers, Vol. XII, p. 20. In the same volume, page 24, is found an account of the organization and advance of the army as follows: The Kentuckians composed three battalions, under Majs. Hall, McMullen and Ray, with Lieut.-Col. Commandant Trotter at their head. The Pennsylvanians were formed into one battalion, under Lieut.-Col. Trubly and Maj. Paul, the whole to be commanded by Col. John Hardin, subject to the orders of Gen. Harmar. The 30th, the General having got forward all the supplies that he expected, moved out with the Federal troops, formed into two small battalions, under the immediate command of Maj. Wyllis and Maj. Doughty, together with Capt. Ferguson's company of artillery and three pieces of ordnance. On the 3d of October, Gen. Harmar joined the advance troops early in the morning; the remaining part of the day was spent in forming the line of march, the order of encampment and battle, and explaining the same to the militia field officers. Gen. Harmar's orders will show the several formations. On the 4th, the army took up the order of march as is described in the

Thus constituted and organized, the expedition set forth on the 4th of October. The route followed was the "old war-path," which led across the head-waters of the Little Miami and Mad Rivers to Piqua, and thence in a westerly direction to a few miles below the mouth of Loramie's Creek. From this point the line of march lay a little west of north on the west side of the creek for about thirty miles, when, crossing the head-waters of the St. Mary's, it led up to its junction with the St. Joseph's, where were located the principal villages of the Miamis. At Loramie's Creek, the first Indians were seen, three warriors, who were evidently watching the movements of the army. They were instantly pursued and one of them captured. From information thus derived, it was determined on the 13th of October, when about thirty-five miles from the village, to send a strong detachment forward to hold the savages in their defenses until the rest of the army with the artillery could be brought up. Accordingly, Col. Hardin and Maj. Paul were detailed in command of 600 men for this duty. On the 14th, the detachment set forward, and about 3 o'clock on the next day reached the villages, which they found deserted. Here the advance remained inactive until the approach of the main army on the 17th, when the work of destruction was begun. In four days the main village and four others and 20,000 bushels of corn were destroyed.

Gen. Harmar's instructions provided that, in case of success at this point, the expedition should be directed against the Indian villages on the Wabash, and on finding the enemy gone, it was the General's intention to proceed westward at once. This movement was frustrated, however, by the carelessness of the militia, who, regardless of the success of the movement, allowed the savages to easily capture the pack-horses, for which the owners,

orders: On the 5th, a re-enforcement of horsemen and mounted infantry joined from Kentucky. The dragoons were formed into two troops; the mounted riflemen made a company, and this small battalion of light troops was put under command of Maj. Fontaine. The whole of Gen. Harmar's command may be stated thus:

3 battalions of Kentucky militia	} 1133
1 battalion Pennsylvania militia	
1 battalion light troops mounted militia	} 320
2 battalions Federal troops	

Total	1453
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after demanding pay for their use, promptly asked reimbursement for their loss. The proposed attack upon the Wabash villages was therefore given up, and the traces of women and children having been discovered, Col. Trotter was dispatched with 300 men, on the 18th, to develop the hiding-place of the enemy. The conduct of this officer was very unsatisfactory. A small force of the enemy was found, but such was the lack of discipline and soldierly bearing of both officers and men, that nothing was accomplished. Dissatisfied with the inconclusive result, Hardin assumed the command on the following day, and at an early hour came upon a determined detachment of the enemy. Here the unsoldierly conduct of Hardin precipitated a sad defeat. When informed of the evidence which betokened the presence of a watchful enemy, he declared they would not fight, and failed to adopt any military precautions. He was, therefore, riding in front of his troops when the Indians opened a sharp fire upon the troops, forcing him to make a quick retreat, in which he was followed by most of his followers. Nine of the militia and twenty-four of the regulars stood fast, and were instantly killed. Armstrong, who was in command of the detachment thus immolated, threw himself into a thicket, where for "three hours in daylight" he remained, according to Marshall, sunk in a swamp, "up to his neck in mud and water within 100 yards of the horrid scene." He subsequently escaped, and gave the following opinion of the causes of the defeat. "During that time," he says, "I had an opportunity of seeing the enemy pass and repass, and conceived their numbers did not amount to 100 men; some were mounted, others armed with rifles, and the advance, with tomahawks only. I am of opinion that had Col. Trotter proceeded, on the 18th, agreeably to his orders, having killed the enemy's sentinels, he would have surprised their camp and with ease defeated them; or had Col. Hardin arranged his troops, or made any military disposition, on the 19th, that he would have gained a victory. Our defeat I therefore ascribe to two causes: the unofficer-like conduct of Col. Hardin (who I believe was a

brave man) and the cowardly behavior of the militia; many of them threw down their arms loaded, and I believe that none except the party under my command fired a gun.\*

With an army on the verge of insubordination, its councils distracted by the jealous rivalry of officers, and the whole organization utterly lacking in discipline and equipment, such a defeat was calculated to hurry the retreat of the most determined general, and on the 21st instant the expedition began its retrograde movement toward Fort Washington. But Hardin, uneasy under his defeat, strongly urged Harmar to permit him to return that night to the destroyed villages and inflict punishment upon the savages, who were likely to return to their old sites on the retreat of the army. To this the general reluctantly assented, and a detachment of 34 militia, forty of whom were mounted and sixty regular troops, were sent under the command of Hardin and Maj. Wylls to effect the object proposed by Col. Hardin. Unfortunate delays occurred, but notwithstanding these, had there been no wanton disobedience of orders, the plan would probably have succeeded. As it was, the attack fell soon after sunrise, and the Indians, giving way with precipitation, were heedlessly followed by the militia, leaving the small body of regulars alone to hold the line of battle. The savages had not been so demoralized as at first appeared, and rallying their main body they fell upon the unsupported regulars in overwhelming numbers, and utterly destroyed them. The militia, in the meantime, found they had only been led away by a clever stratagem, and after a pursuit of two miles sought to return. It was then that they found the real enemy. The line of their retreat was a continuous ambuscade, the savages safely pouring a destructive fire from elevated ground into the ranks of the returning militia. But eight of the regulars survived, and of the militia, 10 privates and ten officers were killed, besides those wounded.

On rejoining the main body, Hardin urged the general to send another party, or lead back the whole army to the scene of the de-

\*American State Papers, Vol. XII, p. 26.

eat. This Harmar refused to do, and, according to Col. Hardin's statement, but one other man in the whole army could be found to support his proposition. The retreat was slow steadily continued, until the remains of the expedition was once more within the defenses from which it set forth, and here the militia was discharged to spread the jealous discontent, which had narrowly escaped expression in general mutiny on the homeward march. Hardin and Harmar rapidly became exceedingly unpopular in Kentucky; and such was the general censure of their conduct in this campaign, that each sought a negative sort of defense against public opinion in an acquittal before a court of inquiry. In official circles, however, the campaign obtained more credit. Harmar and St. Clair considered it highly successful; the whites had inflicted a loss upon the Indians of fifty warriors slain, a large quantity of corn destroyed, and five or six villages burned, the largest of which contained 250 cabins. The invaders had lost, beside considerable material, 183 men killed, and about forty wounded. The list of casualties was undoubtedly large in proportion to the achievements of the army, but the general offset of this consideration with the fact that the whites were "able to lose ten men to their one," and that, notwithstanding the retreat seemed forced, the great object of the campaign, "the destruction of the Miami towns," had been accomplished.

In respect to its achievements, the campaigns of other leaders on the frontier had scarcely accomplished more, but it could not be disguised that the expedition had signally failed in the main purpose for which all aggressive movements were primarily planned, that of intimidating the savages. On the contrary, the Indians looked upon the campaign as a failure and followed the retreating whites almost to the river, and were especially active in their depredations during the succeeding fall and winter. In the spring, their war parties continued their incursions against the unprotected settlements on the Ohio from Fort Pitt to Louisville with unabated ardor, achieving in this time some of their most noted successes. The general govern-

ment recognized the necessity for decisive action, and early adopted measures for subduing the exultant savages. A threefold plan was accordingly resorted to. It was decided to first send to the western tribes a messenger, supported, if possible, by the presence of influential Iroquois chiefs, with offers of peace. At the same time provisions were made to organize a volunteer expedition to be directed against the Wea, Miami and Shawanese towns in case the negotiations should fail, and to follow this movement by an overwhelming federal force which should invade the hostile region, and plant and garrison a fort in the midst of the unfriendly tribes. In the meantime, to guard the exposed stations from immediate attack, certain posts on the frontier were indicated which were to be regularly garrisoned by the militia.\*

Col. Thomas Proctor, the chosen messenger of peace, set out from Philadelphia March 12, 1791, and it was hoped that he would be able to reach Fort Washington with a report of his mission by the 5th of May. In the preceding December, the Kentuckians had petitioned congress to be permitted to fight the Indians in their own way, and accordingly in March, Brig.-Gen. Charles Scott was authorized, in conjunction with Innes, Brown, Logan and Shelby, to organize an expedition of mounted men against the Wabash tribes, which should start on the 10th of May, provided it was not delayed by the order of St. Clair, to whom such authority was given.

The failure of Proctor to reach, or send news to, Fort Washington, did effect the delay of the expedition until the 23d instant, when, despairing of favorable news from the north, St. Clair gave orders for the force to proceed.

Gen. Scott's command consisted of some 800 light troops and mounted riflemen. Wilkinson had joined as a volunteer, but was at once elected second in command, with

\*The stations in Kentucky, and their garrisons, were as follows: At Three Islands, 20 men; at Locust Creek, 18; the "Iron Works," 17; forks of the Licking, 12; Big Bone Lick, 18; Tanner's Station, 5; Drenon's Lick, 10; mouth of Kentucky, 9; Patton's Creek, 10; mouth of Salt River, 19; Hardin's settlement, 12; Russell's Creek, 15; Severn's Valley, 10; Widow Wilson's, 5; Estill's Station, 10; Stephenson's, 18; Knob Lick, 9.



the title of lieutenant-colonel commandant. Col. Hardin, burning to redeem his military reputation, had also joined the expedition as a volunteer, and was placed in command of the advance guard and the guides. The little army rapidly pursued the course of Harmar's expedition until it crossed the St. Mary's, when suddenly taking a westward course it came upon the Wabash and Eel River towns. The former were sighted on the 1st of June, and found situated on the low ground bordering the river. Col. Hardin was immediately detached with a force to attack them on the left, while the main body moved forward by the direct approach. On turning a point of woods, the main body discovered a cabin situated considerably in advance of the village. This was promptly stormed by Capt. Price with forty men, and two warriors killed. On gaining the summit of an eminence, which overlooked the villages, the enemy was observed in great confusion, endeavoring to escape across the river in canoes. Wilkinson was ordered forward with the first battalion, which reached the brink of the river just as the last of the enemy left the shore, and notwithstanding a brisk discharge of guns from the Kickapoo town on the other side, the troops opened fire on the retreating Indians with such effect as to "destroy all the savages with which five canoes were crowded."

Immediate steps were taken to dislodge the enemy, who had taken position in the Kickapoo town, but, the river proving unfordable, there was some delay, though a considerable force, by swimming or in canoes, got on the other side unobserved. About this time word came to Gen. Scott that Hardin was encumbered with prisoners, and that having discovered a stronger village, hitherto unobserved and farther to the left, he was about to attack it. Troops were at once detached for his support, but the village being some six miles distant, all was over before the supports came up. A little before sunset, Hardin returned with fifty-two prisoners, besides inflicting a loss of six warriors killed. The Kickapoo town having been abandoned as soon as the movement to that side was dis-

covered, the troops rested until next morning when it was proposed to dispatch Wilkinson with 500 men to destroy an important town at the mouth of the Wild Cat Creek, eighteen miles distant. On parading the troops they were found in such an exhausted condition that only 360 were believed capable of performing the service, but with this reduced force the march was begun on foot at "half-past five in the evening." The vicinity of the town was reached about 11 o'clock that night, when the troops went to rest upon their arms until morning. At half-past four the towns were attacked on all sides, and the Indians, completely surprised, instantly took refuge in flight. After burning the town consisting of some seventy cabins, and destroying the growing crops, peltries and other belongings, the detachment returned, having been gone only about twelve hours.

The expedition now turned homeward, and on the 14th of June reached Louisville. The result of the campaign had done much to justify the hesitation which the Kentuckians manifested in joining the regulars in such expeditions. In three weeks they had traveled more than 300 miles; had engaged in numerous skirmishes with the enemy; had burned several large towns and adjacent villages; destroyed immense quantities of growing crops; killed thirty-two Indians, "chiefly warriors of size and figure," and taken fifty-eight prisoners. All this had been accomplished without the loss of a single man killed, and of only five wounded among the whites. Such success could not fail of recognition, and the general government, not yet ready to exert its power, authorized a second expedition by the Kentuckians to be directed against the Eel River towns. Wilkinson was appointed to organize and command the next expedition, who, with Hardin and Caldwell as majors, soon raised a force of 530 mounted men.

On the 1st of August, these troops set forth from Fort Washington, and rapidly following the course toward the Miami towns, as before, turned again toward the west, and on the 7th of August came suddenly upon the towns upon the Eel and Tippecanoe

branches of the Wabash. The former were found "scattered along Eel River for full three miles, on an uneven, scrubby oak barren, intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets of plum, hazel and black jacks." The Indians, expecting a second expedition, had prepared for it by packing and burying their goods; the warriors were generally absent watching the paths leading up from the Ohio, or procuring ammunition, and so sudden and determined was the onset that few in the town escaped. Eight warriors were killed and one wounded. After burning the cabins, and cutting up the corn, which was "scarcely in the milk," the troops set out for the Kickapoo town in the prairie, but such was the state of the country and the sore condition of the horses, that this enterprise had to be given up, and the expedition, after ravaging much of the Wabash and Weatonon country, and traveling some 450 miles, returned to Fort Washington, where it arrived on the 23d of August.

In the meantime, while Wilkinson was floundering up to his armpits in the boggy Wabash country, and Proctor was making his ineffectual attempts to gain an audience with the disaffected tribes, the government was gradually perfecting arrangements to carry out the third part of the proposed programme—"to establish a strong military post at the Miami Village," to be supported by a chain of similar posts connecting it with Fort Washington. St. Clair had been selected for the chief command.

At the close of April he was in Pittsburgh, toward which point troops from all quarters, horses, stores and ammunition were going forward. The forces, it was thought, would be assembled by the last of July or the first of August. By the middle of July, however, it was clear that the early part of September would be as soon as the expedition could get under way; but the commander was urged to press everything, and act with the utmost promptness and decision. But this was more easily urged than accomplished. On the 15th of May, St. Clair had reached Fort Washington, and at that time, the United States' troops in the West amounted to but 264 non-commissioned officers and privates fit for duty;\* on the 15th of July, this num-

ber was more than doubled, however, as the first regiment, containing 299 men, on that day reached Fort Washington. Gen. Butler, who had been appointed second in command, was employed through part of April and May in obtaining recruits; but when obtained, there was no money to pay them, nor to provide stores for them. In the quartermaster's department, meantime, everything went on slowly and badly; tents, pack-saddles, kettles, knapsacks and cartridge-boxes were all "deficient in quantity and quality." Worse than this, the powder was poor or injured, the arms and accoutrements out of repair, and not even proper tools to mend them. And as the troops gathered slowly at Fort Washington, after some wearisome detentions at Pittsburgh and upon the river, a new source of trouble arose in the habits of intemperance indulged in and acquired by the idlers. To withdraw them from temptation, St. Clair was forced to remove his men, now numbering 2,000, to Ludlow's Station, about six miles from the fort; by which, however, he more than doubled his cost of providing for the troops. Here the army continued until September 17, when, being 2,300 strong, exclusive of militia, it moved forward to a point upon the Great Miami, where Fort Hamilton was built, the first in the proposed chain of fortresses. This being completed the troops moved on forty-four miles farther, and on the 12th of October commenced Fort Jefferson, about six miles south of the town of Greenville, Darke County. On the 24th, the toilsome march through the wilderness began again. At this time the commander-in-chief, whose duties through the summer had been very severe, was suffering from an indisposition, which was by turns in his stomach, lungs and limbs; provisions were scarce; the roads wet and heavy; the troops going with "much difficulty," seven miles a day; the militia deserting sixty at a time. Thus toiling along, the army—rapidly lessening by desertion, sickness and troops sent to arrest deserters—on the 3d of November, reached a stream twelve yards wide, which St. Clair supposed to be the St. Mary of the Maumee, but which was in reality a branch of the Wabash, just south of the head-waters of the stream for which the commander mistook it. Upon the banks of this creek, the army, now about 1,400 strong, encamped in two lines.\*

The right wing, composed of Butler's, Clark's and Patterson's battalions, and commanded by Gen. Butler, constituted the first line; and seventy yards in the rear, which was all the space the situation would allow, was the second line, formed by the left wing of Col. Darke, and composed of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions, and the Second Regiment. Across the creek, about a quarter of a mile in advance of the main body, the

\*Forty-five at Fort Harmar, seventy-five at Fort Washington, sixty-one at Fort Stueben, and eighty-three at Fort Knox (Vincennes).

\*Annals of the West, pp. 358, 359.



militia was encamped in similar order. It was proposed on the following day to inclose the main camp before proceeding toward the Miami towns, and plans of the intended fortification were agreed upon between the engineer officer and St. Clair that night. But these plans were destined to remain unaccomplished. The Indians had been gathering to dispute the passage of the army, and several had been observed near the creek who had precipitately fled on the approach of the troops. Orders had been given to Lieut.-Col. Oldham, who commanded the militia, to have the woods thoroughly examined by his scouts, while Capt. Slough, with a volunteer troop of regulars, reconnoitered still farther in advance. Slough in the night discovered so strong a body of the enemy, a mile beyond the foremost camp, that he prudently fell back and reported the fact to Gen. Butler. Oldham also detected the presence of the savages in significant numbers, and reported the fact to the same officer, but for some unexplained reason this important information did not reach St. Clair, nor induce Butler or Oldham to make any new disposition to meet the imminent danger thus discovered.

Thus the night passed, and in the morning, considerably before daylight, as was the constant practice, the troops were paraded under arms. About half an hour before sunrise, however, just as the troops had been dismissed, the savages opened a fierce attack upon the militia. They soon gave way in a disorderly scramble for the rear, and rushing through the first line, with the Indians at their heels, threw it into considerable disorder, which was never altogether remedied. The fire of this line, however, checked the victorious pursuit for the moment, but the enemy returned to the attack with renewed vigor, and with the second line it was immediately involved in a desperate struggle with the intrepid assailants. The weight of the attack was directed against the center, where the artillery was placed, and such was the effect of the concentrated fire that the troops were repeatedly driven back at this point with great slaughter, and the cannon silenced, the artillerymen being all killed or driven off.

A charge by Col. Darke afforded temporary relief, but the savages soon gained the interior of the camp by a flank movement, and wrested the only line of retreat from the sorely beset troops. Confusion was rapid spreading among the whites, in spite of the gallant efforts of the officers, and retreat was the only course left open to the commander. To effect this movement with moderate success the road must be regained, and charge was accordingly ordered. Fortunately, it proved successful, and along the route thus opened the militia hastened, followed by the regulars, Maj. Darke with his battalion covering the rear. In his official report to the secretary of war St. Clair said:

The retreat, in those circumstances, was, you may be sure, a very precipitate one. It was, in fact, a flight. The camp and artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable; for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles had ceased. I found the road strewn with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself, and the orders I sent forward either to halt at the front, or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to. The rout continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sun-setting. The action began about half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat was attempted at half an hour after nine o'clock. I have not yet been able to get returns of the killed and wounded, but Maj.-Gen. Butler, Lieut.-Col. Oldham, of the militia, Maj. Ferguson, Maj. Hart and Maj. Clarke are among the former; Col. Sargent, my adjutant-general, Lieut.-Col. Darke, Lieut.-Col. Gibson, Maj. Butler, and the Viscount Malartie, who served me as aid-de-camp, are among the latter; and a great number of captains and subalterns in both.

At Fort Jefferson a garrison was left in charge of the defenses and the wounded, while the demoralized army pressed on to Fort Washington, where it arrived in broken detachments on the 8th of November. The troops had suffered a terrible loss. In the one disastrous battle 38 commissioned officers were killed, and 600 non-commissioned officers and privates were either killed or missing. Among the wounded were 21 commis-

tioned officers, and 242 non-commissioned officers and privates. The loss of the Indians killed was placed at 56. But disheartening as was this comparison, scarcely anything can be reckoned more permanently serious, among the disasters of this unfortunate campaign, than the utter demoralization of the troops. So overcome with terror were the men that it was with difficulty that the sentinels at Fort Jefferson were prevented from systematically deserting, and the militia, dispersing to their homes, spread the consternation throughout the border.\*

The odium of this campaign fell heaviest upon St. Clair, though a congressional committee soon after the event, and history, much later, have exonerated him from blame. The unfortunate commander, "a veteran of the Revolution, possessed of both talent and experience, but old and infirm," was an unhappy selection, but the more prominent causes which contributed to the disaster are to be sought elsewhere. The leading causes of the disaster were the surprise of the enemy and the unsteadiness of the militia. What good reasons could be assigned for the neglect of Butler and Oldham to adopt precautions in face of a well ascertained danger, and for their failure to acquaint St. Clair with the facts, can never be known, as both of the delinquent officers lost their lives upon the field of battle, but they may be held principally responsible for the unexpected character of the attack.

The militia was similar to that which served with Harmar. The contrast drawn between the campaigns of Scott and Wilkinson and that of the former general did not

tend to remove the general prejudice existing among the Kentuckians against serving with regulars. To this was added a growing preference for the mounted service, and when the government called for volunteers, no general officer could be found who would accept command, and none of the best fighting force who would offer their service. Resort was, therefore, had to a draft, and the command of the troops thus raised assigned to Lieut.-Col. Oldham. This militia served with great reluctance, and sought every opportunity to desert, a body of sixty men turning back on October 31st, in spite of their officers. It was such depletions and the absence of troops sent to bring them back that reduced St. Clair's effective force at the time of battle. Probably not more than 500 of these half-hearted troops were present when the Indians attacked, and having no relish for the work, nor any cohesive power as a collective body, they easily gave way under the effect of the surprise and a vigorous assault. In their headlong stampede they were scarcely less effective than the enemy in demoralizing the army.

Whatever may be said of the causes, the effect was not in doubt. The savages, emboldened by their success, renewed their attacks upon all the frontier settlements, and Kentucky, which, in 1791, had "enjoyed more repose, and sustained less injury, than for any year since the war with Great Britain," was once more harassed by hostilities which for nearly twenty years had kept the people upon the verge of despair. The counties of Mason, Bourbon, Nelson and Jefferson were the chief sufferers. In this exposed region the settlers maintained patrolling parties of volunteers, which scoured the country in all directions with such effect as to greatly limit the success of the enemy's incursions, but, in spite of these precautions, the settlers suffered the most cruel losses.

An incident related of the heroic defense of a cabin in Innis Bottom, on the Elkhorn, illustrates the common experience of the period. Six families had settled here in the latter part of 1791, and in the succeeding spring the various cabins were simultaneously

\*One of many petitions sent to the governor or president will suffice to illustrate the state of public feeling in Kentucky. "From the representatives of the county of Ohio to the governor of Virginia—Sir: The alarming intelligence lately received, of the defeat of the army in the western country, fills our mind with dreadful fears and apprehensions, concerning the safety of our fellow-citizens in the county we represent, and we confidently hope will be an excuse to your Excellency, whose zeal has been so frequently evinced in behalf of the distressed frontier counties, for the request we are now compelled to make. In the course of last year upward of fifty of our people were killed, and a great part of our country plundered, notwithstanding the aid afforded by the Pennsylvanians, who joined the Virginians in our defense. The success of the Indians in their late engagement with Gen. St. Clair, will, no doubt, render them more daring and bold in their future incursions and attacks upon our defenseless inhabitants; (those adjoining the county of Harrison, extending a hundred miles; covering the county of Monongalia; and we conceive that not less than sixty or seventy men will be sufficient to defend them. Through you, sir, we beg leave to request this assistance." (American State Papers, Vol. V, p. 222).



assaulted by upward of 100 savages. Jesse and Hosea Cook, with their families, occupied one of the cabins, and at the time of the attack the men were shearing their sheep in front of the cabin door. The first fire killed one of the brothers, and mortally wounded the other, who had just enough strength left to gain the interior before he expired. The women immediately closed and barred the door, which, being unusually heavy, repelled the bullets fired into it by the Indians as well as the assaults of their tomahawks.

In the meantime the women searched in vain for means to defend their log citadel. No bullets could be found for a time, and the assailants, believing there was nothing to fear from the inmates, carelessly exposed themselves in front. Fortunately a single bullet was at length discovered, which one of the women, with nervous strength, bit in two. A rifle was hastily charged with one part, and observing a savage sitting astride a log a few feet from the door, the courageous woman discharged the gun and instantly killed him. This deed turned the fury of the assailants upon the cabin, and, mounting upon the roof they fired the clapboards. Not a moment was lost in confronting the new danger. One woman mounted to the loft, while the other handed up water that was found within. This sufficed to check, but not extinguish the fire. The water exhausted, a quantity of eggs was crushed and applied to the burning roof. Still the fire was unsubdued, and recourse was had to the dead man's coat saturated with his blood. These expedients still left enough life in the fire to endanger their lives, when the contents of a "chamber bucket," relieved them from this danger, and eventually proved their salvation, as the savages soon afterward hastily decamped.

Such incidents called forth numerous reprisals, of which none were more bold and effective than those conducted by Kenton. Situated near the direct route of the war parties from the North, his watchfulness generally obtained the earliest information of their presence in Kentucky. His promptness

to act usually brought him upon the heels of the retreating marauders, who seldom escaped with all their booty, and generally paid the penalty of their temerity with the lives of some of their number. In this year (1792) he came in contact with a band under the command of the famous chieftain, Tecumseh. The depredations by Indians on the Little Miami aroused the settlers to concert measures for revenge, and an expedition was organized with Kenton in command. The little party of rangers cautiously advanced across the Ohio, and up the course of the former river to near the present site of Williamsburg, before they discovered any fresh "signs." Here a single Indian on horseback, hunting with bell open, was waylaid and killed. A few hundred yards farther on brought the party in sight of a considerable encampment of Indians. Their linen tents and markees indicated that they had shared the spoils of St. Clair's defeat, and that their number was greatly superior to that of the whites. Relying upon the effect of its audacity and surprise, Kenton determined to make a night attack. The day closed in dark and drizzly, and having separated into four divisions, a simultaneous attack was made at the appointed time. Each rifle did execution upon a warrior at the first fire, when the rangers charged with terrific yells upon the tents. The first alarm and confusion having subsided, under the influence of their able leader, the Indians were led to observe the small number of the assailants, and to return to the fight. Kenton, equally quick to note the change and its import, gave orders to retreat, which was effected in safety. The band subsequently proved to be a party of 200 warriors under Tecumseh. Thirty were killed outright, and others wounded; the whites lost one killed and one captured, who was executed by the savages on the following morning.

In June, 1793, the Indians had attacked and captured Morgan's Station, and then retired to a village on Paint Creek. This again called out Kenton, who with thirty men hastily took the trail, hoping to intercept their retreat near the Scioto. On reach-

ing Reeve's Crossing on Paint Creek, "fresh signs" were discovered, and a reconnoissance developed the fact that the Indians had encamped some distance down the creek with three fires. The savages, utterly unsuspecting of danger, were giving vent to their satisfaction in singing and carousal, and the whites, after inspecting the camp, deferred the attack until just before daylight the next morning. Kenton divided his party into three equal divisions, which, at a given signal, made a furious attack from three different directions. The Indians were put to flight with the greatest consternation, leaving four of their number dead upon the ground. The whites lost one man killed.

Again, in August of the same year, the reports brought to Kenton the information that a party of savages had crossed the river. Promptly sending the news to the militia officers of Bourbon County, Kenton prepared to waylay the Indians upon their retreat. With a party of seven chosen spirits he crossed the river at Limestone and proceeded down to the mouth of Holt's Creek. After waiting nearly four days, three Indians were observed to approach with six horses. The animals were driven into the river, and, seizing a canoe which they had previously sunk, the savages followed. As the canoe approached the shore, one of its occupants was discovered to be a white man and he was spared, but the Indians fell victims to the snuffing marksmanship of the rangers. The white man, however, proved so thoroughly胆量化 that Kenton's party was obliged to shoot him in self defense. Four hours later, two more Indians and a white man with their horses approached in a similar manner, and met a similar fate.

In the night the main body came up with thirty horses, and began to signal their comrades by imitating the hooting of owls. Receiving no response the wary savages became suspicious, and after a cautious reconnoissance, one of their number quietly swam across the river. He soon discovered the location of his friends, and quickly gaining the hills in the rear of the whites signaled the waiting savages south of the river with three

loud and long yells, which were followed by a warning of the lurking danger in their native tongue. This warning was quickly acted upon by the Indians, who instantly fled, leaving their booty to fall into the hands of the militia, which came up in hot haste an hour later. This is believed to have been the last incursion of the Indians into Kentucky.

In the meantime, the government had not been unmindful of the necessities of the situation. The disastrous battle was fought on the 4th of November; on the 8th, the broken fragments of the army reached Fort Washington; on the 9th, St. Clair wrote his report; on December 12th, the information was laid before congress; and on the 26th of the same month, the secretary of war, Gen. Knox, submitted to the president the outlines of new measures to be undertaken against the hostile tribes. Before this date, however, it was generally agreed among the responsible heads of the government that a new campaign, with a competent army, would be required, but it was the wish, chiefly of Washington, that the last possible effort to prevent further bloodshed should first be exhausted. This disposition gained a wider support because it was generally feared that the effect of St. Clair's defeat had been such as to shake the loyalty of the hitherto friendly nations, and that premature action might precipitate the tribes all along the border into a general war.

Accordingly, the greatest activity was displayed in dispatching envoys bearing messages of peace to the various Indian nations. In January, 1792, two agents were sent from Philadelphia, *via* Niagara, to the Miami and Wabash tribes. In February, the efforts of the commandants at Forts Washington and Knox were enlisted, and on April 7th Freeman was dispatched from the former post on a peace mission; on the 13th instant, William May followed his trail and "deserted" to the enemy to aid or learn of Freeman. On May 22d, Capt. Trueman was sent on an embassy to the Miami village; and on the same day, Col. Hardin set out for Sandusky. With the exception of May,



none of the envoys thus sent out from Fort Washington escaped death at the hands of the treacherous savages.

In the East, affairs with the Iroquois seemed to progress with a better show of success. In March, fifty of their chiefs visited Philadelphia, and returned to use their good offices in behalf of peace at the council of the northwest Indians, to be held at the mouth of the Auglaize. At this grand convocation, beside the western, New York and Canadian Indians, there were twenty-seven other nations present, but no decisive action was taken. The matter of peace and war was referred to another council, to be held in the spring, but the prevailing sentiment of the assembled natives was that the Ohio must be made the boundary between the races, and the treaties of Forts Harmar and McIntosh annulled. To such an impotent conclusion did the year's negotiations come.

An unimportant exception to this list of failures occurred in the West. On June 26 Rufus Putnam set out from Marietta for the Miami towns, but learning at Fort Washington of the probable fate of his predecessors, and the hostilities of the savages, he determined to go to Vincennes to detach the Wabash tribes from the general league, if possible. He set forth from Cincinnati on the 17th of August, with presents and certain Indian prisoners to be given to their friends. Safely reaching his destination, Putnam opened negotiations with such address that on the 27th of September he concluded a treaty with ten of the leading tribes, but as the senate refused to ratify it, it also must be added to the list of failures.

The sterner argument of force, however, had not been entirely lost sight of amid all this futile negotiation. In January, 1792, St. Clair had proceeded to Philadelphia to demand a court of inquiry, leaving Wilkinson, appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Second Regiment, in command at Fort Washington. The posts erected in the previous year were still held by garrisons of regulars and detachments of militia, to keep the savages, who lurked about them, in awe. Soon

after St. Clair's departure the new commandant led a body of regulars and militia, under Maj. Gano, to relieve the garrison at Fort Jefferson, and from that point advanced to the scene of the late battle where he collected more than 200 muskets and brought them to the fort, with three or eight gun carriages, from which the cannon had been taken. As spring advanced the number of lurking savages increased, attacking supply trains and relieving detachments with the hope of forcing the abandonment of these detached posts.

The most serious of these attacks occurred on the 6th of November. Capt. John Adair, with 100 mounted Kentuckians, had been called out to escort a "brigade of pack horses" to Fort Jefferson. The trip out and back to Cincinnati took six days, the train camping each night near one of the forts for protection. It happened about the same time that a body of 250 savages had concerted an attack on one of the Miami settlements and in passing Fort Hamilton had captured some wood-choppers from the fort. The prisoners informed their captors that, the day previous, a train had gone forward with supplies for the other posts. The Indians once changed their plans and laid an ambush in which to entrap the returning convoy. Reaching Fort Jefferson on Saturday, Adair allowed the men and horses to rest over Sunday, and reached Fort St. Clair on Monday night. Learning of this through their scouts the Indians left their hiding place, and at day-break on Tuesday made a spirited attack on three sides of the camp. The militia retired in good order "beyond the shine of their fires, on the side next to the fort," and when the enemy became engaged in plundering the abandoned camp, made a spirited attack on both flanks and forced them to give way. It was not done, however, without stubborn fighting, in which the tomahawk and war club were freely employed. The savages retreated in good order, repeatedly turning upon the whites and driving them back. On returning to their camp the militia found 140 horses killed or stolen, with all the camp equipage, six of their number wound

and an equal number killed. The loss of the savages is said to have been only six killed.

Notwithstanding such striking evidences of determined hostilities on the part of the Indians, and the failure which had attended every employment of peaceful measures during the previous year, the government still proposed one further effort to negotiate a peace, and on the 1st of March, 1793, secured the services of three commissioners to attend a meeting of the hostile tribes "at the rapids of the Miami (Maumee) when the leaves were fully out." Sandusky was finally selected as the place of meeting, and the commissioners set out for that place by way of Niagara. Here they were delayed by one cause or another until the 15th of July, when fifty natives, headed by the tory Butler and the half-breed Brant, arrived from the Maumee. These envoys from the savages claimed to represent sixteen of the leading Indian nations, but did nothing more than demand the meaning of the war-like preparations on the Miami. The commissioners subsequently crossed the lake to the mouth of the Detroit river, where, on the 21st of July, they took up their residence in the house of the notorious English agent, Matthew Elliott. They took immediate steps to hasten the proposed meeting at Sandusky, but on the 29th instant twenty Indians came from the Maumee, and on the 31st the plenipotentiaries of the two races met in council, with Simon Girty as interpreter. Negotiations were prolonged until the 16th of August, when the tribes submitted their *ultimatum*, which may be gathered from the closing paragraph of their final message:

*Brothers:*—At our general council, held at the late last fall, we agreed to meet commissioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio, and we determined not to meet you until you gave us satisfaction on that point; that is the reason we have never met.

We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther, because the coun-

try behind hardly affords food for its inhabitants, and we have, therefore, resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.\*

This closed all hope of preventing a contest of arms. The commissioners immediately set out on their return, reaching Fort Erie, near Niagara, on the 23d instant, whence they dispatched to Gen. Wayne a report of the issue of their negotiations by three different channels. These reached the general at "Hobson's Choice," near Cincinnati, when that energetic officer was struggling to overcome the unwillingness of the Kentuckians to volunteer, and against those even more intractable forces, "the fever, influenza and desertion."

Washington had early persuaded congress to authorize the increase of the army by the addition of three regiments of infantry, and a full squadron of 2,000 horsemen, to be enlisted for three years, or until a settled peace had been effected. St. Clair having resigned, the choice of a new commander devolved upon the president, who, from a number of excellent officers suggested, appointed Gen. Anthony Wayne, not, however, without the strong opposition of leading men and the "extreme disgust" of the Virginians. Through the summer of 1792, the enlistment and discipline of the new levies were not neglected, and in December they were rendezvoused at a point twenty-two miles below Pittsburgh, which took the name of Legionville from the title adopted by the new army—the Legion of the United States. Here the new troops passed the winter, sparing neither powder nor lead in perfecting their marksmanship. In April they descended the river and encamped near Fort Washington, where drilling and other preparations were continued until October, 1793. On the 5th instant Wayne estimated the effective force which he could lead beyond Fort Jefferson at 2,600 regulars, 360 mounted volunteers, and thirty-six guides and spies. Though this was far short of what he had hoped for, he was by no means discouraged, and, proposing a defensive

\*The nations joining in this reply were the Wyandots, Seven Nations of Canada, Pottawatomies, Senecas of the Glaize, Shawanese, Cherokees, Miamis, Ottawas, Messasagoes, Chippewas, Munsees, Mohicans, Connos, Delawares, Nantakotics and Creeks. (See American State Papers, Vol. V, p. 306.)



campaign, argued from the unorganized character of Indian warfare the probability of a successful issue.

On the 7th instant the army began its advance, and six days later took up a strong position in advance of Fort Jefferson. On the 17th, although no opposition had hitherto been met with, the watchfulness of the enemy was evinced by a fierce attack upon a supply train, about twenty miles beyond Fort St. Clair. The troops, consisting of ninety regulars under command of two commissioned officers, were forced to retreat to the fort, leaving seventy horses and the stores in twenty-one wagons, beside both officers and thirteen men, to the mercy of the savages. The wagons and a large part of their contents were subsequently recovered. On the 24th instant, Gen. Scott joined the army with 1,000 mounted Kentuckians. In raising these troops, the same obstacle which had so powerfully obstructed the previous campaigns of Harmar and St. Clair had been encountered. The best men obstinately refused to volunteer, and on the 28th of September a draft had been enforced by the governor, which, with Gen. Wayne's personal efforts, had achieved the result mentioned. The militia was retained but a short time, however, when it was dismissed until spring, the general in command having decided to fortify his position and remain there through the winter.

Fort Greenville was accordingly built on the site of the present county seat of Darke County, which takes its name from the fort. This completed, a force was sent to erect a military post on the site of St. Clair's defeat. The troops reached their destination Christmas day, and at night found the ground so thickly strewn with human bones that they had to be removed from the tents before the beds could be made. On the following day, these sad mementos of the fatal engagement were buried in trenches dug for the purpose. Fort Recovery was thus erected, twenty-three miles northwest of Greenville, on a branch of the Wabash, and garrisoned by a company of artillery and one of riflemen under the command of Capt. Alexander Gibson.

Thus the winter passed unmarked by any serious hostilities, though Wayne's scouts, under the command of Kenton, brought intelligence which indicated the concentration of a formidable force on the Maumee. Nor were the Indians alone to be feared. The treacherous English had not only early supplied the savages with powder and lead, in large quantities, but in the fall of 1793 they had advanced with three companies of troops and erected a military post at the Maumee Rapids, ostensibly to guard the approach to Detroit against the advance of the hostile American army. Indubitable evidence was gained, also, that the British had given the savages good reason to believe that they would receive assistance from the troops in time of battle.

Undisturbed by these warlike preparations, Wayne matured his plans for an advance which he proposed should be irresistible, whatever force should oppose. On the 30th of June, 1794, the long truce was broken by an attack on Fort Recovery. A thousand or fifteen hundred Indians and English, under the command of Little Turtle, furiously assailed the fort on every side. The assailants were repeatedly repulsed with great loss, but returned to the attack with fresh determination until night fell. Fortunately for the slender garrison, a convoy of fifty dragoons and ninety riflemen had just arrived, though not yet entered, and lent valuable aid in resisting the savages. The succeeding night being dark and foggy, the detachment effected an entrance to the fort in safety. On the following day the fight was renewed, but early despairing of success the savages withdrew to their camp seven miles away, where they remained two days encumbered with their dead.

On the 26th of July, Scott returned with the militia, this time increased to 1,600 men. The visit to Wayne's camp in the preceding fall had impressed the captious Kentuckians with a profound respect for the military ability of the new commander-in-chief, and there was no difficulty experienced in the spring in raising the full complement of militia. Two days after the arrival of this

enforcement, the army advanced. On the 1st of August, the army reached the St. Mary's River, twenty-four miles from Fort Recovery, where the erection of a stockade (Fort Adams) detained it three days. On the 4th, after a march of fifty-three miles, the legion reached the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee, where Wayne proceeded to build Fort Defiance. While engaged in erecting this fort, he sent on the 13th a last offer of peace to the hostile tribes, which elicited no response save a request for a delay until the 18th instant. Unwilling to await the tardy return of the envoy, however, the troops moved forward, and on the last date mentioned arrived at a point forty-one miles from Fort Defiance, where some light works were thrown up for protection of the baggage, and called Fort Deposit. On the 20th, the baggage having been stored away to be left behind, the army began its advance between 4 and 8 o'clock in the morning. The enemy was now reported to be in force at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, seven miles away, and after advancing about five miles the skirmishers reported the discovery of the savages. A heavy fire from the Indians caused the advance guard to retreat when the main lines were formed.

The legion was immediately formed into two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first; and directed Maj.-Gen. Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up, to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge so as not to give them time to load again.

I also ordered Capt. McCampbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Gens. Scott, Todd and Barbee of the mounted volunteers to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action, the enemy being drove in the course of one hour more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers. From every account the enemy amounted to 2,000 combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of 900. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison.\*

For three days and nights the American army remained on the banks of the Maumee, ravaging the country about with fire and sword. Houses and corn-fields were consumed and destroyed both above and below the British post; and all the houses, stores and goods of the English agent, McKee, were burned, as well as every sort of property about the fort beyond pistol range of the British garrison. This done, the army retired by easy marches to Fort Defiance, where it arrived on the 27th instant. Until September 14 the troops were engaged in strengthening the works of this fort, and in destroying the abandoned crops and villages, which made the margins of the confluent streams for miles above and below the fort appear like one grand inland town. On the 14th, therefore, the army set out for the principal Miami towns, where, in the bend of the St. Mary, a new fortress was completed on the 22nd of October, and named Fort Wayne, by Col.

\*Gen. Wayne's report; (see American State Papers, Vol. V, p. 491.) In this engagement the legion had twenty-six killed, five of them officers; eighty-seven wounded, thirteen of them officers; the Kentucky volunteers had seven killed, all privates, and thirteen wounded, three of whom were officers. The loss of the enemy was estimated at more than double that of the Americans. "The woods were strewn for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of Indians, and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets." "Brig.-Gen. Wilkinson and Col. Hamtramck, the commanders of the right and left wings of the legion," were complimented in the report for bravery and efficiency; and among the aid-de-camps who were similarly mentioned occurs the name of Lieut. W. H. Harrison.



Hamtramck, who was left in command. While here the troops suffered much from sickness and the lack of supplies, and the militia becoming troublesome, they were dispatched on the 12th instant to Greenville for discharge. On the 28th the rest of the army, after leaving a garrison to hold the new fort, began its march for the same place. On the return march a detachment was left to garrison Fort Loramie,\* which was erected on the creek of that name, where the old French and English trading posts were early established.

The blow inflicted upon the Indians fell with crushing weight. Their bravest warriors, those who had triumphed over Harmar and St. Clair, were now beaten and dismayed; their most important and cherished villages had been consumed, and all the winter's supply for thousands was destroyed; and what was infinitely more disastrous, the white man

had built a chain of impregnable fortresses into the very heart of their country. The promise of English help had proven a delusion and a snare, and there was no further escape save to seek what they had so often disdainfully rejected. And now all indications began to point to a speedy restoration of peace. In the East a new treaty was made with the Iroquois early in November; in the West the number of hostile Indians lurking about the forts began to diminish; in December, chiefs of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawatomies and Miamis came with messages of peace to the commandant at Fort Wayne; in January, 1795, these nations, with the Delawares, Wyandots and Shawanese entered into preliminary articles with Gen. Wayne, at Greenville, and on the 30th of July a treaty was agreed upon, which was to bury the hatchet forever. Thus was Kentucky at last freed from the fear of savage incursions.

\*Sixteen miles northwest of Sidney, in Shelby County, Ohio.



MASONIC WIDOW'S AND ORPHAN'S HOME.—LOUISVILLE.

## CHAPTER XI.

## EARLY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE autumn of 1784 marks the beginning of a new phase in the development of Kentucky. The gradual transformation of society had brought the frontier community to the verge of a new experience. Like the boy, growing up within the precincts of the home, unmindful of its larger responsibilities, and careful only of the duties assigned him, when suddenly made aware of his majority finds the careless dream of youth magically dispelled, so Kentucky suddenly awoke to find its days of tutelage ended. Unconsciously, society had been preparing for the inevitable change. Gradually the scattered stations upon a distant frontier, with their few hundreds of occupants, had expanded in territorial limits and inhabitants to the proportions of a State. Its early heroes had one by one quit the stage of action, and new men had fallen heir to their achievements, their responsibilities and their positions. Of all the early leaders, Clark and Logan alone remained, and the latter performed the final act of the old *regime* when he issued the call for a convention, which met in this fall. With its organization, a new dynasty came to the throne.

The political lines of Virginia had followed close upon the westward progress of her population. Until her frontier crossed the Blue Ridge, the unexplored region beyond the mountains was recognized only as the "great woods." In 1734, Orange County was formed and included all that region west of the Blue Ridge which Virginia claimed under the comprehensive charter of the crown. In the fall session of 1738, the Virginia assembly divided this vast outlying region into two counties, Frederick and Augusta; the former was bounded on the

north by the Potomac, on the east by the Blue Ridge, and on the south and west by a line to be run from the head spring of Hedgeman to the head spring of the Potomac; the remainder of Virginia, west of the Blue Ridge, constituted Augusta, a territory which at present comprises four entire States and nearly forty counties in the western part of what was originally Virginia. In 1769, Botetourt County was formed from the outlying part of Augusta; in 1772, Fincastle was formed out of the western part of Botetourt; and on December 31, 1776, the latter county was extinguished by the division of its territory between the new counties of Washington, Montgomery and Kentucky, the name of old Fincastle being perpetuated only by the shire town of Botetourt County.

In this division, "all that part thereof which lies to the south and westward of a line beginning on the Ohio, at the mouth of Great Sandy Creek, and running up the same and the main and northeasterly branch thereof to the Great Laurel Ridge or Cumberland Mountain; thence southwesterly along the said mountain to the line of North Carolina," was assigned to a distinct county to be called Kentucky. Upon the organization of Fincastle, this region was specifically attached to it for judicial and other purposes, but the character of the people, as well as the vast extent of wild country, forbade the exercise of anything like supervision, and the pioneers in Kentucky received little active sympathy and no protection, either of a civil or military character. With the organization of a new county, however, the machinery of government was placed in their own hands; they were henceforth represented in the general assembly by two representa-



tives; justices of the peace and a county court took cognizance of questions of law and equity, and the county-lieutenant, sheriff, coroner and surveyor were the authorized leaders of all public activities.

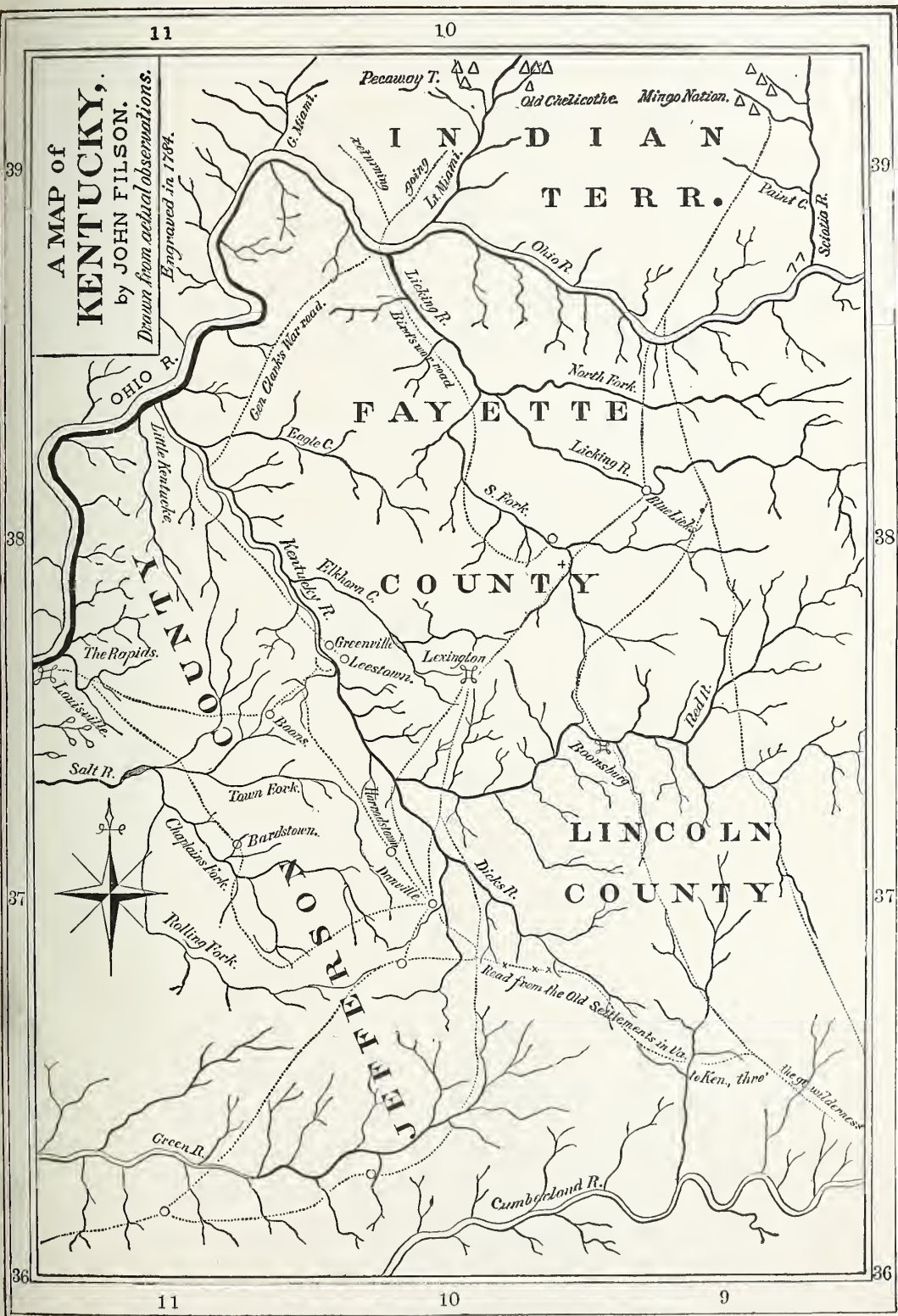
Indian hostilities led to the early organization of the militia, but the same cause operated to prevent the instituting of civil government until after the suspension of the Indian campaign. In the fall, therefore, the first court met at Harrodsburg, consisting of John Todd, presiding justice, and John Floyd, Benjamin Logan and Richard Callo-way, associate justices. Its organization was completed by the appointment of Levi Todd as clerk. Officers for a regiment of militia were promptly commissioned, and the county-lieutenant, Col. John Bowman, proceeded to regularly enroll all citizens, whether resident or not, into companies and battalions. This organization sufficed for the simple purposes of the frontier community until the 1st of November, 1780, when the county of Kentucky was divided; "all that part of the aforesaid county on the south side of the Kentucky River, which lies west and north of a line beginning at the mouth of Benson's Big Creek, and running up the same and its main fork to the head; thence south to the nearest waters of Hammon's Creek, and down the same to the town fork of Salt River; thence south to Green River; and down the same to its junction with the Ohio, to be called Jefferson County. All that part of the said county of Kentucky, which lies north of a line beginning at the Mouth of the Kentucky River, and up the same and its middle fork to the head; and thence southeast to the Washington line, to be called Fayette County. And all the residue of the said county of Kentucky, to be called Lincoln County."

The original governmental authority was now divided among three similar organizations with separate jurisdiction. These courts possessed only a qualified authority in civil and criminal matters. All capital cases were referred to the only competent court at Richmond; misdemeanors, punishable by fine and imprisonment, were brought before the county

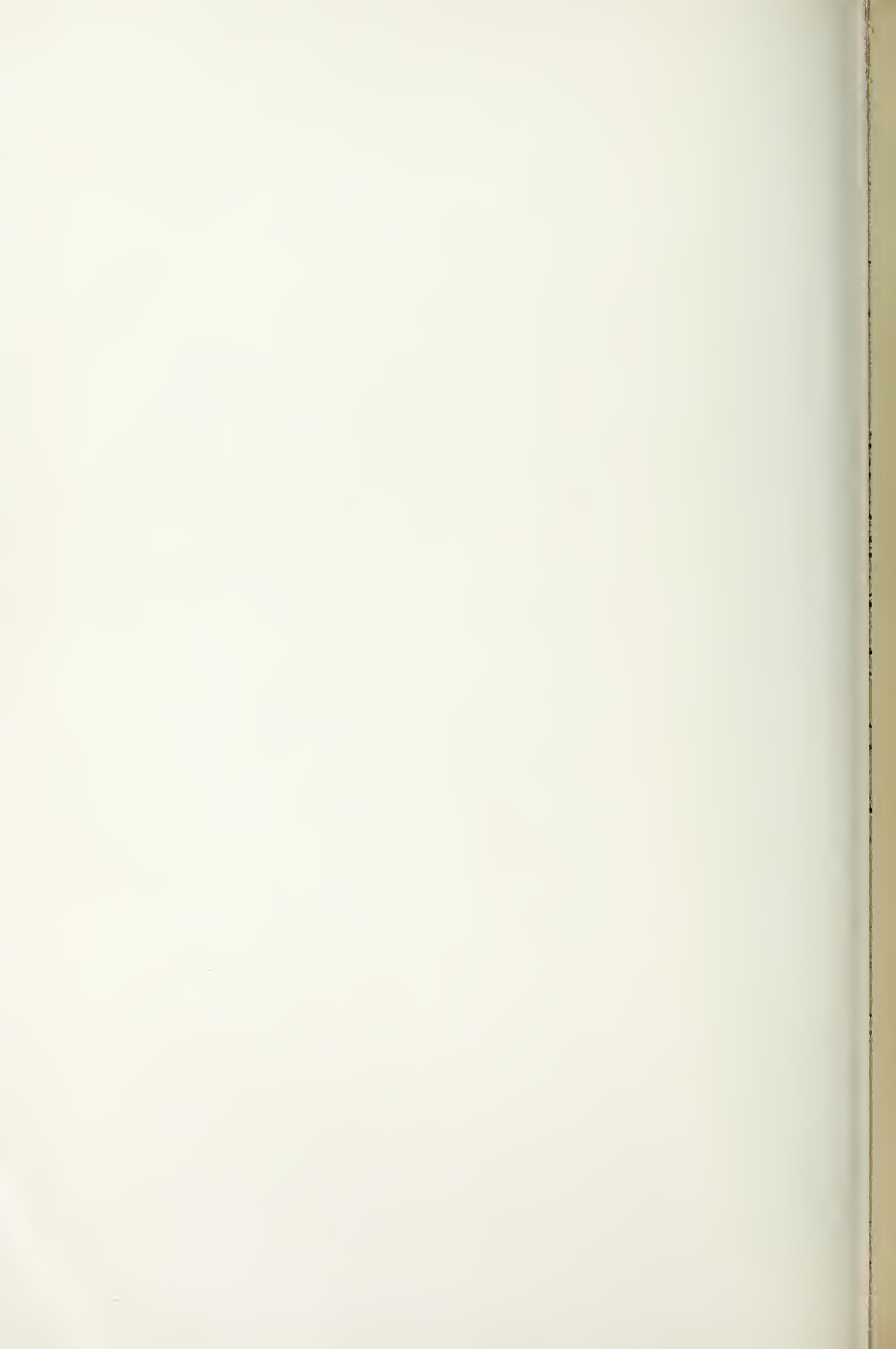
court at its quarterly session, which at the sessions had cognizance also of all matters common law, or in chancery, when of a civil nature, not exceeding the value of shillings. The monthly session of the court took cognizance of all other business pertaining to the civil administration of the county. In their individual capacity justices of the peace, the members of the court were conservators of the peace, superintendents of local concerns, with power to examine and commit persons charged with crime affecting life or limb; to bind them for further trial or finally discharge them. Such, however, was the pressure of danger, the simplicity of manner, the integrity of the people and the state of property, according to Marshall, that there was but little use for criminal law until a later period.

In March, 1783, agreeably to an act of the Virginia assembly, a new court was established. The three counties had been formed into a judicial district, to designate which the discarded name of Kentucky was revived. Within these limits, the new court was invested with civil and criminal jurisdiction, similar to the circuit courts of Virginia, and was composed of John Floyd, Samuel McDowell and George Muter, judges; John May, clerk and Walker Daniel, prosecuting attorney. Its first session was opened in Harrodsburg, the first two judges named only being present, Muter not putting in an appearance until two years later. At this session, nine cases for selling liquor without license, eight for adultery or fornication, one against the clerk of Lincoln County, for failing to keep account of his fees, and several for minor offense were presented by the grand jury. No house in Harrodsburg could be secured that would conveniently accommodate the business of the court, and the remainder of the session was therefore adjourned to a meeting-house near "Dutch Station," six miles distant. For its next session, the court authorized Daniel and May to select some safe place, near Crow Station, in which the business could be transacted, and empowered them to employ persons to erect a log-house, large enough for a court room in one end and two jury rooms in

A MAP of  
**KENTUCKY,**  
 by JOHN FILSON.  
*Drawn from actual observations.  
 Engraved in 1784.*







the other, on the same floor. They were also authorized to contract for the erection of a hewed or sawed-log prison, the walls to be at least nine inches thick. No provision was made for the expense of these buildings, save that in case the court, for any reason, removed its sessions to any other place these gentlemen were to be reimbursed out of the court funds, or through its influence by the legislature. The agents of the court had no difficulty in securing a donation of these buildings on the court's engagement to hold its session there, and from this beginning, the town of Danville took its origin. Thenceforward, this village became the district capital and a noted point for public meetings, until the separation of Kentucky from the parent State inaugurated a new *regime*.

Such was the state of political development when Col. Logan called a meeting of the citizens, in the fall of 1784, to consider the situation of the district with regard to the threatened invasion of the savages.\* But in the powers thus conferred, the assembled pioneers found none to authorize the independent action to which they had so long been accustomed. The same resources were found in the country; the settlers still possessed their trusty rifles; horses and trap-pings, cornmeal and bacon were still abundant, but the question which confronted the convention was how these could be commanded in any general effort against the enemy. So long as the danger was imminent and threatened all alike, private interests would insure a ready response to the call to arms, even if there was no prospect of remuneration by the government for time and losses. But the declaration of peace, and the rapidly extending lines of the settlements, had wrought great changes in the public temper. The central settlements no longer felt the same apprehension of danger as those in more exposed situations, and the natural feeling began to prevail that, now the emergency had passed, it was due those who had suffered so much for the general weal that the government should undertake, at its own expense, the defense of those from whom it claimed

the allegiance of subjects. This sentiment was daily strengthened by the accession of those who had not been trained in the stern school of border experience, and whose presence on the frontier was induced by a wish rather to improve their private fortunes than to cultivate the grace of patriotism.

The source of the difficulties under which the district labored was not far to seek. It lay in the inability of the frontier community, through legal restrictions, to exert the power it amply possessed. The formality of governmental sanction had hitherto been largely ignored by tacit consent, but now the Virginia authorities, complaining of the burden of the war, began to scrutinize unauthorized expense. The evils complained of were remote from the seat of government; they were of a kind not fully appreciated by those who had long been removed from frontier scenes, and failed, therefore, to awaken sympathetic promptness in promoting measures of relief. But with even these obstacles removed, there still remained the long, tedious journey to and fro, which must be accomplished before action could be authorized, and hopelessly prevented that promptness of reprisal, which the nature of the case rendered the only effective redress.\*

All this came vividly before the men whom Logan's call had brought together. They discovered that the remedy to be applied lay beyond their power, and, while suggesting an appeal to the legislature, they recommitted the whole subject to a body which should be more representative of the people than themselves. A circular letter was accordingly addressed to the citizens of the district,

\*The difficulty of communicating with the frontier can scarcely now be imagined. In April, 1781, Gov. Jefferson sent orders to Clark for a military expedition into the Indian country which did not reach their destination until the 11th of the following July. On the 30th of November, 1782, the provisional articles of peace were signed in Paris, but news of this event, though known in the East in January, did not reach Kentucky until April. As late as 1788, there was little improvement in this respect to be observed. In a letter of John Brown to Judge Muter, dated New York, July 10, 1788, it was written: "An answer to your favor of the 16th of March, was, together with several other letters, put into the hands of one of Gen. Marmar's officers, who set out in May last for the Ohio, and who promised to forward them to the district. But I fear that they have miscarried, as I was a few days ago informed, that his orders had been countermanded, and that he had been sent to the garrison at West Point. Indeed, I have found it almost impracticable to transmit a letter to Kentucky, as there is scarce any communication between this place and that country. A post is now established from this place to Fort Pitt, to set out once in two weeks, after the 20th instant; this will render the communication easy and certain." Marshall, Vol. I, p. 304.)



recommending that each militia company should appoint a delegate to a convention to be held at Danville on the 27th of December, 1784. To this recommendation there was a very cordial and general response; representatives were chosen and convened at Danville on the appointed day, and promptly completing their organization by the election of Samuel McDowell as president and Thomas Todd as clerk, they proceeded to the transaction of the business which had brought them together. For ten days this body conducted its deliberations with commendable industry and good sense; the best method of obviating the difficulties which hindered present necessary action, and of preventing their recurrence in the future was soberly discussed; the proposed appeal to the legislature appeared, on the whole, to be only partially effective; the main obstacles in the way of successfully dealing with the frontier problem were believed to exist in the fixed character of the country, in its isolated and exposed condition. For this there seemed no apparent remedy save the one suggested by a provision of the State constitution, one expressly adopted with a view to such an occasion as the present—that of independence.

This bold proposition received the approbation of a “decided majority” of the convention, which found expression in a resolution urging that steps be taken to bring it about, but as so radical a measure was not contemplated by the people when the representatives were chosen, it was thought proper as well as prudent to again refer the matter to the people. It was accordingly suggested by resolution that at the succeeding April election, when legislative representatives were chosen, delegates should be elected to a second convention,\* which should meet at Danville in May, for the express purpose of considering the propriety and expediency of seeking a separation of the district from Virginia. The nature of the proposition, which was brought to the attention of the people by circular letters and otherwise, evoked a

considerable difference of opinion. None but the most radical accepted the proposed innovation without hesitation; others yielded the assent to what seemed the only practical alternative in the present dilemma, while “those who felt themselves at ease in places of safety—those who were strongly attached to Virginia—and there were many who loved her manners, habits and institutions—those who were unmoved by new objects of ambition, and others averse to any radical change, in short, all those whose property rendered them timid, could but anticipate the event of separation from the parent State with some apprehensions; many openly opposed the measure.” (Marshall.)

There was little or no opposition to the convention manifested, however, and the delegates were duly chosen. On the 23d of May, 1785, the new body assembled at Danville, the sessions of which were also attended by a considerable number of interested citizens. Good order and calm deliberation characterized the discussions, and on the ninth day the conclusions to which the convention had come were expressed in the following resolutions:

First. *Resolved*, unanimously, as the opinion of this convention That a petition be presented to the assembly, praying that this district may be established into a State, separate from Virginia.

Second. *Resolved*, unanimously, as the opinion of this convention, That this district, when established into a State, ought to be taken into union with the United States of America, and enjoy equal privileges in common with said States.

Third. *Resolved*, That this convention recommend it to their constituents, to elect deputies from their respective counties to meet at Danville on the second Monday of August next, to serve in convention, and to continue by adjournment till the 1st day of April next, to take further under their consideration the state of the district.

Fourth. *Resolved*, unanimously, That the election of deputies for the proposed convention, ought to be on the principles of equal representation.

Fifth. *Resolved*, That the petition to the assembly for establishing this district into a State, and the several resolves of the former and present convention upon which the petition is founded, together with all other matters relative to the interests of the district, that have been under the consideration, be referred to the future convention that such further measures may be taken there as they shall judge proper.

\*There is some discrepancy between writers in the number of these conventions. This arises from the fact that some count the informal gathering convened by Col. Logan as the first convention. The succeeding meeting, the first to which delegates were chosen, is properly entitled to that distinction.

These resolutions are chiefly interesting on account of the unanimity they express in favor of separation, and the indication they afford of the independent development of new political ideas which was silently going forward in the frontier community. As has been indicated, the people were considerably divided upon the desirability of separation, and if the delegates may be supposed to have originally fairly represented the sentiment of their constituents, the arguments employed in favor of the radical measure must have been unusually convincing to win over the entire opposition. It is probable, however, that the delegates were chosen from the leading men irrespective of their sentiments, who in such an aggressive society were unlikely to sympathize with the conservative element. The assertion of population as the true basis of representation was a new departure, contrary to the constitution and settled practice of Virginia as well as the aristocratic sentiment which was slowly gaining a foothold in the district. It was an outgrowth of the liberal influences made prominent by the resolution, which, coming in contact with the plastic society of Kentucky, rendered it in important respects superior to the parent State.

Whatever the reasons which led to the unanimity of the convention, the delegates evidently had reason to believe that their constituents were not ready to endorse their action without further discussion, and while they drew up a petition to the legislature, chiefly, it would seem, as a matter of form, they took care not to present it, but referred it to the people with an address in which they presented every consideration in favor of their proposed action. As a complete statement of the grievances complained of at that time, it is worthy of reproduction:

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY.

*Friends and Fellow Citizens:* We your representatives, met in convention, in consequence of our appointment, beg leave to address you on a subject which we consider of the last importance to you, to ourselves and to unborn posterity. In every case, where it becomes necessary for one part of the community to separate from the other, duty to Almighty God, and a decent respect for the opinions

of mankind, require that the causes which impel them thereto should be clearly and impartially set forth.

We hold it as a self-evident truth, that government is ordained for the ease and protection of the governed; and whenever these ends are not attained by one form of government, it is right, it is the duty of the people, to seek such other mode as will be most likely to insure to themselves and their posterity those blessings to which by nature they are entitled.

In the course of our inquiries, we find that several laws have passed the legislature of Virginia, which, although of a general nature, yet in their operation are particularly oppressive to the people of this district; and we also find, that from our local situation, we are deprived of many benefits of government which every citizen therein has a right to expect; as a few facts will sufficiently demonstrate.

We have no power to call out the militia, our sure and only defense, to oppose the wicked machinations of the savages, unless in case of actual invasion.

We can have no executive power in the district, either to enforce the execution of laws, or to grant pardons to objects of mercy; because such a power, would be inconsistent with the policy of government, and contrary to the present constitution.

We are ignorant of the laws that are passed, until a long time after they are enacted; and in many instances not until they have expired; by means whereof penalties may be inflicted for offenses never designed, and delinquents escape the punishment due to their crimes.

We are subjected to prosecute suits in the high court of appeals at Richmond, under every disadvantage, for the want of evidence, want of friends, and want of money.

Our money must necessarily be drawn from us not only for the support of evil government, but by individuals, who are frequently under the necessity of attending on the same.

Now, is it possible for the inhabitants of this district, at so remote a distance from the seat of government, ever to derive equal benefits with the citizens in the eastern part of the State; and this inconvenience must increase, as our country becomes more populous.

Our commercial interests can never correspond with or be regulated by theirs; and in case of any invasion, the State of Virginia can afford us no adequate protection, in comparison with the advantages we might (if a separate State) derive from the federal union.

On maturely considering truths of such great importance to every inhabitant of the district, with a firm persuasion that we were consulting the general good of our infant country, we have unanimously resolved—"that it is expedient and necessary for this district to be separated from Virginia, and es-



tablished into a sovereign independent State, to be known by the name of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and taken into union with the United States of America." In order to effect this purpose, we have agreed on a petition to be presented to the legislature of Virginia, at their next session, praying that a separation may take place; in which petition are fully set forth such terms as we thought beneficial to our infant country, and not inconsistent for Virginia to grant.

It is generally admitted that this district ought at some period, not far distant, to be separated from the government of Virginia. The only question then is, whether we are now of sufficient ability, either to fill the different offices of government, or provide for its support? In answer to the first part of this objection, examples have taught us that sound principles and plain sense suffice for every laudable purpose of government; and we generally find that the liberty of the subject and the laws of the land are in the highest reverence at the foundation and rise of States before the morals of the people have been vitiated by wealth and licentiousness, and their understandings entangled in visionary refinements, and chimerical distinctions; and as to the latter part, we have now in our power several valuable funds, which if by procrastination we suffer to be exhausted, we shall be stripped of every resource but internal taxation, and that under every disadvantage; and, therefore, we do not hesitate to pronounce it as our opinion that the present is preferable to any future period.

By an act of the last session of the assembly, we find that the revenue law is now fully and immediately to be enforced within the district, so that we shall not only pay a very considerable part of the tax for supporting the civil government of the State, but also be obliged to support our supreme court, and every other office we need in this district, at our own charge; and we are of opinion that the additional expense of the salaries to a governor, council, treasurer, and delegates to congress, will for a number of years, be more than saved out of the funds before alluded to, without any additional tax on the people.

To impress you still more with a sense of our regard for your interests as a free people, we have determined not to proceed in a matter of such magnitude without repeated appeals to your opinions; we have, therefore, recommended the election of another convention, to meet at Danville on the second Monday in August next, to take further into consideration the state of the district, and the resolves of this and the preceding convention. In this election we hope you will be actuated by a serious sense of the important objects which the proposed election is designed to promote.

Whatever may have been the true state of the facts thus traversed, the above statement of the case was believed to be well cal-

culated to bring the people to the support of the advanced position of the convention; and in the absence of a press, written copies were industriously circulated, while the members of the convention were active in disseminating their views and enforcing them by similar arguments. The opposers of the measure were less active; their apprehensions were scarcely well enough defined to supply arguments, and they therefore passively awaited events rather than sought to control them. The election, accordingly passed without serious contest, and the delegates-elect assembled at Danville, where, on the 8th of August, 1785, the third convention was organized. In providing for the convention, its predecessor had apportioned the representation among the counties, in the absence of any census, according to the tax lists and muster rolls, which afforded a fair and accurate estimate of the population. In the apportionment, the number of delegates assigned to Jefferson County was 6; to Nelson, 6; to Lincoln, 10; and to Fayette, 8; total of 30 delegates.\*

This convention was distinguished by two notable features: the prominent character of its members, and the aggressive tone of its deliberations. To both of these, James Wilkinson contributed in an unusual degree.† He had entered the army early in the revolutionary struggle, and had gradually won honorable distinction and a high official position before its close. On the return of peace he had come to Pennsylvania, had engaged in mercantile pursuits, and had in the meantime served in the assembly of his adopted State. In February of the preceding year, he had

\*According to Marshall (Vol. I, p. 207,) only twenty-seven members attended, as follows: from Lincoln—Samuel McDowell, George Muter, Christopher Irvin, William Kennedy, Benjamin Logan, Caleb Wallace, Harry Innes, John Edwards and James Speed.

From Fayette—James Wilkinson, James Garrard, Levi Todd, John Coburn, James Trotter, John Craig and Robert Patterson. From Jefferson—Richard Terrell, George Wilson, Benjamin Sebastian and Philip Barbour.

From Nelson—Isaac Cox, Isaac Morrison, Andrew Hinton, Matthew Walton, James Morrison and James Rogers.

Of these, Wilkinson was foremost in brilliant accomplishments and honorable distinction; McDowell, Muter, Wallace and Sebastian were at different times members of the highest court of Kentucky; Innes was attorney-general, and subsequently judge of the United States Court for Kentucky; Logan, Patterson, Todd were scarcely less distinguished by their eminent services in the early history of the district, while scarcely one of the other members failed to prominently identify himself with some of the best achievements of the new State.

†Appendix A, Note 27.

come to Lexington, where his grace of manner and power of intellect easily captivated the simple and rustic Kentuckians." "A person, not quite tall enough to be perfectly elegant, was compensated by its symmetry and appearance of health and strength. A countenance, open, mild, capacious and beaming with intelligence; a gait, firm, manly and facile; manners, bland, accommodating and popular; an address, easy, polite and gracious; invited approach, gave access, insured attention, cordiality and ease. By these fair forms, he conciliated; by these, he captivated." (Marshall.)

The general was undoubtedly ambitious; was not averse to reaching his ends by indirect methods, and came to Kentucky to improve his fortune in any way that the formative state of society should suggest. Accordingly, while earnestly engaged in pushing his business operations, the growing public interest in the question of separation did not escape his attention. He was not a member of either the first or second convention, though it is believed that he exercised a controlling influence over the action of the second, and inspired, if he did not write, the address put forth by that body. In the third convention he was undoubtedly the *vis a tergo*, and drew up the petition to the legislature as well as the impassioned appeal to the people. The convention spent several days in the consideration of the papers committed to it by its predecessors, when, "according to the order of the day, it resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the state of the district," and after some time spent in discussion, the committee arose and made its report to the convention at the hand of Mr. Muter. This report recites in an itemized statement the identical grievances which formed the burden of the address already quoted, though in more elegant phrase and more forcible manner. In the address to the legislature, "the complimentary style of adulation and insincerity" was discarded, as it became "freemen, when speaking to freemen, to employ the plain, manly and unadorned language of independence, supported by conscious rectitude." The character of the whole

petition, if such it may properly be called, was in keeping with this profession, and after reciting the familiar objections to the present relation, prayed "that an act may pass at the ensuing session of assembly, declaring and acknowledging the sovereignty and independence of this district."

The appeal to the people was of a still more aggressive character, and was well calculated to incite the people to illegal action. The Indians had again begun to harass the frontier with fire-brand and tomahawk, and furnished the ready writer with an argument that touched the most sensitive point in the Kentucky character. It was addressed to the "inhabitants of the district of Kentucky" as "friends and countrymen," and proceeded as follows:

Your representatives in convention having completed the important business for which they were especially elected, feel it their duty, before they adjourn, to call your attention to the calamities with which our country appears to be threatened—*blood has been spilled from the eastern to the western extremity of the district*; accounts have been given to the convention, from post St. Vincennes, which indicate a disposition in the savages for general war; in the meantime, if we look nearer home, we shall find our borders infested and constant depredations committed on our property. Whatever may be the remote designs of the savages, these are causes sufficient to rouse our attention, that we may be prepared not only to defend but punish those who, unprovoked, offend us. God and nature have given us the power, and we shall stand condemned, in the eyes of heaven and mankind, if we do not employ it, to redress our wrongs and assert our rights.

The Indians are now reconnoitering our settlements, in order that they may hereafter direct their attacks with more certain effect, and we seem patiently to await the stroke of the tomahawk. Strange indeed it is, that although we can hardly pass a spot which does not remind us of the murder of a father or brother or friend, we should take no single step for our own preservation. Have we forgot the surprise of Bryant's, or the shocking destruction of Kincheloe's station? Let us ask you, ask ourselves, what is there to prevent a repetition of such barbarous scenes? Five hundred Indians might be conducted undiscovered to our very thresholds, and the knife may be put to the throats of our sleeping wives and children. For shame! let us rouse from our lethargy; let us arm, associate and embody; let us call upon our officers to do their duty; and determine to hold in detestation and abhorrence, and treat as enemies to the community, every person who shall withhold his countenance



and support of such measures as may be recommended for our common defense. Let it be remembered that a stand must be made somewhere; not to support our present frontier would be the height of cruelty as well as folly. For should it give way, those who now hug themselves in security will take the front of danger, and we shall in a short time be huddled together in stations, a situation, in our present circumstances, scarcely preferable to death. Let us remember that supineness and inaction may entice the enemy to general hostilities, whilst preparation and offensive movements will disconcert their plans, drive them from our borders, secure ourselves, and protect our property; therefore,

*Resolved*, That the convention in the name and behalf of the people, do call on the lieutenants, or commanding officers of the respective counties of this district, forthwith to carry into operation the law for regulating and disciplining the militia.

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the officers, to assemble in their respective counties, and concert such plans as they may deem expedient for the defense of our country, or for carrying expeditions against the hostile nations of Indians.

In view of the actual facts, the entire expression of this convention cannot but be considered in the last degree intemperate. No petition for separation had yet been presented to the assembly, nor had Virginia manifested any disposition to maintain the existing relation longer than should prove to the mutual prosperity of both sections. In fact, every authoritative utterance from 1776 to the date of the legislative address had been to the contrary. The attitude of independence assumed lacked every element of dignity, and betrayed far more of bravado than patriotism. The popular address was simple demagogism. The danger to be feared from the Indians was grossly exaggerated, and the appeal to "arm, associate and embody," as well as the final resolutions, was idle vapor-ing or an attempt to incite the borderers to unlawful enterprises, which would tend to complicate the situation and render appropriate action by the constituted authorities more difficult and uncertain. To Wilkinson such a view of the matter had little weight. He was essentially selfish in his action, and undoubtedly hoped to profit by thus pandering to the prejudices of the less thoughtful of the community. That the eminent gentlemen who made up the membership of the convention should unani-

mously endorse such pronunciamientos must excite surprise, but it is probable that the end in view was more closely scanned than the methods by which it was sought.

Copies of the popular address were multiplied by the pen and industriously circulated among the people. Henceforward, there were two active parties among the citizens of the district, both seeking separation, but the one advocating a temperate, legal and dignified course, while the other urged an aggressive, peremptory, and, if need be, a violent dissolution of the tie. Wilkinson became the leader of the latter, and practiced all the arts of a popular leader to engage the attention of the class to whom the address most strongly appealed, and win them to the support of his measures. He set up an ostentatious establishment, cultivated the friendship of the younger and more ardent spirits, and liberally dispensed a lavish hospitality with such success as to bewilder the judgment of many whose intelligence was unmoved by his arguments. His talents, which were of a high order, accomplished the rest, and he was for the time the leading spirit, if not the autocrat, of district politics.

In the midst of the discussion thus produced, the address to the legislature—committed for presentation to Muter, the chief justice, and Innes, the attorney-general of the district—had come before the assembly. That body found no difficulty in granting the wish of the Kentuckians, and in January 1786, in recognition of the remoteness of the district and the natural difficulties attending the necessary intercourse between the two sections, it was provided that the expediency of the measure, and "the will of the good people of the district," should be determined by another convention to be held at Danville on the fourth Monday in the following September. The convention was to be composed of five representatives from each of the seven counties (Bourbon, Madison and Mercer were formed in this session), to be elected on the court days in August, and to continue in appointment for one year. Two-thirds of the representatives elect were to form a quorum, and a majority

of votes to decide their action; and if, by such an expression, it appeared to be the will of the people, the district should be erected into an independent State on certain stipulated conditions,\* of which the one requiring the assent of congress before the 1st day of June, 1787, proved the greatest obstacle to the wished-for consummation.

This act was received in the district with general disfavor. Many of the aggressive party complained of the delay involved in again submitting the question of expediency when three conventions had given such unmistakable expression upon that point, while objection to other of the conditions was entertained by the people irrespective of factional lines. A fourth convention appeared unavoidable, however, and both parties prepared to contest the election. The increasing depredations of the savages afforded Wilkinson and his following a powerful argument, and with a new boldness they declared their intention in case of success to throw off the authority of Virginia without delay. As the time of election approached, it was publicly given out that Wilkinson would advocate this course in a speech to the people at Lexington at the opening of the polls. The opposite faction, accordingly, selected a champion to reply. The day arrived, the speech was made, and also the reply. In the forensic contest, the general seems to have succeeded in outwitting his antagonist rather than in convincing the voters, many of whom, being from the remoter districts, were less under the influence of aggressive champions. It occurred to these simple people that such

action would place Kentucky in an attitude hostile to Virginia, a position they were not prepared to assume. The officers in charge were in the interest of Wilkinson, and observing the unexpected strength of the opposition did not open the polls until late in the day, and, after receiving the votes of about one-fifth of those present, postponed the election to gain time for their favorite to concert measures to counteract the popular tendency.

The law authorized the polls to be opened on five consecutive days, and the opposition, understanding the tactics employed, retired, declaring their intention of massing their forces on the last day. This plan readily suggested the means to circumvent it. Voters favorable to Wilkinson's election were urged to attend the polls on the intervening days, and on the final day, in those sections where the greatest opposition existed, voters were prevented from attending the election through the connivance of the militia officers, who summoned the people to appear at musters set for that date. The result was that Wilkinson and his supporters were elected. It was a barren victory, however, for in the face of such determined and powerful opposition, he found it unadvisable to proceed to extremes, while other events contributed to render the convention of no effect in forwarding the proposed separation.

In this year occurred the futile expedition to the Wabash, and the more successful one against the Shawanese, under Col. Logan. Accordingly, when certain of the members-elect convened at Danville, in the latter part of September, they found that the military activities had drawn upon their numbers so heavily as to leave less than the required quorum to do business. They nevertheless, in the character of a committee, drew up a memorial to the legislature, in which they represented the reasons which prevented the regular organization of the convention, and at the same time suggested that certain changes should be made in the terms of separation. This was transmitted to John Marshall, then resident in Richmond, by whom it was presented to the assembly. In the meantime, a few of the members with the

\*A letter from Madison to Washington, under date of December 9, 1785, gives a concise statement of these conditions, as follows: "Kentucky made a formal application for independence. Her memorial has been considered, and the terms of separation fixed by a committee of the whole. The substance of them is, that all private rights and interests, derived from the laws of Virginia, shall be secured; that the unlocated lands shall be applied to the objects to which the laws of Virginia have appropriated them; that the Ohio shall be a common highway for the citizens of the United States, and the jurisdiction of Kentucky and Virginia, as far as the remaining territory of the latter will be thereon, be concurrent only with the new states on the opposite shore; that the proposed State shall take its due share of our state debts; and that the separation shall not take place unless these terms shall be approved by a convention to be held to decide the question, nor until congress shall assent thereto, and fix the terms of their admission into the Union. The limits of the proposed State are to be the same with the present limits of the district. The apparent coolness of the representatives of Kentucky, as to separation, since these terms have been defined, indicates that they had some views, which will not be favored by them. They dislike much to be hung upon the will of congress." Spark's Life of Washington, Vol. IX, p. 510. For conditions in full, see Marshall, Vol. I, p. 223, 224.



clerk assembled, and adjourned from day to day, until some time in January, 1787, when a quorum was secured. The question was then again brought up for consideration and again unanimously affirmed. At this juncture the second act of the legislature was received by which the convention found itself superseded, and the whole matter referred to a fifth convention.

The chagrin and vexation of the members on the reception of this postponement of their wishes was great indeed, and while they with good sense and decorum immediately adjourned, they added this disappointment to the sum of their grievances, and urged it as an additional argument in favor of immediate separation. The action thus complained of was not, however, the result of hostility on the part of Virginia. From a letter of Mr. Marshall, who represented the memorialists before the assembly, as well as from the act itself, the legislature still appeared ready to grant the desired separation, but it considered that the delay of the convention to act made it impossible for congress to give its assent within the stipulated time; "that the twelve months' existence allowed to the convention, for other purposes, might, in the divided state of public opinion, involve difficulties, especially as there did not appear to be in the minority a disposition to submit to the will of the majority; that the proceedings of the convention would be subject to objections in consequence of defects in the law; and that the most safe, accommodating and unexceptionable course would be to pass a new law, in which the defects of the former act might be corrected; and to call another convention, to the decision of which even the disappointed could make no reasonable objection." (Marshall, Vol. I, p. 255).

The new act differed little in the character of its requirements, while it granted certain privileges which provided against the recurrence of the obstacles which had rendered the last convention abortive. Representatives were to be elected on the court days in August, 1787; the convention was to meet at Danville on the third Monday in September following; the limit within which congress

was to grant its assent was fixed at the 4th of July, 1787; and the earliest date on which separation could take place was changed from September 1, 1787, as in the first act, to January 1, 1789. At the same time it was provided that five members assembled should have the power to adjourn from day to day, and to issue writs of election, if necessary, to fill vacancies, and that in case two-thirds of the members-elect did not convene within fifteen days of the time appointed, any number, in which a majority should concur in the vote, should be competent to decide in favor of separation. On the contrary, if the requisite two-thirds did assemble within the period indicated, while a majority should be competent to organize, the question of separation must be affirmed by a two-thirds vote to make it valid.

Before the citizens of the district were called upon to provide for a new convention under this act, a fresh source of agitation was developed in the negotiations concerning the navigation of the Mississippi. The origin of this controversy dates back to the year 1780, when Spain, having joined France in the war against England, sought through the French government an alliance with the United States. It was about the time of Mr. Jay's arrival in Madrid, as minister to the Spanish Court, when the French minister was instructed, in behalf of his Catholic majesty of Spain, "to communicate to the congress, certain articles, which his Catholic majesty deems of great importance to the interests of his crown, and on which it is highly necessary that the United States explain themselves, with precision, and with such moderation, as may consist with their essential rights." These "articles" referred to the western boundary of the United States, the navigation of the Mississippi, the possession of Florida and the territory east of the Mississippi. The minister proceeded to give "the idea of the cabinet of Madrid" to the effect "that the United States extend to the westward no farther than settlements were permitted by the royal proclamation, bearing date the 7th day of October, 1763 (that is to say, not west of the Alleghanies); that the United

tates do not consider themselves as having any right to navigate the Mississippi, no territory belonging to them being situated there; that the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon the settlements were prohibited by the aforesaid proclamation, are possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and proper objects against which the arms of Spain may be employed, for the purpose of making a permanent conquest for the Spanish crown; that such conquest may, probably, be made during the present war; that, therefore, it would be advisable to restrain the Southern States from making any settlements or conquests in these territories; and that the council of Madrid consider the United States as having no claim to these territories, either as not having possession of them before the present war, or not having any foundation for a claim in the right of the sovereignty of Great Britain, whose dominion they have abjured."\*

Such preposterous claims were answered by "a word and a blow, and the blow came first." In the spring of 1780 Clark erected Fort Jefferson on the bank of the river, and in October the American "idea" was dispatched to Mr. Jay, the representative of the United States at Madrid. Neither congress nor Mr. Jay for a moment admitted the claims of Spain, nor did that power readily yield her extravagant pretensions. In January, 1781, under the evident inspiration of his government, a Spanish officer, with sixty-five men, set out from St. Louis, and, proceeding far into the interior, captured the important post of St. Joseph, in the Northwest. This done, and the territory formally taken possession of in behalf of the Spanish crown, the troop quietly returned to the west bank of the Mississippi. In the meantime the American government greatly felt the need of friends, and satisfied for the time with such expressions as had been made, in February, 1781, instructed Mr. Jay not to insist upon the navigation of the river, if a treaty could be concluded without giving it up. Thus matters stood during the year

of 1782; Spain, supported by the influence of France, demanding recognition of her extraordinary claims, and the United States politely evading the issue.

In 1785 negotiations were transferred to the Western Hemisphere. Jay had become secretary of State, and Don Diego Gardoqui had been sent hither to press the Spanish demands. On July 20 congress authorized the secretary to negotiate with the Spanish representative, but up to May, 1786, no progress had been made in the matter. At this time the secretary brought the whole business before congress, asking for instructions. That official represented that no adjustment of the conflicting claims had been reached; that the interests of the whole country demanded a commercial treaty with Spain; and that this could probably be effected only by surrendering the right to the free use of the Mississippi. The secretary suggested that a compromise should be made, and that the free use of the river below the bounds of the United States should be yielded for a period of twenty-five or thirty years. This proposition was at once earnestly opposed by the Southern members, but outvoted by the representatives of the Eastern and Middle States, and congress instructed Mr. Jay to continue the negotiations without insisting at all hazards upon the immediate use of the river.

This decision was reached in August, and information of the disposition of the government to practically sacrifice the West gradually found its way across the mountains. There was, at this period, no postoffice in Kentucky, nor any regular or safe mode of transmitting letters or papers from the East. News of governmental affairs came in the form of rumors, which, gathering new forms and colors by each repetition, finally reached the credulous people on the frontier in a shape so distorted as to appear portentous. Thus came the first intimation of congressional action in the matter of the Spanish claims.

At the same time, confirmatory intelligence was received from the Illinois country. On the failure of the Wabash campaign, Gen. Clark had remained at Vincennes, where he enlisted new troops, impressed supplies, and seized

\*See Annals of the West, p. 22, where it is quoted from Pitkin's History of the United States, Vol. II, p. 92.



upon Spanish property on his own authority. In the following December (1786), a Thomas Green wrote from Louisville to the authorities of Georgia, which was then involved in a boundary controversy with Spain, that the general was ready to demand the river, with troops enough to take and hold the lands in question, if the Georgians would countenance the movement.\* Wells, the agent whom Green and Clark united to employ, showed his papers to various persons at Danville, while on his journey south. Copies were taken and forwarded with a communication to the Virginia authorities, signed by Wilkinson and fourteen other leading Kentuckians. In February, 1787, this communication from Kentucky came before the Virginia council, which condemned the action of Clark, disavowed the authority assumed, ordered the prosecution of those concerned in the high-handed measures taken at Vincennes, and laid the whole business before congress. In April, the matter came up for discussion, and on the 24th instant troops were ordered to dispossess the intruders at Vincennes, and to garrison the post.

These transactions were sufficient to excite the people of the district to a political ferment, and when a certain "committee of correspondence in the western part of Pennsylvania" made a formal communication of the proposition of Mr. Jay, certain of the leaders in favor of immediate separation seized the opportunity to appeal to the people in a circular letter addressed "to the different courts in the western country."

\*A letter written from Louisville by the same person, ostensibly to some one in the East, found its way to Tennessee, where it was widely circulated. It bore date of December 4, 1786, and was, doubtless, similar to the one dispatched by messenger to Georgia. In this the writer represents: "Our situation is as bad as it possibly can be, therefore every exertion to retrieve our circumstances must be manly, eligible and just."

"We can raise 20,000 troops this side the Alleghany and Appalachian Mountains; and the annual increase of them by immigration from other parts is from 2,000 to 4,000."

"We have taken all the goods belonging to the Spanish merchants of Fort Vincennes and the Illinois, and are determined that they shall not trade up the river, provided they will not let us trade down it. Preparations are now making here (if necessary) to drive the Spaniards from their settlements, at the mouth of the Mississippi. In case we are not countenanced and succored by the United States (if we need it, our allegiance will be thrown off, and some other power applied to. Great Britain stands ready with open arms to receive and support us. They have already offered to open their resources for our supplies. When once re-united to them, 'farewell, a long farewell' to all your boasted greatness. The Province of Canada, and the inhabitants of these waters, of themselves, in time, will be able to conquer you. You are as ignorant of this country as Great Britain was of America. These are hints, that if rightly improved may be of some service; if not, blame yourselves for the neglect." (Annals of the West, p. 282, quoted from Secret Journals Vol. IV, p. 323.)

KENTUCKY, DANVILLE, March 29, 1787

A respectable number of the inhabitants of the district, having met at this place, being greatly alarmed at the late proceedings of congress, in proposing to cede to the Spanish court the navigation of the Mississippi River for twenty-five or thirty years, have directed us to address the inhabitants on the western waters, and inform them of the measures which it is proper for this district to adopt.

The inhabitants of the several counties in the district will be requested to elect five members each county, to meet at Danville on the first Monday of May, to take up the consideration of the project of congress; to appoint a committee of correspondence, and to communicate with the one already established on the Monongahela, or any others that may be constituted; to appoint delegates to the representatives from the several districts on the western waters in convention, should a convention be deemed necessary; and to adopt such other measures as shall be most conducive to our happiness. As we conceive that all the inhabitants residing on the western waters are equally affected by this partial conduct of congress, we doubt not but they will readily approve of our conduct, and cheerfully adopt a similar system to prevent a measure which tends to almost a total destruction of the western country. This is a subject which requires no comment; the injustice of the measure is glaring, and as the inhabitants of this district wish to unite their efforts to oppose the cession of the navigation of the Mississippi with those of their brethren residing on the western waters, we hope to see such an exertion made upon this important occasion, as may convince congress that the inhabitants of the western country are united in the opposition, and consider themselves entitled to all the privileges of freemen, and those blessings procured by the revolution, and will not tamely submit to an act of oppression which would tend to a deprivation of our just rights and privileges.

This document was signed by George Muter, Harry Innes, John Brown\* and Benjamin Sebastian. A copy of the letter found its way into each county, and with it a new feeling of alarm, which gradually found its way to the remotest corners. The call for a convention to consider the subject met with a ready response, and in May the delegates convened. A short conference developed the fact that either the case was not so alarming as at first supposed, or that the convention could effect nothing to its purpose, and

\*Save Mr. Brown, the signers of this circular have all been noted as prominent in the public business or the district. Brown was the son of a Virginia Presbyterian clergyman. He finished his education about the close of the revolutionary war, and in 1783 came to Kentucky. He built up an extensive law practice and early took an active part in politics. He was a member of the convention of 1786; appeared as signer to the document, and in this year was elected to the legislature, from which he was sent as a delegate to congress.

therefore adjourned without taking action. His agitation, however, contributed in no small degree to the restlessness of the people. The sectional feeling, which notoriously prevailed throughout the country, made the borderers believe that their interests were likely to be made subsidiary to those of the older communities,\* and the feeling that they must take care of themselves, already strikingly shown, began rapidly to gain ground with the people of the district. About this time Col. Logan led an expedition against certain of the southern Indians who were included in the Hopewell treaty. These at once sought redress from the authorities, charging the Kentuckians as the aggressors. This sought prompt instructions from the governor to Innes, the attorney-general, to prosecute the offenders and to take measures to prevent a recurrence of similar illegal movements.

To this communication, Innes replied by letter, under date of July 21, 1787, in which he said: "In my official capacity, I cannot do it; in a private capacity, it would render me odious," and with this, all attempt at legal prosecution of such offenses ended. He added, however, as a "hint to your excellency for matter of reflection" that "the Indians have been very troublesome on our frontiers, and still continue to molest us. From which circumstances, I am decidedly of opinion, that this western country will in a few years act for itself, and erect an independent government; for under the present system, we cannot exert our strength; neither does congress seem disposed to protect us, nor are we informed that those troops which congress directed the several States to raise for the defense of the western country are disbanded." This was, quite probably, an extreme view of the situation, but one which had far more foundation in truth than the partisan feeling of the historian, Marshall, seems willing to allow. However, with other

similar expressions, it had the effect to stimulate the State and national governments to increased efforts to remove the grievance of which complaint was made.

Another circumstance, which tended to somewhat calm the agitation, was the absence of Wilkinson, who would scarcely have allowed such a favorable opportunity for the furtherance of his plans, as the May convention afforded, to pass unimproved. Notwithstanding his activity in public affairs, the general does not appear to have lost sight of his business enterprise, and it was more at the bidding of private interest than public policy that he ventured with a cargo of tobacco, hams and butter, within the forbidden precincts of the Spanish territory. His boat left Louisville in June and reached New Orleans without the usual opposition, where its contents were sold at a good profit. Wilkinson, proceeding south by land, arrived some time after these events, and began those relations with the Spanish authorities of Louisiana which served to involve his character in a cloud of doubt that has never been entirely dispelled.\*

It was doubtless due to these facts that the August elections passed without special incident. The delegates to the district convention were chosen without serious contest, and on September 17th assembled at Danville with scarcely a member elect absent. The organization accomplished, the question of expediency proposed by the act of separation was brought forward, and with little discussion again decided unanimously in the affirmative, subject to "the terms and conditions prescribed by law." These significant conditions are indicative of the temper of the convention, which, in this respect, was in marked contrast with its predecessor. Congress was petitioned for the admission of the new State, under the name of Kentucky, and December 31, 1788, fixed upon as the date when the present relation to Virginia should cease. Neither the legislature nor the people were addressed upon the subject, but, for their information, the president of the convention was directed to forward to the

\*Washington, who greatly desired the construction of works to connect the Ohio with the Potomac and the James Rivers, sought the temporary closing of the Mississippi might aid this object, as well as drive the West into closer relations with the Atlantic States. These views received the support of such influential men as Henry Lee and Richard Henry Lee. (See *Annals of the West* p. 287, and references to Spark's "Life of Washington.")

\* Appendix A, Note 28.



governor a copy of its proceedings, and a transcript of its journal was prepared for publication in the *Kentucky Gazette*, which had been established in the preceding August. The president was also directed to "address the representatives from this district to the general assembly, requesting that they will use their endeavors to have an inhabitant of the district appointed a delegate to congress for the ensuing year." Provision was also made "that a convention should be elected with full power and authority to frame and establish a fundamental constitution of government for the proposed State, and to declare what laws shall be in force therein, until abrogated or altered by the legislative authority acting under the constitution so to be framed and established."

Mr. Marshall accounts for this mildness of temper exhibited by the convention by the facts that "the leader of violent separation" was in New Orleans; "Mr. Brown was probably in Virginia, having been that year elected to the legislature. If Innes and Sebastian were present, they were not yet prepared to lead in such an enterprise, for they were then but as common troopers; while the eyes of Muter being opened, he had drawn back to constitutional grounds." It was probably due more to the absence of leaders than to a change in the public disposition. But in February, 1788, Wilkinson returned from the South, by way of Charleston, S. C., and made his entry into Louisville in state, riding in a "chariot" drawn by four horses and accompanied by several slaves. It was immediately given out that he had secured from the Louisiana authorities the privilege of shipping tobacco to New Orleans on the most advantageous terms, and the general forthwith offered to purchase the unmarketed product, the cultivation of which he had previously urged. Wilkinson appeared to have entered into the speculation with great energy, and in January, 1789, fitted out twenty-five large boats, laden with tobacco, flour and provisions, for New Orleans. These goods were successfully disposed of, and later in the year, two mules loaded with specie were delivered to

the general at Frankfort, where a crowd of Lincoln County planters were assembled to receive payment for tobacco sold to Wilkinson.

All this appears to have been open and above reasonable suspicion, but the ambitious trader seems to have been unwilling to confine his efforts to commercial life, and early sought to turn his success with the Spanish authorities into a political account in furthering his advancement in public life. He therefore assumed great credit for securing what the general government was willing to surrender; and so plausible was his argument, so winning his address, that the tide of public favor seemed about to waft him to the goal of his desire. There were not wanting a "few" who suspected "that more was meant than a mere traffic in tobacco," but such was the public temper that they were forced to communicate their fears to political sympathizers and "whispers." Another subject which at the time lent its aid to the plans of Wilkinson was the adoption of the Federal constitution which had been submitted to the States for ratification in the preceding September. The people of the district were very generally opposed to its ratification. They had experienced what they believed to be the self-legislation of the Atlantic States in the negotiations concerning the Mississippi River in the dilatory measures undertaken against the savages, and in the vexatious delay which had repeatedly deferred the separation of the district from Virginia, and they had no wish to have the power, thus unjustly exercised, increased. It was believed that the new constitution would do this, and the feeling of opposition ranged from a wish to its unconditional defeat to its amendment before adoption.

It was with such sentiments that the people prepared for the April election, at which a double set of delegates were to be chosen. In addition to five from each county, authorized by the Fifth District convention (September, 1787), the legislature had authorized each county in the State to elect at the same time two members to meet in convention in June, at Richmond, for the purpose of considering the new Federal constitution. The

as little division of sentiment involved in his election, and therefore no special contest. The district convention was called for the purpose of submitting a constitution for the proposed State of Kentucky, and involved one of the issues before the people. In regard to the Federal constitution, with the exception of Jefferson County, which was strongly Federal in sentiment, there was little feeling manifested by the Kentuckians in favor of its ratification. The people had generally settled down to the belief that, for one reason or another, it would be rejected, and delegates were selected chiefly on personal grounds.\*

The State convention met, and on the 25th of June ratified the new constitution by a vote of eighty-eight to seventy-eight. Of the Kentucky members, Robert Breckenridge, Rice Bullock and Humphrey Marshall voted with the majority, the latter alone disappointing his constituents. When the result of the convention was known in Kentucky, there was a deep feeling of disappointment and resentment experienced, especially in regard to the conduct of Mr. Marshall. He undoubtedly acted upon the proper view of the relation of representative and constituency, and provided he made no expressed or implied engagement to act otherwise, of which there is no evidence, the member from Fayette cannot be reasonably charged with a violation of good faith. But the people did not view the matter in so calm a manner, and the independent delegate narrowly escaped the violent expression of his constituency's displeasure.

On the 28th of July, the Sixth District convention, but the first called for the framing of a constitution, assembled at Danville, and while in session learned that congress had refused to act upon the question of Kentucky's admission to the confederacy. In accordance with the request of the fifth convention, John Brown had been sent to congress by the legislature in the preceding

December; on the 29th of February he had presented the petition of the convention for the admission of the district as an independent member of the Federal union, but there were many obstacles in the way of its early and final disposition, and so the subject was alternately debated and deferred from February to May, from May to June, from June to July, when the whole matter was referred to the first congress under the newly adopted constitution. This decision was announced on the 3d of July by resolution, in which congress directed a copy of the proceedings "relative to the independence of the district of Kentucky" to be sent to the Virginia legislature, and also to Samuel McDowell, "late president" of the fifth convention, and that the inhabitants of the district be informed, "that as the constitution of the United States is now ratified, congress think it unadvisable to adopt any further measures for admitting the district of Kentucky," etc.; "but that congress, thinking it expedient that the said district be made a separate State, and member of the Union, as soon after proceedings shall commence under the said constitution, as circumstances shall permit," recommend to both parties concerned that steps be taken anew to bring it before congress again.

The preamble to this resolution throws no additional light upon the reasons on which this conclusion was reached. It appears that, after fully considering the subject, congress "did, on the 3d day of June last, resolve that it is expedient that the said district be erected into a sovereign and independent State, and a separate member of the Federal union, and appointed a committee to report an act accordingly," but the sentence inconsequently concludes, "which committee on the second instant was discharged," as, by the ninth State having ratified the new constitution, a new order of things had set in. There is nothing in all this to indicate why the committee should have delayed a full month to report upon a matter which congress had declared expedient, after several months' consideration. Letters from Mr. Brown to Judges McDowell and Muter did better in this respect. To the latter he wrote:

\*The members of the State Convention, as given by Butler p. 166, note,) were: From Fayette County, Humphrey Marshall and John Fowler; from Jefferson, Robert Breckenridge and Rice Bullock; Lincoln, John Logan and Henry Pawling; Nelson, John Steele and Matthew Walton; Mercer, Thomas Allen and Alexander Robertson; Madison, G. Clay and William Irvine; Bourbon, Henry Lee and John Edwards



Before this reaches you, I expect you will have heard the determination of congress relative to the separation of Kentucky, as a copy of the proceedings has been forwarded to the district by the secretary of congress a few days ago. It was not in my power to obtain a decision earlier than the 3d instant. Great part of the winter and spring there was not a representation of the States sufficient to proceed to this business, and after it was referred to a grand committee, they could not be prevailed upon to report, a majority of them being opposed to the measure. The Eastern States would not, nor do I think they ever will, assent to the admission of the district into the Union as an independent State, unless Vermont or the province of Maine is brought forward at the same time. The change which has taken place in the general government is made the ostensible objection to the measure; but the jealousy of the growing importance of the western country, and an unwillingness to add a vote to the southern interest, are the real causes of opposition, and I am inclined to believe that they will exist to a certain degree even under the new government, to which the application is referred by congress.\*

The effect of these communications upon the members of the Constitutional convention, which were as unexpected as disappointing, may readily be imagined. "The most deep-felt vexation, a share of ill-temper bordering on disaffection to the legal course of things, and strong symptoms of assuming independent government," were manifested. The navigation of the Mississippi, and the trade to New Orleans, now just tasted for the first time, were strenuously pressed into the argument in favor of completing the constitution and organizing government without delay. And had not these dispositions been met with a determined countenance, and overawed by those of a contrary tendency, it is not difficult to believe that immediate separation would have taken place.† It was proposed by the aggressive party that the course to be pursued should be referred to the captains of the various militia companies, who should take the sense of their commands by vote. This proposition was opposed on the most valid grounds by the more conservative members, and finally abandoned, but the session was protracted several days by these spirited discussions, when the convention ad-

journed after agreeing upon the following recommendation and resolutions:

WHEREAS, It appears to the members of this convention that the United States in congress assembled have for the present declined to ratify the compact entered into between the legislature of Virginia and the people of this district, respecting erection of the district into an independent State in consequence of which the powers vested in the convention are dissolved, and whatever order resolution they pass cannot be considered as having any legal force or obligation; but being anxious for the safety and prosperity of ourselves and constituents, do earnestly recommend to the good people inhabiting the several counties within the district, each to elect five representatives at the time of holding their courts in the month of October next, to meet at Danville on the first Monday November following, to continue in office until the 1st of January, 1790; and that they delegate their said representatives full powers to take such measures for obtaining admission of the district as a separate and independent member of the United States of America, and the navigation of the Mississippi, as may appear most conducive to those important purposes; and also to form a constitution of government for the district, and organize the same when they shall judge it necessary, or to do and accomplish whatsoever, on a consideration of the state of the district, may in their opinion promote its interests.

*Resolved*, That the elections directed by the preceding recommendation be held at the court house of each county, and continue from day to day five days, including the first day.

*Resolved*, That the sheriffs within the respective counties of this district be requested to hold the said elections, and make return thereof to the clerk of the supreme court immediately after the same are finished; and also deliver to each representative so elected, a certificate of his election; and in case there shall be no sheriff in either of the said counties or he should refuse to act, that any two acting magistrates there present may superintend and conduct said elections, and make returns, and grant certificates in the same manner the sheriffs are requested to do.

*Resolved*, That every free male inhabitant of each county within said district has a right to vote in the said elections within their said counties.

*Resolved*, That a majority of the members elected be a quorum to proceed to business.

*Resolved*, That if the said convention shall not make a house on the first Monday in November any three or more members then assembled may adjourn from day to day for five days next ensuing and if a convention should not then be formed by the end of the fifth day, that they may adjourn on any day they think proper, not exceeding one month.

*Resolved*, That the clerk of each county, or the

\*This letter was not made public until 1790, but the one addressed to McDowell was of similar import, and was probably laid before the convention, save a private communication in regard to Spanish affairs, to be referred to hereafter.

†See Marshall, Vol. I, p. 289.

said magistrates, as the case may be, read, or cause to be read, the aforesaid resolutions on each day immediately preceding the opening of the said elections.

*Ordered*, That the president do request the printer of the *Kentucky Gazette* to publish the proceedings and resolves of congress, by him laid before this convention; also such of the proceedings of this convention as the president shall think proper; and in particular, that the printer continue to publish weekly, until the 1st of October next, the recommendation for electing another convention, and the several resolutions relative thereto.

Thus the issue of immediate or delayed separation came again before the people for decision, largely at the polls. Fayette County, being the home of the chief leaders, became the scene of a spirited campaign. The militia captains were important factors in the early political machinery of Kentucky, and the wordy contests between the partisans of one or the other of the parties were frequent and warm. Opposed to Wilkinson were Col. Thomas Marshall, Sr., and Judge Muter, who did not hesitate to charge the general with improper and illegal relations with the Spanish authorities, and with designing, under cover of the final clauses of the Sixth convention's recommendation, to form an independent government in the district for the purpose of entering into relations with Spain without the sanction of Virginia or of the general government. These gentlemen were impelled to this course by something more substantial than mere suspicions. The discussions in the last convention had aroused their alarm, which was fully confirmed by the letter from Brown addressed to Muter and immediately shown by the latter to Col. Marshall. In this Brown wrote, in addition to the part already quoted:

The question which the district will now have to determine upon, will be: Whether or not, it will be more expedient to continue the connexion with the State of Virginia, or declare their independence and proceed to frame a constitution of government? 'Tis generally expected that the latter will be the determination, as you have proceeded too far to think of relinquishing the measure, and the interest of the district will render it altogether expedient to continue in your present situation until an application for admission into the Union can be made, in a constitutional mode, to the new government.

This step will, in my opinion, tend to preserve

unanimity, and will enable you to adopt with effect such measures as may be necessary to promote the interest of the district. In private conferences which I have had with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister at this place, I have been assured by him, in the most explicit manner, that if Kentucky will declare her independence, and empower some proper person to negotiate with him, that he has authority, and will engage to open the navigation of the Mississippi, for the exportation of their produce, on terms of mutual advantage. But that this privilege never can be extended to them while part of the United States, by reason of commercial treaties existing between that court and other powers of Europe. As there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this declaration, I have thought proper to communicate it to a few confidential friends in the district, with his permission, not doubting but they will make a prudent use of the information.\*

Without disclosing the contents of this letter to the public, however, and urged by Col. Marshall—who, it is said, is chiefly responsible for the matter of the publication as well as its origin—Judge Muter addressed a letter to the editor of the *Kentucky Gazette*, in which he called attention to the illegality of the action he believed to be imminent. He said:

Forming a constitution of government, and organizing the same, before the consent of the legislature of Virginia for that purpose is first obtained, will be directly contrary to the letter and spirit of the act of assembly, entitled "an act for punishing certain offenses, and vesting the governor with certain powers;" which declares that every person or persons who shall erect or establish, government separate from, or independent of the State of Virginia within the limits thereof, unless by act of the legislature for that purpose first obtained, or shall exercise any office under such usurped government, shall be guilty of high treason.

The third section of the fourth article of the Federal constitution expressly declares: "that no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed out of the junction of two or more States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the congress." Therefore, the consent of Virginia to the separation must first be obtained agreeably to the above cited section, to afford to Kentucky any pros-

\*It was subsequently disclosed that Brown had inclosed in the letter to McDowell a separate slip marked "confidential," on which he wrote: "In a conversation I had with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, relative to the navigation of the Mississippi, he stated that, if the people of Kentucky would erect themselves into an independent State, and appoint a proper person to negotiate with him, he had authority for that purpose, and would enter into an arrangement with them for the exportation of their produce to New Orleans, on terms of mutual advantage." It is probable that similar communications were sent to Wilkinson, Innes and others of that party.



pect of being admitted a member of the Federal union.

In the tenth section of the first article of the Federal constitution it is declared: "that no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation." Of course it must follow that no part of a State can enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation.

The resolution of the late convention, if adopted by the people, might fairly be construed to give authority to the next, to treat with Spain to obtain the navigation of the Mississippi, if they should think such a measure conducive to their interests; when it might plainly appear, by the before-cited section, that any other application than to the assembly of Virginia, and to the congress of the United States, must be contrary to the Federal constitution.

It is, therefore, submitted to the consideration of the inhabitants of Fayette, whether it may not be necessary in their instructions to their delegates, to direct them not to agree to the forming a constitution and form of government, and organizing the same, till the consent of the legislature of Virginia, for that purpose, is first obtained; not to agree to make any application whatever to obtain the navigation of the Mississippi, other than to the legislature of Virginia, and the congress of the United States; to draw up and forward to the assembly of Virginia a memorial requesting them to alter their acts for the separation of this district from Virginia, that the same may be brought before the congress of the United States, in the manner directed by the Federal constitution; and to request them to authorize the convention, by law, to form a constitution of government, and to organize the same; or, direct a new convention to be chosen, to continue in office a reasonable time, and to be vested with these powers.

To forward to the assembly of Virginia, and the congress of the United States (if they judge proper and necessary), a decent and manly memorial requesting that such measures may be pursued by congress, or that Virginia will use her influence with congress to take such measures as shall be most likely to procure for the people of the western country the navigation of the Mississippi.

The effect of such an address by the chief justice of the district could not fail to make a deep impression. A strong agitation took place, and two distinct parties were formed; the one of which Wilkinson was the most prominent leader, its leaders being drawn principally from the court and legal profession, became known as the "court party," while the other assumed the name of the "country party." No such policy as Brown had confidentially communicated, and Muter had publicly intimated, had been distinctly avowed by Wilkinson and his followers in

the campaign which followed the last convention; but such were the suspicions excited against these men that the people were greatly aroused to the danger of such a possibility, and the "court party" found it advisable to be less pronounced in their utterances. Still, neither party felt sure of the support of the majority of the people. The rapid immigration was bringing in large numbers of new men, whose lack of border experience caused them to feel less keenly in regard to the grievances complained of, and who gradually strengthened the "country party;" and yet, the adventurous character of many of them, and the wide-spread sectional feeling, tended to keep the two factions pretty evenly balanced.

The contest was probably more spirited in Fayette County than elsewhere in Kentucky. Here, Wilkinson and the other candidates of the "court party," were opposed by Col. Marshall, Muter, Crockett, Allen, and another, whose name is not remembered, of the other party. "The election came on and was exceedingly animated;" the vote at first went very much against the radical candidates, and there was a strong probability that the whole list would be defeated. On the fourth day, therefore, Wilkinson believed it advisable to disclaim the character imputed to him, and to make such professions as to disarm the fears of the people, with whom he was really a great favorite. Accordingly, the return of the poll at the close of the election, showed that the four gentlemen named, of the opposition, and Wilkinson alone, of the "court party," had been chosen delegates. In other parts of the district, the result was more favorable to the latter party, and Brown, Innes, McDowell and others of the leaders were chosen, besides enough of their followers to make the membership of the new convention about evenly divided between the two factions.

The seventh convention met on the 3d of November, 1788; on the 4th, a quorum was present, and on the 5th, it began the business of the session. The leaders of the opposing forces in the convention had already discovered themselves; of the "country party," there

re Marshall, Muter, Crockett, and Col. John Edwards, of Bourbon County; of the "court party," there were Wilkinson, Brown, Bastian and Innes. The first trial of length came at the very beginning of the real work of the convention. Organization having been accomplished, the resolution of congress relating to the separation of the district was read to the convention and referred to a committee of the whole, into which the convention was resolved, and Mr. Wilkinson called to the chair. In the discussion which followed, a question as to the authority under which the body was acting developed the fact that the recommendation and resolutions of the former convention had not been referred. A resolution that the committee rise in order that this document might be brought before it, was urged and opposed by arguments in which neither party expressed their real object. Both had the empowering clause of the recommendation in view, but the one urged that the navigation of the Mississippi, of which the congressional document made no mention, was too important a subject to be left out of the consideration of the committee, while the other objected to the confusion involved in the discussion of so many topics at the same time.

The debate took a wide range and earnest tone, in the course of which Wilkinson dilated on the advantages of a free navigation of the river. He pointed out the discouragements experienced; that it was idle to look to the general government for relief; that the same difficulties did not exist in treating with Spain, and declared "that there was information of the first importance on that subject within the power of the convention, which he doubted not it would be equally agreeable to the members to have, and for the gentleman who possessed it, to communicate." The attention of the convention was thus directed to Mr. Brown, who with some hesitation arose and said "that he did not think himself at liberty to disclose what had passed in private conference between the Spanish minister, Mr. Gardoqui, and himself, but that this much in general he would venture to

inform the convention, that, provided we are unanimous, everything we could wish for is within our reach." This was scarcely so explicit as his friends had been led to expect, nor so forcible as desired by Wilkinson, who probably intended Mr. Brown's authoritative utterance as an introduction to a paper which he had prepared upon the subject of the navigation and commerce of the Mississippi. Nothing daunted by this partial failure of his plans the general proposed, with the permission of the convention, to read his production. It was at once called for by his party associates, and listened to with respect by all. It was addressed to the intendant of Louisiana, covered some fifteen or twenty pages of manuscript, and treated the subject in a way that elicited a unanimous vote of thanks "for the regard he therein manifested for the interests of the western country." The reading of this essay ended the discussion, and the resolutions in question were referred to the committee of the whole, in order that all the interests of the district might come within the scope of its deliberations.

The victory thus gained by the "court party" was barren of any marked results. Whatever the ulterior purpose of its leaders may have been, its achievement required an unanimity that was found to be impossible. Each party had become aware that it was in the presence of a watchful opponent, and each, doubtful of the other's strength and disposition, appeared unwilling to join issue. The whole course of the convention was a series of evasions; every proposition was voted without serious opposition, save in the case just mentioned. Mr. Innes introduced petitions from subscribers in Mercer and Madison Counties praying for an address to congress in behalf of securing the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the convention in due time prepared and forwarded such an address. A little later Mr. Crockett introduced a numerous signed remonstrance against a "violent separation" from Virginia, and Mr. Edwards, by order of the convention, presented a "decent and respectful" address to the legislature, "praying that an act may pass at the present session for ena-



bling the good people of the Kentucky district to obtain an independent government;" and its "friendly interposition with congress for a speedy admission of the district into the Federal union." An amendment being offered, this measure was postponed for a time, and in the meantime Mr. Wilkinson offered a preamble and resolution calling for an address to the people, seeking "instructions in what manner to proceed on the important subject to them submitted." This was also passed, and the business placed in the hands of a committee to prepare. This was brought forward, reported to the committee of the whole, where it was superseded by the address to the legislature which, when adopted by the convention, obviated the necessity for further instructions. This done, the convention adjourned till the first Monday in August, 1789.\*

It is almost idle to inquire into the motives which actuated the "court party," but the historian, Marshall, has ascribed such an exceptional character to them, has dealt so freely in suspicion and inuendo, that they seem to have a permanent importance which may not be wholly ignored. Of the persons involved in the supposed conspiracy with Spain, Wilkinson and Brown were the most important. So far as appearance and proof went, the operations of the former were simply of a business character, and his relations with Louisiana authorities were confined to a kind of commercial treaty won by the remarkable audacity of the man. There is no doubt that the privilege he obtained was a very profitable one not only to himself but also to the people of Kentucky, many of whom, through his permits, shared the advantages of the concession. There is no reasonable probability that he ever received a pension from the Spanish authorities, and though repeatedly tried by competent courts, before which he waived legal formalities tending to limit incompetent evidence, he was triumphantly acquitted on every charge preferred, though supported by witnesses of the

worst character and most vindictive temper. Brown's relations were of a different character. It was doubtless the hope of Spanish officials to achieve through the disaffection of the Kentuckians what seemed impossible in negotiating with the general government. That the western representative should have given his assent to the Spanish minister's proposition was not so unnatural as undiplomatic. It is well to bear in mind that national sentiment at that time was undeveloped; that the separate action of a State was legally recognized; and that if Kentucky had been "unanimous," the matter of Virginia's opposition would have been of slight consequence. That Brown's attitude was entirely friendly to what he considered the best interests of the district is beyond reasonable doubt, and so far from condemning him, the "good people" of Kentucky, while not indorsing his views in this respect, gave him the best evidence of their regard by continuing him in the United States senate for eighteen years. Even the jaundiced historian, while assailing these men, is compelled to say "that so long as the leaders of the faction for violent separation continued to offer themselves to the people in elections, they were elected." (Vol. I, p. 369.)

After the contest was ended, the mental vision of many of their opponents cleared, and led them to do justice to the leaders of the "court party." Col. Marshall was an intimate friend of Washington, and when the latter began to be spoken of as the probable first president under the constitution, the colonel wrote him, under date of February 8, 1789, giving an account "of such symptoms of foreign intrigue and internal disaffection as had manifested themselves to him." In this letter, "the names of Wilkinson and Brown are alone mentioned among the implicated." Mr. Marshall was undoubtedly actuated in this matter by the most worthy motives, and his sincerity is evinced by his subsequent conduct when his suspicions were proven unfounded. In a letter to Marshall, Washington subsequently wrote:

In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 11th of September (1790), I must beg you to

\*Marshall gives the proceedings of this convention considerably in detail. He had access to notes of the deliberations taken by Col. Marshall, which were declared by other members to be accurate. See Vol. I, pp. 316-337.

accept my thanks for the pleasing communication which it contains of the good disposition of the people of Kentucky toward the government of the United States. I never doubted but that the operations of this government, if not perverted by prejudice or evil designs, would inspire the citizens of America with such confidence in it, as effectually to do away these apprehensions which, under our former confederation, our best men entertained of divisions among ourselves, or allurements from other nations. I am therefore happy to find, that such a disposition prevails in your part of the country as to remove any idea of that evil, which a few years ago you so much dreaded.

"This letter," as Mr. Butler remarks, "taken in connection with the subsequent appointment of Wilkinson to be a lieutenant-colonel in the army, at the recommendation of Col. Marshall,\* as well as others, and the repeated military commissions of high trust and expression of thanks to Messrs. Brown, Innes, Scott, Shelby and Logan, amply confirm the idea that the imputed disaffection of any of these distinguished citizens to the union of the States, had been abandoned by Col. Washington himself, and most certainly by Washington, if ever admitted to disturb his serene and benevolent mind." (P. 183.)

The year of 1788 is marked by another characteristic intrigue, which, though unimportant in its results, illustrates how widespread and determined the disaffection of the western country was believed to be. Some time about November, Connolly, the notorious nephew of Lord Dunmore, arrived from Canada, ostensibly to inquire after his lands at the Falls of the Ohio, but really to discover the disposition of the leading men in regard to hostile operations against the Spanish on the lower Mississippi. He was introduced by Col. John Campbell, his partner in the lands, and some time a prisoner among the Indians. He approached Judge Muter and Marshall,

urging the necessity of the free navigation of the river, and represented that the Canadian authorities had 4,000 troops, besides two regiments, at Detroit, which they were willing to employ in aiding the Kentuckians to possess New Orleans, beside arms, ammunition, clothing and money. He also approached Gens. Scott and Wilkinson with the same story. The latter, dangerous to the public quiet as he was believed by some to be, treated the plotter in a summary fashion. Although willing to impress the Spanish intendant with the idea, "that should Spain be so blind to her true interests as to refuse the use of the river to the western people, and thereby compel a resort to military means for its attainment, that Great Britain stands ready, with her arms expanded, willing to receive and co-operate with them in their efforts for the accomplishment of this great and favorite object," he was by no means ready to try the experiment. He procured it to be given out that Connolly was an English spy, and engaged a borderer to make a sham assault upon him. This so terrified him that he asked a guide to secretly lead him out of the district, and thus ended the only attempt made by the English to enlist the co-operation of the Kentuckians.

On the 29th of December the legislature, in prompt compliance with the address of the last district convention, passed the third act of separation. This document did not reach Kentucky, however, until in January, 1789, when, its terms being known, it gave rise to severe criticism and to general disappointment. It was found that new conditions had been added to those originally imposed, which, however reasonable they may have appeared to the Virginians, proved highly objectionable to the Kentuckians. It was provided that the new State should pay a portion of the present domestic debt of the commonwealth. This had been suggested by the great expense incurred in carrying on military operations in defense of the district, which, though not always authorized by Virginia, had been assumed. The other new condition proposed to secure to the Virginia officers and soldiers the bounty lands set

\*The fact of this recommendation becoming known to his political associates, brought upon him "a degree of censure" which evoked the following explanation. "He considered Wilkinson well qualified for the commission he had solicited and obtained; that while he remained unemployed by government he considered him dangerous to the public quiet of Kentucky, perhaps to her safety; that if his commission did not secure his fidelity, it would at least place him under control, in the midst of faithful officers, whose vigilance would render him harmless, if it did not make him honest. At all events, he could see no good reason for not putting the lion in the toils, which he solicited for himself." (Marshall, Vol. I, p. 391). This explanation, if not distorted by the historian, served the censured gentlemen as an *argumentum ad hominem*. In his reply to his associates, but as a public apology, it does credit neither to his head nor his heart, and would have been much better omitted by his friend, the historian.



apart for them, but it served to continue a certain dependence of the district upon the parent State, so that in case of separation the new State would be "in part independent, and in part dependent on a co-State as to the exercise of legislative power."

This act obliged the people of the district to again travel the whole tedious round of conventions to determine the expediency of separation, to form a constitution, and to organize a government. The election of delegates occurred in April, and Messrs. Marshall and Muter again presented themselves as candidates. Wilkinson, tired of politics, and immersed in business cares, declined to present his name, and the election passed without notable incident. On the third Monday in July (20th), 1789, the eighth convention assembled at Danville. There were many of the "court party" present, but the old issue was not presented, and the deliberations of the body were unmarked by any serious division of sentiment. Discussion first turned upon the new terms of separation, and after a short debate a resolution was adopted providing for a memorial to the legislature "requiring such alterations in the terms proposed to this district for separation as will make them equal to those formerly offered by Virginia, and agreed to on the part of the said district." This done, the convention turned its attention to general legislation. It directed its members to "meet at their court houses, on the October court days, and lay off their respective counties into precincts, and that each delegate make out a list of the souls residing within his respective precinct, discriminating between males and females, and between those over and those under twenty-one years of age." It was further provided that the president of the convention should call the members together again so soon as the amended act of the legislature should come to hand.

The memorial of this convention, in due time, came before the legislature, which, on December 18, 1789, passed an act in conformity with the wishes of the district. This act,\* the fourth and final one, required the

work to be done *de novo*; the convention, to determine the expediency of separation was required to meet at Danville, on July 26, 1790; congress to give its assent prior to November 1, 1791; the day of separation to be fixed "posterior" to that date, and a constitutional convention to be provided for and meet prior to the date fixed for final separation. The ninth convention accordingly met on the date appointed; organized with Judge Muter as president; resolved unanimously in favor of the expediency of separation; accepted the terms of the last legislative act, and fixed on June 1, 1792, as the date of final separation; prepared appropriate addresses to Virginia and congress; provided for the election—on the court days in December, 1791—of delegates to constitute a convention, which was to assemble on the first Monday in April, 1792, at Danville, and adjourned. On December 18, 1790, the president strongly recommended the claims of Kentucky to congress, in response to which communication each house made a suitable reply in favorable terms, and on February 4, 1791, both houses had passed the act admitting the district, as the State of Kentucky, on the terms of the "compact" between that section and Virginia. Fourteen days later Vermont was also admitted to the Union, but as it was not encumbered with delaying conditions, it became a part of the Union immediately after congress rose in March—an indirect confirmation of Mr. Brown's opinion that the historian, Marshall, fails to point out.

In December, 1791, the election of delegates for the tenth\* and final convention came on and passed without notable incident save that "considerable effort" was made to place the district under party discipline. The plan was to organize a system of county committees, "whose first ostensible business was to form tickets, or to recommend to the people fit persons to be elected by them as representatives. The next thing was to furnish the representatives, when chosen, wit

\*These conventions were assembled on the following dates: December 27, 1784; May 23 and August 8, 1785; September (fourth Monday), 1786; September 17, 1787; July 28 and November 3, 1788; July 20, 1789; July 26, 1790, and April (first Monday) 1792.

\*Appendix A, Note 29.

instructions how to act. "The project appears to have been only partially successful, and, as a "principle of practice," was not established in Kentucky until a later time. Electioneering, however, had already become an art, and the people, accustomed to being courted for their votes, elected "those who had taken most pains to please." The deliberations of the convention were harmonious, and the progress of the work so rapid that, notwithstanding the interruption occasioned by the resignation and re-election of Mr. Nicholas,\* the members ratified the new instrument by their adoption and signature on the 19th day of the same month.

The convention provided that the election of State officers and the members of the legislature should occur in May, and that the new government should assemble in Lexington on Monday, the 4th day of June following. Accordingly, on the 3d of the month, Isaac Shelby, the declared governor, left his farm destined for that place. The same day, passing through Danville, he received a congratulatory address from its citizens, to which he returned an appropriate reply, and then proceeded on his journey. The next day he arrived in Lexington, escorted by a troop of volunteers who had met him on the road, pursuant to an order of the trustees of the town, by whom he was received with some parade. The greater number of the senators, with a large proportion of the representatives, arrived the same day, and on the following day the new government was formally inaugurated, with Alexander Scott Bullitt as president of the senate, and Robert Breckinridge as speaker of the house of representatives. Thus, after eight years of vexatious struggle, the State

of Kentucky became an integral part of the American Union, fitted and furnished for its career in the sisterhood of States.

The boundaries of the new State had been recognized, by the act of Virginia, as the "same as at present separate the district from the residue of this commonwealth." In 1780 the line 36° 30' north latitude, which separated Virginia from North Carolina, had been traced only to the Alleghany Mountains. With the extension of settlements westward, disputes arose between the borderers, and serious inconvenience was experienced in the matter of property, as well as jurisdiction. The two governments accordingly provided, in this year, for the further survey of this line, Dr. Walker being selected on the part of Virginia, and Col. Henderson on the part of North Carolina, for this purpose. These gentlemen, with their attendants, immediately set about this business, beginning at the Tennessee River, and proceeding eastward. They soon found the results of their independent observations disagreeing with each other, and each adhering to his own opinion, through a prepossession in favor of his own State, or the inaccuracy of instruments, the lines thus drawn were found to cross each other, and to be quite wide apart on reaching the top of the Cumberland Mountain. At this point Henderson withdrew, but Walker, pursuing his course, had the line marked to the Tennessee River, where he stopped, and subsequently discovered that the projected line would touch the Mississippi instead of the Ohio, as had been supposed.

Such definition of the boundary line by no means obviated the inconvenience experienced, but for many years no further official attention was given the matter, although difficulties occasionally arose which threatened to interrupt the friendly relations of the two governments. On the 14th of October, 1799, the boundary on the east was settled by commissioners acting for the two States interested, and was established to run from the point where the southern boundary crosses the Cumberland Mountains, pursuing a northeast course to the northeastwardly

\*This incident is related by Marshall (Vol. I, p. 395) as follows: "Mr. Nicholas, finding it necessary or convenient to revise some opinion which he had advanced previous to his election, and which now stood in his way to a newly conceived measure, resigned his seat in order to submit himself, as regenerated, to the people in another election, rather than forego the desire of bringing forth this recent conception, or run the risk of giving offense to his constituents, or of trusting to the intrinsic merits of the project and subsequent speculations. He was in the midst of his constituents, and beside, this self-lumination could but yield a most savory sacrifice to the popular nostril, and secure to him its patronage. Accordingly he had no opponent, was re-elected, and again took his seat in a few days, re-enforced with all the might and majesty of his county. It is, however, due to Mr. Nicholas to add that if he was a seeker of popularity he was a politician of distinguished eminence." The project for which he made this sacrifice was to vest the court of appeals with original and final jurisdiction in land suits, and it was accordingly incorporated in the constitution.



branch of the Big Sandy River; thence to the main west branch, and down the same to the Ohio. In 1811, provision was made by the Kentucky legislature for the survey of the southern boundary westward from the Tennessee River, which was subsequently accomplished by Messrs. Alexander and Munsell, the line reaching the river below New Madrid. In 1820 this line, with the one established by Walker, was mutually agreed upon as the southern boundary of Kentucky. This area, otherwise marked by the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers,\* is included between the meridians of  $82^{\circ} 3'$  and  $89^{\circ} 30'$  west longitude, and between  $36^{\circ} 26'$  and  $39^{\circ} 6'$  north latitude. Its extreme length from east to west is 308 miles; its greatest breadth from north to south is 172 miles, and contains 37,680 square miles, of which all, save about 1,000 square miles in the sub-valley of the Ohio, lies within the Mississippi Valley.

In 1800 the population had increased since the first census to 220,955 persons, of whom 41,082 were slaves or free persons of color; in 1810 the population was composed of 324,237 whites and 82,274 blacks, and Kentucky rose from the fourteenth State, in point of population, to the ninth in the American Union. This development found expression also in the growth of towns and villages, which, numbering only five, with populations varying from 150 to 834 souls, in 1790, ten years later had increased to twenty-nine, with populations varying from six to 1,795 souls.† A traveler from the East, intent on seeing the country, at this time would take boat at Pittsburgh, and land at Limestone. Until 1784 no structure of any sort marked the site of the landing place, but at that date the Wallers erected a double log cabin and block-house; and three

years later a warehouse, for the reception and inspection of tobacco, was built by authority of the legislature. Immediately after, a plat consisting of 100 acres was laid out by John May and Simon Kenton, "on the lower side of Limestone Creek, and called Maysville." Notwithstanding its importance as a general landing place for Kentucky immigration, this municipal venture developed but slowly. In the same year (1787) the town of Charleston was established by law at the mouth of Lawrence Creek, and two years before, the town of Washington, four miles to the southwest of the landing, had been laid out. This was a pretentious venture, the plat of which covered 700 acres; it grew rapidly under the stimulating influence of the large immigration, and in 1790 possessed a population of 462 souls. In 1800 its inhabitants were returned at 570, and at 815 ten years later. With such competition the famous *entrepot* grew but slowly. It was noted "as a fine harbor for boats coming down the Ohio," and as being the terminus of a "large wagon-road to Lexington." In 1797, Francis Bailey, the English traveler, estimated that it might contain from thirty to forty houses, which were found to be chiefly log-houses; the place on a near approach appeared very dirty, and presented a much more pleasing prospect from the river; provisions were found to be very dear, owing to the number of boats which had recently landed. As early as 1798 it had reached the dignity of a "post-town," and in 1802 was found by Michaux to consist of not more than thirty or forty houses, though these were built of plank, obtained from the Kentucky boats that were broken up at the end of their journey. A few years later it was described as "quite a bustling place," but with a population only numbering about 350 souls.

Inland travel from this point, which was known as Limestone for some years later, was accomplished on horseback, but Michaux warns visitors that they will find it difficult to hire horses here. Such animals were only to be obtained by purchase, and the people not less well informed than those farther east knew "how to take advantage when they

\*The jurisdiction of Kentucky extends to low-water mark on the north side of the Ohio River.

†The census takers of 1800 returned twenty-nine towns, with a separate enumeration, as follows. The figures before the names indicate the rank of each town in point of population: 24, Eddyville, 69; 26, Falmouth, 38; 12, Flemingsburg, 124; 2, Frankfort, 628; 6, Georgetown, 350; 20, Germantown, 81; 22, Greensburg, 71; 27, Greenville, 26; 25, Hardinsburg, 49; 13, Harrodsburg, 124; 21, Hartford, 74; 8, Henderson, 205; 17, Lancaster, 103; 1, Lexington, 1,795; 5, Louisville, 359; 11, Maysville, 137; 19, Mount Sterling, 83; 16, Newport, 106; 28, Nicholasville, 23; 4, Paris, 377; 20, Prestonburg, 6; 15, Richmond, 110; 14, Russellville, 117; 7, Shelbyville, 262; 18, Shepherdsville, 96; 10, Springfield, 63; 9, Versailles, 172; 3, Washington, 570; 23, Williamsburg (now Orangeburg), 70.

can." The Frenchman, therefore, determined to make his way to Lexington on foot, a distance of sixty-five miles, which he accomplished in two days and a half. Washington was reached after a tramp of four miles, and was found to consist of "about two hundred houses, all of planks," which were erected on either side of the wagon-road which lead to Lexington. Here trade was brisk, the principal article being flour, which was exported to New Orleans. In the country around were found beautiful plantations, with fences as well kept and fields as well cultivated as in Virginia. From Washington the road led to Springfield, a place then consisting of five or six houses, two of which were "spacious well-built taverns," but which was unknown to the gazetteers and has since entirely passed away. A little further on, the traveler reached May's Lick, nine miles southwest from Washington, which was chiefly interesting for the salt works established there. Millersburg, known to the early gazetteers as "Miller's," was found situated on a branch of the Licking, thirty-two miles northeast of Lexington, and consisting of about fifty houses and two saw-mills. A bridge was constructed over the river, which, like all others of the few to be found in this country, consisted of tree-trunks, not fastened together, placed transversely beside each other. But little care was bestowed upon repairs, and the traveler on horseback is advised that "it is always prudent to alight on crossing them."

Some eighteen miles before reaching Lexington on this road, the town of Paris arose before the early traveler. It was at this time the chief place in Bourbon County. During the pioneer period it was known as Houston's Station, and was eclipsed by the superior importance of Ruddle's and Miller's Stations in its near vicinity. In 1789, it was established as a town by the legislature under the name of Hopewell; a year later the name was changed to Bourbonton, and subsequently to Paris. It was situated in the midst of a pleasant plain of considerable extent, and near the Licking, on which were several "corn-mills." In 1796 it contained

only eighteen houses, but in 1802 Michaux notes upward of 150 buildings, "more than half of which are built of brick." Everything at that time indicated the prosperity of the people. "Seven or eight of them," says Michaux, "were drinking whisky in a very neat tavern, where I stopped to let the great heat pass over. After answering the various questions they asked me relative to the intentions of my journey, one of them invited me to dine with him, being desirous of making me acquainted with one of my countrymen, who had lately arrived from Bengal. I yielded to his request, and found a Frenchman who had quitted Calcutta to come and live in Kentucky. He had taken up his residence at Paris, where he exercised the profession of a schoolmaster."

No further aggregation of houses claimed the distinction of a village until Lexington, the early metropolis of Kentucky, was reached. This town was established the same year as Louisville (1780), and rapidly assumed the place of first importance. It was situated in a rich, extensive plain, in the center of that region now known as Bluegrass, on the north side of Town Fork, an affluent of the south branch of Elkhorn. It was early chosen as the site of Wilkinson's commercial operations, to whose enterprise it doubtless owed much of its first prosperity. Its rapid growth, however, may probably be attributed to its position in the center of one of the most fertile regions in the world. In the census of 1790 it is credited with a population of 834, which had reached 2,000 in 1796, as estimated by Jedidiah Morse, the earliest of American gazetteers. At the latter date, there were 250 houses, three places of public worship, a court house and a jail. Two printing offices each issued a weekly gazette, several stores competed in trade, and everything indicated a flourishing condition of prosperity. Its social charms were of the most agreeable character, its population including a number of the most genteel families to be found in Kentucky.

In 1802, it is described as situated in the middle of about 300 acres of cleared ground,



surrounded by heavy woods. Its plan was regular; the broad streets, intersecting each other at right angles, were without "foot-ways," and muddy in winter and in the wet season. The houses were mostly brick, and dispersed over an extent of 80 or 100 acres, save on Main Street, where the houses were contiguous to each other. At this time the gazettes were issued twice a week, for which a part of the paper was manufactured in the country. Two good rope-walks found constant employment in furnishing the ship-builders on the Ohio, while the preparation and manufacture of hemp furnished employment for considerable capital and a number of hands in several other establishments. A new invention for "grinding and cleansing" this staple had just been announced by one of its citizens. With this machine, moved by horse-power or by a current of water, it was believed that 8,000 weight of hemp could be thus prepared in a day. A new nail machine had just been patented also, which eventually turned out 5,320 pounds of finished nails in twelve hours, and enabled the manufacturers to export the finished product to Louisville, Cincinnati, and even to Pittsburgh. Michaux further notes that "the manufactories of Lexington are supported, and their proprietors are thought to be doing very well, notwithstanding the extreme high price of labor. This price is occasioned by the inhabitants giving the preference to agriculture, and there being but few who put their children to trades, because they require their assistance in their own employments. The following comparison will render this defect of artisans in the western country more perceptible. At Charleston in Carolina, and at Savannah in Georgia, a white workman, such as a joiner, carpenter, mason, white-smith, tailor, shoemaker, etc., earns two piasters a day, and cannot live a week for less than six. At New York and Philadelphia he receives only one piaster, and it costs him four a week. At Marietta, Lexington and Nashville, Tenn., this workman receives a piaster, or a piaster and a half per day, and can live a week upon one day's wages. Another instance will also

assist in giving an idea of the low price of provisions of the first necessity in the western States; the boarding-house at which I lived during my residence at Lexington is reckoned one of the best in the town, and the table is very well supplied for two piasters per week." Outside of the town were several powder-mills, for the use of which sulphur was imported from Philadelphia, and the saltpeter manufactured from the earths of the neighboring caverns. Several tanneries on the river, and potteries where the common ware was made, should also be included in these outside manufactories.

In 1805, Lexington was set down as the "largest and most wealthy town in Kentucky, or indeed west of the Alleghany Mountains;" its Main Street had all the appearance of Market Street in Philadelphia on a busy day; the dwelling-houses were estimated at 500, many of which were elegant, and three stories high; and at that time, thirty brick buildings were in process of construction. In all save the water, the surroundings of the town were declared to be admirable, and the prospect seemed to warrant the prediction that in a few years Lexington would rival the most populous inland town of the Atlantic States, "not only in wealth, but in population." Two years later, the town had gained a fourth church, a public academy, and "other well regulated schools;" a market house, in which the produce of the surrounding country was exposed for sale; a book store, and book bindery, two more rope-walks, two nail factories, and two cotton-mills in one of which the manufacture of duck was made a specialty. The stores were estimated at thirty, several of which were engaged in the wholesale trade; the number of houses by a closer estimate was placed at 400, "many of which are handsomely built," and the population at 2,400 souls.

The census of 1810 showed this progress still active. The population had increased to 4,326; the manufacture of hemp now engaged fifteen rope-walks and bagging factories, which annually worked up about 1,200 or 1,400 tons of hemp. Each bagging factory employed from fifteen to twenty-five black

boys in spinning, from ten to twenty looms attended by black men, four or five hands repairing the fibre, and two or three white men as overseers. The rope-walks each employed ten or fifteen men, each man and boy earning for his master about \$1 per day. The value of the manufactured products thus turned out was estimated at \$500,000 in the Eastern market. The cotton factories had been increased to four, in the newest and most extensive of which the manufactured articles were declared to "do honor to our country." It was further noted by a traveler, that "Mr. Daniel Bradford, has lately established a wool-carding and spinning machinery, and one or two others are in operation," besides an oil-cloth and oil-carpeting business, which succeeded well. It was also reported, that Mr. John Bradford, Sr., was about to erect machinery for spinning ropes by steam power. A second book store, and a third printing press, were also recent accessions to the business of the town. Public enterprise was further marked by a "well regulated and extensive public library," a public theatre," with its company of actors, and neatly conducted "bath-houses, both warm and cold." The style of building was all handsome, and the public inns, of which there were four, were conducted on a plan and style of neatness, which made a man feel at home, as soon as he entered. Everything went "like clock work," the employees being at their posts night and day, and the landlord's watchful eye constantly over all. It was not unusual to see thirty or forty strangers sit down at the table in Postlewaite's tavern at one time, and the others were not less well patronized.

These facts pertaining to Lexington may be found in the published accounts of the travels of Michaux, Espy (Tour in Ohio and Kentucky in 1805; published in Cincinnati, 1811); the *Navigator*, Pittsburgh, 1814, and in Fearon's *Sketches of America*, London, 1818. From the latter a statement of Lexington's business, in 1817, is drawn as follows: twelve cotton mills, employing a capital of \$7,500; three woolen-mills, £32,600; three paper-mills, £20,250; three steam grist-mills,

£16,875; powder-mills, £9,000; lead factory, £14,800; foundries for casting brass and iron, in connection with a silver-plating establishment, £9,000; four hat factories, £15,000; four coach factories, £12,600; five tanneries, £20,000; twelve factories for making cotton bagging and hempen yarns, £100,400; six cabinet-makers, £5,600; four soap and candle factories, £12,150; three tobacco factories, £11,450; sundry others, £120,000; making the total of employed capital in manufacturing, £467,225.

Southward from Lexington the public road was only a bridle path, though well marked by constant use. This led in a southwest course twenty-two miles to Hickman's Ferry, on the Kentucky River, where a tavern offered entertainment to the belated traveler, and a flat-boat furnished a means of crossing in time of high water. A mile beyond the river a branch road turned abruptly westward toward Harrodsburg, while continuing southwardly for some twenty miles the trail led to Danville. The latter village was established by the legislature in 1787, and, as the district capital, gained some early distinction. It was the place where the various conventions were held from 1784 to 1792, but it was not of much importance as a town until some years later. Its population is not given separately in either the first or second census, and in 1810 contained only 432 inhabitants. On the formation of the district, Harrodsburg lost much of its early prestige. It was early made a post-town, however, and in 1796 contained some twenty scattered houses. In 1802, planks had become conspicuous in the construction of dwellings, but the number had not increased, and the population was only 124 as returned in the previous census. In 1810, there were only 313 inhabitants. The route to Nashville, followed by pack-trains and travelers, led southwestwardly from Harrodsburg to Hay's (Haysville), thence to Skegg's, Bears' Wallow, Dripping Spring and across the Big Barren southward. After leaving Harrodsburg, the country was sparsely settled, and save log "taverns," at intervals of from twenty to thirty miles, there was scarcely a sign of human habitation to



be observed along the route. The early tourist was forced, therefore, to turn northward and seek Frankfort, as the trails leading westward were still less inviting.

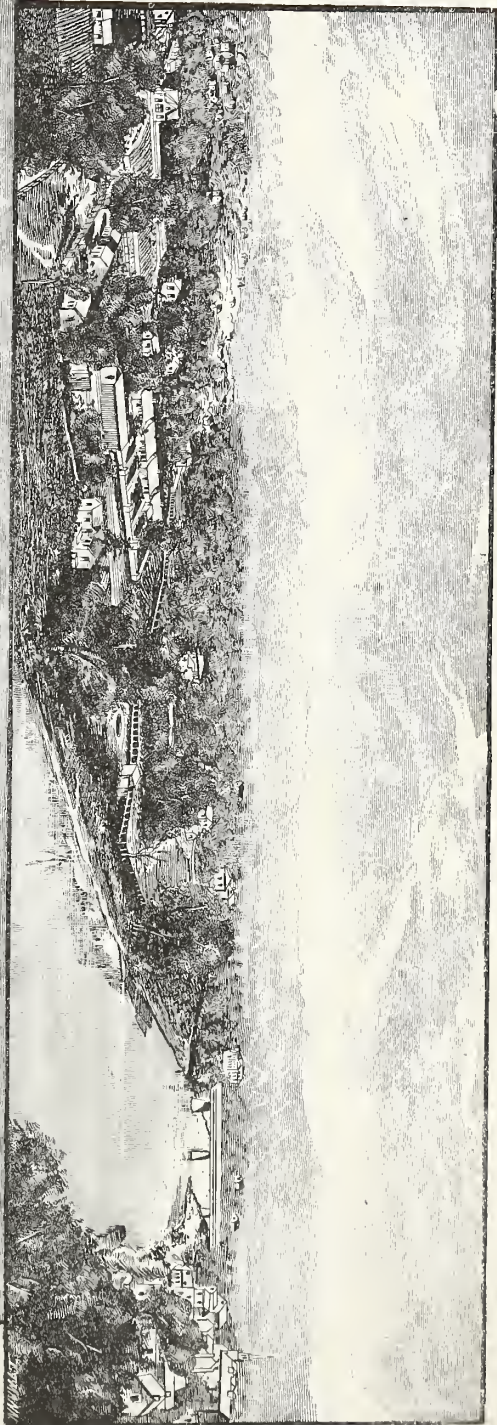
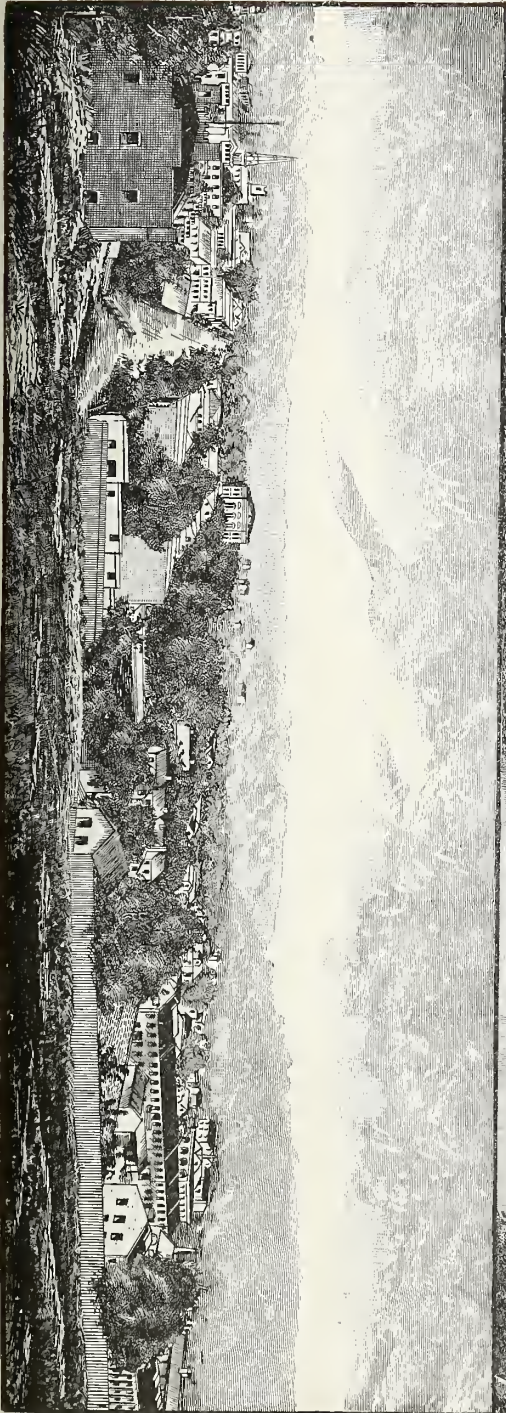
In the western portion of the new State thus left unexplored, there were two towns, at least, which gave promise of future growth. Of these, Henderson, on the Ohio River was the more important. It was laid out quite early, though not incorporated until 1810; it extended along the river front for half a mile, and from its situation on a high bank commanded a fine view of the river for several miles. It was a post-town and county seat as early as 1793, and in the second census is credited with a population of 205 souls. In 1810 the enumeration fell to 159, though considerable business activity is noted. The town at this time contained about thirty houses, of which many were brick. The business portion of the town was represented by two stores indifferently supplied and two long tobacco warehouses. The other western town was Eddyville, on the Cumberland River, forty-five miles from its mouth. This place was settled in 1799, and thither the notorious Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, came in the spring of 1801. Removed from the political agitations of the East, he turned his ability into commercial channels, erected a successful wool and cotton carding machine, a paper-mill propelled by oxen, and a distillery. He subsequently engaged in boat-building, constructing several gunboats for the government, and a large number of barges and river boats. One of his sons was engaged in the river traffic and made frequent trips to New Orleans. The village was more important for its business activity than for its population, which was only sixty-nine persons in 1800, and does not appear in the census as a separate factor again until 1830, when it reached only 167 souls.

The State capital in 1800 was the second town in Kentucky. The land on which it stood was surveyed as early as 1774 by the McAfees, but these adventurers, finding richer lands elsewhere, neglected to record the plat made. The survey was well known,

however, and subsequent locaters were careful not to infringe upon its boundaries. Thus the adjacent lands were entered various times up to 1789, the omission of the McAfees escaping notice until 1785 when Humphrey Marshall learned of it, and promptly took advantage of the fact to enter it for himself. In the following year Frankfort was established as a town by the legislature, taking its name, it is said, from the fact that Stephen Frank was killed in 1780 by the Indians on that spot. Its growth was not such as to attract attention until it was made the capital of the new State in 1793, when a new era in its history began. The town was situated on a river bottom, marked by high ground on the northeast, and encircled on the southwest by the river, which forms a semi-circle at that point. A considerable part of the town site was subject to annual inundation, and until 1796 was occupied by a stagnant pond; but at this time, Gen. Wilkinson, being stationed here, took measures to drain this part of the plain and greatly improved the healthfulness of the place. At this date, Frankfort was noted as a flourishing town, regularly laid out, containing many handsome houses, a fine state-house constructed of stone, and a tobacco warehouse. Its population is not given in the first census, but in 1800, it is credited with 628 inhabitants, and in 1810 with 1,099. It then contained about 140 houses, three printing offices, a book store, book-bindery, a public library, eight or ten "mercantile" stores, and a bank, established in the fall of 1807.

The buildings were principally of brick and of a pleasing style. The State House, a large three-story stone building, stood in the middle of a "large yard," and appeared "much neglected for want of repairs and cleanliness." The brick building occupied by the bank was a handsome structure, and stood in range with the new bridge and the State House. The penitentiary was a well conducted institution, in which the criminals were employed at various mechanical branches of industry during their term of confinement. A variety of handsome stone and marb-









work, among which were "some elegantly wrought tombs," was noted. The marble used was a handsome stone, beautifully variegated and susceptible of a high polish, brought from a quarry twenty-five or thirty miles away.

The annual sessions of the legislature contributed to its prosperity, and the evidences of its improvement in buildings, manufactures and commerce were numerous. Some of these marks of prosperity are noted in the *Navigator*, published in Pittsburgh in 1811, and republished in 1814, as follows:

The Kentucky River at Frankfort is narrow, with bold banks of limestone rock, admirably calculated for building, running in horizontal veins of from six to twelve inches thick. It has been known to rise fifty feet perpendicular in twenty-four hours. The bridge now erecting at Frankfort will add facility to the commerce of the time. It is building on the plan of Judge Finley's chain bridge; will cost about \$25,000; is 334½ feet span, having one pier in the middle of the river, sixty-five feet in height; the whole length being 700 feet, and eighteen broad. The two chains for this bridge were made at Pittsburgh by Mr. Thomas Hazleton, and weigh about twelve tons, of inch and a half square bar. Much difficulty has been experienced in getting a foundation for the western abutment, arising from a kind of quicksand, and water rushing in at the bottom upon the workmen as fast as they could discharge them at top with pumps and buckets worked night and day.

Messrs. Hunter & Instone have recently got into operation in Frankfort an extensive bagging manufactory, in which about twenty-five hands, black men and boys, are busily engaged, spinning, weaving, etc. At the end of this, and immediately on the bank of the river, the same gentlemen have erected a large warehouse for the storage of goods, which center here from different parts of the State, to descend the Kentucky River to the Ohio. A bagging manufactory was burned down at Frankfort about twelve months ago, by design, it was conjectured.

An extensive rope-walk was erected (September, 1810) at the edge of the town, calculated to do a large business; and a steamboat, that is, a large boat to be propelled by the power of steam, was on the stocks a little above town. She is intended for the trade of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. A mile below Frankfort there is a saw and grist-mill on the river, which in low water does a good deal of business, but it is not uncommon to see it completely covered by the floods of the river, to withstand which it has no roof and is open on all sides, and heavily loaded down on the corners and in the middle of the frame at top with piles of stones.

The mill is owned by a Mr. Hawkins. Boats pass it through a chute, by lifting a few boards at its head, which, when replaced, form a dam for the mill. With some difficulty the Kentucky River can be navigated from Frankfort with light flat-bottomed boats to the Ohio in the lowest stages of the water, but for eight months in the year the navigation is very good.

Two miles below Frankfort there is a bank of fine white sand thrown up by the river, said to be well calculated for the manufacture of glass. Mr. Greenup, former governor of Kentucky, has it in contemplation, it is said, to establish a glass house at or near this place, and the establishment of a brew-house is talked of by the citizens of the town. Thus go on the improvements of interior America, whose inhabitants begin to feel and act like the citizens of an independent nation, possessing an extent of country capable of producing, from the luxury of the soil and variety of climate, everything which ought to make a people happy and independent of all the venomous combinations of maddened Europe.

Frankfort was situated in the most populous part of Kentucky. The lower river valley was then sparsely settled, Newport on the Ohio being the only town north of the capital, and that contained only 106 inhabitants by the second census. But both east and west of the river there were numerous plantations, and several conspicuous towns besides those already mentioned. West of the Limestone and Lexington road was Flemingsburg, with 124 inhabitants in 1800; west of the Lexington and Danville trail was Richmond, with 110 inhabitants; southwest of this town was Lancaster, with 103 inhabitants; and some fourteen miles southeast of Frankfort was Versailles, established in 1792, and eight years later containing 172 inhabitants. But larger than any of these, and the sixth town in the State, was Georgetown, lying midway between Paris and Frankfort. It was originally settled in 1775; was the site of McClellan's Fort; was known as Lebanon until 1790, when it was incorporated by the legislature and named in honor of the first president of the United States. In 1800, it contained 350 inhabitants. West of the river was Springfield, about forty miles southwest of Frankfort. The country about it was settled in 1786, by the leading branch of the Hardin family; was established as a town in 1793, and in the second census is assigned



163 inhabitants. Bardstown, thirteen miles northwest of Springfield, and about equally distant from Louisville and Frankfort, was established by the legislature in 1788; its original plat contained 100 acres, situated on an elevated plain near Beech Fork, an affluent of Salt River. It was first named *Bairdstown* after one of the original proprietors, from which it has been changed to its present name by the popular pronunciation of the original. In Morse's *Gazeteer* of 1798, it is mentioned as a "flourishing town," with 216 inhabitants. In the second census it is not enumerated separately, but in 1810 it contained 821 inhabitants. Turning west from Frankfort, twenty one miles away, the traveler reached Shelbyville, in 1800 the seventh town in the State in point of population. In 1779, it was the site of Squire Boone's station, and in 1792 it was laid off by order of the legislature with a plat containing fifty-one acres. Purchasers of lots were required to build thereon a hewed log house, not less than a story and a half high, with a brick or stone chimney. Its growth was steady and permanent; by the second census its population numbered 262, and 424 ten years later.

Thirty miles farther west, Louisville was reached, situated at the falls of the Ohio. In 1790, this was the fourth town, and in 1800, the fifth town in the State. It was established as a town, and made the seat of justice for the newly formed county of Jefferson in 1780; the lots were sold by auction, as was the common practice, and purchasers were required to build, within two years of the date of sale, a dwelling house, "sixteen feet by twenty at least, with a brick or stone chimney." The outline of the plat started on the banks of the Ohio, thirty-five poles above the mouth of Bear Grass, running thence to the mouth of the creek; "thence north 87, west 120 poles, north 50, west 110 poles to a heap of stones and a square hole cut in the flat rock; thence (the division line) south 88, east 769 poles to a white oak, poplar and beech, north 37, west 390 poles to the beginning; no variation." Six streets running east and west

were laid out in this area, and twelve others crossing them at right angles. A space 180 feet wide, south of Green Street, and extending from First to Twelfth Street, was originally reserved for a public ground, but it was eventually disposed of by the city authorities, and the prospective city robbed of its park. The situation selected for the new town was an unhealthy one, and in time gained for Louisville the not inappropriate title of the "Graveyard of the West." The "second bank" formed a kind of dyke which prevented inundation by the river, but also retained the surface water which gathered in the numerous depressions which characterized the country along the river, so that the whole valley from Bear Grass to Salt River was thickly scattered over with stagnant ponds. "Long Pond" commenced "at the present corner of Sixth and Market Streets, and, inclining a little toward the southwest, extended as far as old Hope Distillery, on or near Sixteenth Street." This was long the early skating resort for all classes in the city. "Gwathmey's or Grayson's Pond" was the second in importance; it extended from Centre Street westwardly half way to Seventh Street, and was preserved by its owners for the fish with which it was stocked. Besides these there were a great number of smaller ponds, which gave the town the appearance of a miniature archipelago. In 1805, the trustees were authorized by the legislature to obviate "those nuisances in such a manner as the majority of them should prescribe," but it was not until the visit of a fearful epidemic, in 1822-23, that any earnest movement was made in this direction.

The military operations of the period contributed to bring here a considerable population of a transient character, but such was the unwillingness or poverty of the lot owners that the period within which dwelling were to be erected was twice extended by the legislature. In 1783 the first store was opened, window glass was first observed in use here, and beside 100 cabins it was noted that there were in the town "sixty-three houses finished, thirty-seven partly finished and twenty-two raised but not covered.

This estimate of the buildings was probably incorrect, or else indicated the number of lots upon which purchasers had built structures to meet the requirement of the law, as in 1790 the census placed the number of inhabitants at only 200 persons. In 1793 a more accurate observer relates that the houses, constructed of logs and boat-planks, were few and small, and that the town was far more noted for the energy and social abandon of its people than for public enterprise. Upon the authority of Forman's autobiography, McMasters says: "Travelers from the more decorous towns of the East were shocked at the balls, the drinking, the fighting and the utter disregard paid to the Sabbath day. But all agreed that the inhabitants were the most whole-souled and hospitable. The favorite drink was eggnog. The favorite pastime was billiards, and every morning numbers of young women, escorted by the young men, gathered about the one billiard-table in the town. If a stranger of note put up at the only tavern, and gave out that he was come to stay some time, he was sure to be called on, as the phrase was, to sign for a ball. When the night came, the garrison at Fort Jefferson would furnish the music, and the managers would choose the dances. The first was usually the minuet, and, till his number was called, no man knew with whom he was to dance. This over, each was at liberty to choose his own partner for the first 'volunteer.' " \*

In 1796, Louisville is described as a port of entry and post-town; it consists of three principal streets, and contains about 100 houses, a court house and jail. It commands a delightful prospect of the river and the adjacent country, and promises to be a place of great trade, but its unhealthiness, owing to stagnated waters back of the town, has considerably retarded its growth. In the following year, a more particular account of the town's progress is gathered from the assessor's returns. Taxes were levied "on all who reside within the limits of the half acre lots," at the rate of 6d. for each horse, 1s. for each negro, 20s. for each billiard-table,

6s. on each tavern license, 10s. on each retail store, 2s. per wheel on all carriages, 6d. on £100 value in town lots, and 3s. on each tithable. The return shows that there were found within the prescribed limits, 50 horses, 65 negroes, 2 billiard-tables, 5 tavern licenses, 5 retail stores, 6 wheels (but whether three gigs or one four-wheeled vehicle and a gig there are no means of determining), and 80 tithables. The whole assessment amounted to £31, 15s. 6d., but out of this, £12 were credited on the delinquent list. In 1800, the population had reached 359 souls, and by an act of the legislature of the same year the citizens were exempted from working on the public ways, out side of town, save the one to the "lower landing;" a "surveyor" was authorized to take charge of the streets, and to summon the inhabitants at proper times to work on them; and £25 were appropriated to build a market house on the public grounds. The latter provision of the act proved of no effect, as no such grounds could be found, and in the following year the legislature repealed this feature of the previous act, but at the same time required the trustees to fix upon a suitable place for the purpose, and thereon to erect a market house. In 1806, the town had begun to engage in the river commerce; but "six keel boats and two barges—the one of thirty tons belonging to Reed, of Cincinnati, the other of forty, owned by Instone, of Frankfort—sufficed for the carrying trade of Louisville and Shippingport." In 1807 the *Farmer's Library*, a weekly paper, was established, and in the year following the *Louisville Gazette* appeared. In 1809 the assessor's returns again afford a clue to the progress of the town, and marks a good degree of growth in the interval since 1797:

\$74,000 value of lots at 10 per cent.....	\$740 00
113 white tythes, at 50c.....	56 50
82 black tythes over 16 yrs., at 25c.....	20 50
83 black tythes under 16 yrs., at 12½c.....	10 38
11 retail stores, at \$5.....	55 00
3 tavern licences, at \$2.....	6 00
30 carriage wheels, at 12½c. per wheel.....	3 75
2 billiard tables, at \$2.50.....	5 00
131 horses, at 12½c.....	16 37

\*History of the People of the United States, Vol. II, p. 152.



In 1808, a theater was erected in Louisville, and though "but little better than a barn," it sufficed the purposes of the town until 1818, without refitting, and after repairing and refurnishing, until 1843, when it burned down. In 1810 a brick court house was begun, in front of which a lofty "Ionic portico," supported by four wooden columns, gave it such distinction as to be considered the handsomest of its kind in the western country. A variety of circumstances appeared to combine to retard the development of the manufacturing interests of Louisville, and in 1810, with 1,357 inhabitants, little mention is made of its factories. There were, however, several rope-walks extensively carried on, and a valuable bagging factory, which was burned down in December, 1810. In the *Navigator* of 1814, it is noted that "there have lately been added to Louisville a banking company, a paper-mill, a second printing office, a book store, a circulating library, a reading room, an air foundry for casting all kinds of pot metal, a glass house, and a grist and saw-mill by steam, and cotton manufactory by the same power were expected to be in operation this summer (1814), and a number of handsome buildings, altogether having the appearance of its becoming a great commercial and manufacturing town."

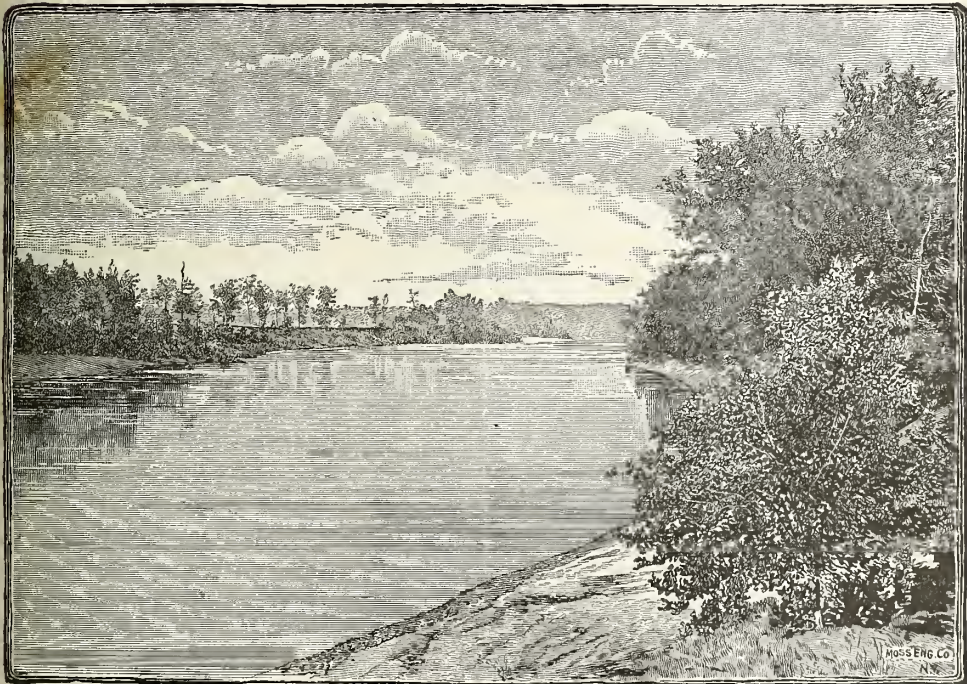
An early competitor for metropolitan honors was Shippingport, situated two miles below Louisville, at the foot of the rapids. The plat originally contained forty-five acres, and was laid out on the plain which skirts the Ohio from Beargrass to Salt River. In 1785 it was established by the legislature under the name of "Anonymous," in the absence of any other; Campbelltown was subsequently applied, but the popular name eventually prevailed—a clear instance of "the survival of the fittest." It was regularly laid out, and with the growth of river navigation rapidly developed. In 1803 the whole site was sold to James Berthoud, who three years later disposed of the larger portion to Messrs. Tarascon, two Frenchmen and brothers, to whose enterprising energy and public spirit the town owed its early prosperity. The names of the

streets were characteristic: Front, Market, Tobacco, Bengal, Jackson, Hemp, Mill and Tarascon, the next being numbered from Second to Sixteenth Street. During the early period of river navigation the town enjoyed superior advantages. After passing the rapids, boats put in here for supplies, where they found deep water and a bold shore. Boats upward bound were obliged to discharge their cargoes here, from whence all good destined for upper ports were wagoned to Beargrass for reshipment. In 1810, though containing only ninety-eight inhabitants, it was a place of considerable business. Messrs. Tarascon had a large flouring-mill at the foot of the rapids, from which they shipped considerable quantities of flour to New Orleans; they had a store and extensive rope-walk also, and Mr. Berthoud did a large commission business. From 1815 to 1819 the Tarascon brothers greatly extended their business, erecting a mill-race with intention of affording power for a series of factories, which they projected but never completed. They did erect an immense flouring-mill on a scale that was the wonder of the times. It was six stories towered 102 feet in the air, and cost \$150,000; it was wonderfully complete in all its appointments, and had a capacity of 500 barrels of flour per day. This done, the proprietors began experimenting with water wheels, intending to erect mills for the manufacture of cotton on a large scale, but the canal was projected, and other obstacles prevented the fulfillment of these ambitious designs.

The lowness of the ground interfered with its building up, though in 1819, McMurtrie gives the average price of lots at from \$40 to \$50 per front foot. The same writer says: "The population of Shippingport may be estimated at 600 souls, including strangers. Some taste is already perceptible in the construction of their houses, many of which are neatly built and ornamented with galleries, in which, of a Sunday, are displayed all the beauty of the place. It is, in fact, the *Bois de Boulogne* of Louisville, it being the resort of all classes on high days and holidays. At these times, it exhibits a spec

acle at once novel and interesting. The number of steamboats in the port, each bearing one or two flags, the throng of horses, carriages and gigs, and the contented ap-

pearance of a crowd of pedestrians, all arrayed in their 'Sunday's best' produce an effect it would be impossible to describe."



VIEW ON THE TENNESSEE RIVER IN WESTERN KENTUCKY.



## CHAPTER XII.

## THE NEW STATE AND ITS PROBLEMS.

KENTUCKY, from a county of Virginia, had become, as has been shown, an independent commonwealth, and a sovereign member of the sisterhood of States. It was the first-born of the new confederation, and comprised the fourteenth State of the Federal Union. The machinery, civil and political, was set in motion, and the new member embarked on the full tide of municipal experiment. A constitution had been framed and adopted, and in a general way ratified by the people.

Delegates to the convention which framed the constitution of the new State, were elected in December, 1791, and in the following April met in Danville. The constitution which they formed is an index of the state of public feeling at the time on many matters of importance. It totally abandoned the aristocratic features of the parent State, so far as representation by counties was concerned, and established numbers as the basis. Suffrage was universal, and the sheriffs were elected triennially by the people. But while these departures from the constitution of Virginia displayed the general predominance of the democratic principle in Kentucky, there are strong indications that the young statesmen of the West were disposed to curb the luxuriance of this mighty element by strong checks. The executive, the senate and the judiciary were entirely removed from the direct control of the people. The governor was chosen by electors, who were elected by the people for that purpose every fourth year. The members of the senate were appointed by the same electoral college which chose the president, and might be selected indifferently from any part of the State. The judiciary were appointed, and held their office during

good behavior. The supreme court, however, had original and final jurisdiction in all land cases. This last feature was engrafted upon the constitution by Col. George Nicholas, and was most expensive and mischievous in practice.\*

Col. Nicholas was a master spirit of the convention, and one of the ablest lawyers of the early bar of Kentucky. He was born in Williamsburg, Va., about the year 1743, and was a son of Robert Nicholas, a distinguished lawyer of Virginia. He was a captain in the Virginia line in the revolutionary war, and after the close of the long and sanguinary struggle, he resumed the practice of law and was elected to the legislature from Albemarle County, where, upon his retirement from the army, he had made his home. He was a prominent and influential member of the convention called to ratify the Federal constitution, and zealously advocated its adoption. In 1788, he came to Kentucky and located in Mercer County (now Boyle) near Danville. Of him, and the first constitutional convention of the State, Gov. Morehead said: "I abounded in talent, integrity and patriotism and George Nicholas was its brightest luminary. A member of the convention that ratified the constitution of the United States he was the associate of Madison, of Randolph, and of Patrick Henry; and he came to Kentucky in the fullness of his fame and in the maturity of his intellectual strength. He enjoyed in an eminent degree the confidence of the people of Kentucky, and contributed largely, by public speaking and by essays of singular power, to influence the course the took in the great political contest of 1790. He was emphatically a great statesman and

\*Collins, Vol. I, p. 274.

great lawyer." In later years Col. Nicholas removed to Lexington, and for the remainder of his life devoted himself to his profession. When, in 1799, a law department was added to Transylvania University he was elected the first professor, but died in a few months afterward, at the age of fifty-six years.

A late writer, in discussing that clause of the first constitution of the State relating to the supreme court, says: "This provision was introduced by Col. George Nicholas. On proposing it, as it had not been an element in his canvass, he took the good way of resigning his seat in the convention and asking for a re-election, which was unanimously given him without contest. This uncontested return of the proposer was taken as evidence that the people desired the arrangement. The object of this provision was to prevent the action of local prejudice in the settlement of legislation concerning land titles. This prejudice is always sure to be strong in the case of such land titles as were growing up under the rough system of 'location' that the laws permitted. Boundaries being unfixed, there was already a disposition to disregard the rights of original patentees, and to use the unoccupied land as common property. Any jury, drawn from the neighborhood in which the disputed land lay, was likely to contain men who had a sinister interest against the establishment of patent claims. Thus the State at the outset found itself in danger, through defective titles, of losing a part of the value of the soil which had inspired the people to its conquest. The remedy was unusual, but fully warranted by the needs of the case, though in experience it was found impracticable."

The first constitution of Kentucky was modeled, in a great degree, after the constitution of the United States, as shown by the adoption of the famous "Kentucky Resolutions."\* It has been characterized as an effort to "adapt the framework of the law to

the existing needs of the community, rather than to seek any ideal perfection," and Marshall, the historian, says the "scheme was that of a democracy rather than that of a republic." This could scarcely be considered an objection, as the people were democratic in their political spirit, and their society was a pure democracy. Hence, it was only natural that their law should conform to their motives and conditions. Some of the features of the document deserve more than a passing notice. The first of these is the clause relating to suffrage, which was given to all male citizens who were twenty-one years old, and had not been disfranchised through the conviction of crime. Another feature, and one to be commended, was that the whole body of the judiciary was "constituted by appointment, and without specified term of office." This was the custom of the time, and might still be followed with advantage to the country and considerable benefit to society. Another very good provision was keeping "separate church and state" by excluding from the legislature ministers of the gospel. One of the most important provisions was the clause concerning slavery. It shows a strong prejudice against the commercial traffic in slaves, and forbids their introduction "into the State as merchandise, and none were to be brought that were imported into America since 1789." It further recommended the legislature to pass laws "permitting the emancipation of slaves under the limitation that they shall not become a charge on the county in which they reside." This clause is indubitable evidence that the slavery problem had already presented itself to the people, and that they apprehended danger, sooner or later, from its influence.

It is a singular fact, and one deserving of some criticism, that this constitution made no reference in any manner to a system of public schools. "In this," says a recent writer, "it differs from the constitution of the Northern States." This is true. But, it must be remembered, that when many of the Northern and all of the Northwestern States were organized, the public school system was better understood than it was when

\*These resolutions were framed and adopted by the Kentucky legislature as a protest against what was deemed the unconstitutional action of the Federal congress in enacting the ten and sedition laws." In her protest, Kentucky intended to manifest her displeasure at the passage of these acts, and also to show unmistakably the interpretation which she put upon the federal compact. These resolutions, for these reasons have in Kentucky ever been held of great political importance. (See appendix A, Note 30.)



Kentucky became a State and framed her first constitution. This neglect, however, greatly retarded the growth and prosperity of the State, and resulted in keeping her in the rear of many of her younger sisters of the North-west.

Gen. Isaac Shelby was elected the first governor of the State, as already noticed, and was a man well qualified for the position. He was a native of Maryland, born in 1750, and was of Welsh descent, his father, Gen. Evan Shelby, having emigrated from Wales. In 1780, Isaac Shelby, who had removed to western Virginia, found himself a citizen of North Carolina, by the extension of the boundary line of that State. He was a gallant soldier of the revolutionary war, and was second in command at the battle of King's Mountain, where 1,000 British prisoners were captured—an event that served to greatly revive the drooping spirits of the friends of liberty in the South. He came to Kentucky about the close of the war, and pre-empted large bodies of land, some of which, lying in Fayette County, is still in possession of his descendants. His election to the chief magistracy was an act of wisdom on the part of the people, and highly beneficial to the infant commonwealth.

The effect produced in Kentucky by the French revolution, and the extent to which prominent Kentuckians were involved in the intrigue, has been shown. Many believed that Gov. Shelby himself was in sympathy with the movement to open, through the means afforded by the disturbances in France, the navigation of the Mississippi River. To this charge a late writer replies: "The ultra-Federalists of Kentucky believed that Gov. Shelby was conniving with the French party, but it appears, after a careful reading of the evidence, that his action was only the proper caution of a man who had very limited power to act under the circumstances of the situation. The matter was really one that concerned the Federal government alone. The laws that appeared likely to be violated were Federal and not State laws; it would not have been fit that the governor of Kentucky should have strained his limited powers to

meddle with the business. As an individual he doubtless sympathized with the project of opening the Mississippi to free navigation; yet he held himself ready not only to enforce the laws of Kentucky, but to perform whatever was constitutionally required of him as governor by the president of the United States. His letter to Washington is admirable in its tone and exhibits more submission to the Federal authority than would now be shown by most governors." This seems to set at rest any charge of unfaithfulness on the part of Gov. Shelby toward the general government.

A great majority of the people of Kentucky, however, sympathized strongly with the French, and to the same extent opposed the Federalist party, then predominant. They cherished considerable distrust of the Federal government, which they believed was tending toward an aristocracy. Their feelings and views were heralded abroad by the democratic societies organized in different parts of the State, the prime object of which doubtless was "to resist the increasing encroachments of the Federal authority on the province of the local governments." This was the almost universal feeling in Kentucky when Gen. Wayne's great victory over the Indians, followed shortly after by news of the treaty between Spain and the United States, changed somewhat the prevailing sentiment. By this treaty with Spain the right to navigate the Mississippi River to the ocean was conceded to the United States, with other benefits and privileges, among which was the right of deposit at New Orleans. This was all that Kentucky had desired, and yet many of her leading spirits were still dissatisfied. "So much more powerful is passion than interest," says a writer upon the subject, "that the intelligence of this treaty was received with a burst of fury throughout the State that knew no bounds. The people regarded it as a base desertion of an ancient friend struggling with a host of enemies and a cowardly truckling to England from cold-blooded policy, or a secret attachment to aristocratic institutions." To such an extent was their passions for a time inflamed, that



ISAAC SHELBY.





Humphrey Marshall, United States senator from Kentucky, was subjected to violence by the people for having voted for the ratification of the treaty, contrary to the wishes of a majority of his constituents. But this state of affairs soon settled down into tranquillity.

Kentucky, it would seem, ought now to be satisfied. Peace had been obtained with the Indians by Gen. Wayne; the posts on the northwestern frontier had finally been surrendered by England, and the free navigation of the Mississippi conceded to the United States. But the troubles with Spain were not yet ended, and to more fully understand the intrigue, it is necessary to go back prior to the conclusion of the treaty. It is thus described by Mr. McClung, in Collins' History of Kentucky:

Pending the negotiations with Spain, an intrigue was commenced between the agents of that power and certain citizens of Kentucky, which was not fully disclosed to the country until the year 1806, and the full extent of which is not even yet certainly known. In July, 1795, the Spanish governor, Carondelet, dispatched a certain Thomas Power to Kentucky with a letter to Benjamin Sebastian, then a judge of the court of appeals of Kentucky. In this communication he alludes to the *confidence* reposed in the judge by his predecessor, Gen. Miro, and the *former correspondence* which had passed between them. He declared that his Catholic majesty was willing to open the Mississippi to the *western country*; and to effect that object, and to negotiate a treaty, in relation to this and other matters, Sebastian was requested to have agents chosen by the people of Kentucky, who should meet Col. Gayoso, a Spanish agent, at New Madrid, when all matters could be adjusted. Judge Sebastian communicated this letter to Judge Innes, George Nicholas and William Murray, the latter a very eminent lawyer of Kentucky, of the Federal party, and they all agreed that Sebastian should meet Gayoso at New Madrid, and hear what he had to propose. The meeting accordingly took place, and the outline of a treaty was agreed to, but before matters were concluded, intelligence was received of the treaty with Spain by the United States, by which the navigation was effectually and *legally* secured. The Spanish governor broke up the negotiation, much to the dissatisfaction of Sebastian, who concluded that the *regular* treaty would not be ratified, and preferred carrying out the *irregular* negotiation then commenced.

All communication then ceased, so far as is known, until 1797. The commissioners were busily engaged in marking the line of boundary between Spain and the United States, as fixed by the treaty,

when Carondelet again opened the negotiation. His former agent, Thomas Power, again appeared in Louisville, with a letter to Sebastian, and a request that Sebastian disclose its contents to Innes, Nicholas and Murray. Sebastian positively refused to hold any intercourse with Murray, but instantly showed the letter to Judge Innes. The scheme unfolded in this letter was, "to withdraw from the Federal Union and form an independent western government. To effect this object it was suggested that these gentlemen should, by a series of eloquently written publications, dispose the public mind to withdraw from any further connection with the Atlantic States. In consideration of the devotion of their time and talents to this purpose, it was proposed that the sum of \$100,000 should be appropriated to their use, by his Catholic majesty. Should any one *in office*, in Kentucky, be deprived thereof, on account of his connection with Spain, the full value of said office was to be paid to him by his majesty." This article was inserted at the suggestion of Sebastian.

To effect these great objects, it was proposed that twenty pieces of field artillery, with a large supply of small arms and munitions of war, together with \$100,000 in money, should instantly be furnished to Kentucky by the king of Spain, as his majesty's quota in the aid of the enterprise. Fort Massac was to be seized instantly, and the Federal troops were to be dispossessed of all posts upon the western waters. The only stipulation for the benefit of his Catholic majesty was an extension of his northern boundary, to the mouth of the Yazoo, and thence due east to the Tombigbee. For this miserable pittance of desert territory, this corrupt and worn out despotism was willing to violate its faith recently plighted in a solemn treaty, and by treachery and intrigue, to sow the seeds of discord and revolution, where all was peace and confidence. Such was the morality of courts in the eighteenth century.

This proposal was received by Sebastian with great coolness, and submitted to Innes for his opinion. The testimony of Innes himself is all we have to rely on, as to the manner in which he received the proposition. He declares that he denounced the proposal as dangerous and improper, and gave it as his opinion that it ought to be rejected. Sebastian concurred in this opinion, but desired Innes to see Col. Nicholas, and have a written answer prepared for Power, declaring that whatever they concurred in would be approved by him. Innes saw Nicholas, who wrote a refusal, couched in calm but decisive language, which was signed by them both, and delivered to Power, through the medium of Judge Sebastian. No disclosure was made by either of the parties of this proposal from the Spanish government. Power in the meantime visited Gen. Wilkinson, who still held a command in the regular army, and then was stationed in garrison at Detroit. Power's ostensible object in vis-



iting Wilkinson was to deliver to him a letter of remonstrance from Gov. Carondelet, against the United States taking immediate possession of the posts on the Mississippi. His real object was, no doubt, to sound him upon the Spanish proposition. Power afterward reported to Carondelet that Wilkinson received him coldly, informed him that the governor of the Northwest had orders from the President to arrest him and send him on to Philadelphia, and that there was no way for him to escape, but to permit himself to be conducted, under guard, to Fort Massac, whence he could find his way to New Madrid. He states that in their first conference Wilkinson observed, bitterly: "We are both lost, without deriving any benefit from your journey." He pronounced the Spanish proposal a chimerical project; that the West, having obtained by the late treaty all that they desired, had no motive to form any connection with Spain; that the best thing Spain could do would be honestly to comply with the treaty; that his personal *honor* forbade him to listen to the project; *that the late treaty had overturned all his plans, and rendered his labors for ten years useless*; that he had destroyed his *ciphers*, and complained that his secret had been divulged; that he might be named governor of Natchez, and he might *then*, perhaps, have power to realize his political projects.

In his report to Carondelet, Power represents Sebastian as speaking to him in a more encouraging tone of the prospect of a union of Kentucky with Spain. Sebastian expressed the opinion that, in case of war with Spain, Kentucky might be induced to take part against the Atlantic States. In conclusion Power gives his own opinion that nothing short of war with France, or the denial of the navigation of the Mississippi, could induce Kentucky to separate herself from the Eastern States. After visiting Wilkinson, instead of returning to Louisville, as he had at first intended, he was sent by Wilkinson under escort of Captain Shaumberg, of the United States army, to Fort Massac, and thence returned to New Madrid. At Massac he received from Sebastian the letter of Nicholas and Innes. Nothing certain was known of the particulars of this transaction until 1806, when it became public that Sebastian had received a pension from Spain, from 1795 to 1806, of \$2,000.

For the prominent part taken in this bit of Kentucky's early history, and particularly for receiving a pension from the Spanish government, Judge Sebastian was arraigned by the legislature, and found guilty of the latter charge. As there was no law to punish him for this act, he was allowed to resign his seat as one of the judges of the court of appeals, and pass into obscurity. The following sketch of Sebastian has been given: "British by birth, he began life as an Episco-

palian clergyman. Drifting to this country he became a lawyer, and finally a jurist of excellent ability. Despite his great talents he seems to have been a man always in strait for money. This led to his fall. It may be said, however, in extenuation, that the position of a foreign pensioner was not regarded with the same abhorrence in the last century that it is in this, and that the beginning of his relations with the Spanish government date from a time when he was a private citizen.

This intrigue with Spain is one of the darkest pages in the history of Kentucky. The moving spirits on the part of Kentucky were some of the ablest men and most profound lawyers of the young State. Innes, Nicholas and Murray, the compeers of Sebastian, possessed but few equals, intellectually in the commonwealth. They disclaimed a knowledge of his being a pensioner of the Spanish government, and their greatest error seems to have been their failure to report the whole matter to the Federal government. Innes, at the time, was judge of the United States Court for the district of Kentucky and as such was bound by his oath of office to guard the government against foreign interference. His conduct was severely criticized, and a committee appointed by the legislature to inquire into the charges made against him. In his defense, before the committee, he gave as the reasons for not communicating the subject to the executive of the United States, the following, which at the time were considered rather lame: "First—It was known that neither of us (Col. Nicholas and himself) approved Mr. Adams' administration, and that we believed that I kept a watchful eye over our actions; that the communication must depend upon his opinion of our veracity, and that it would have the appearance of courting his favor. Secondly—We both had reason, and did believe, that the then administration were disposed, upon the slightest pretext, to send an army into this State, which we considered would be a grievance upon the people, and therefore declined making any communication on the subject, as we apprehended no trouble from the Spanish government."

Plausible as this may seem, few believed it to be the true reason of their omission to report the matter to the president. There were other reasons, of interest to themselves, which it was believed kept them silent upon the subject. The following view taken of the matter by a recent historian is, perhaps, not far wrong:

We cannot determine how far these men felt these propositions to be attractive, but it is clear that one and all they deemed them entirely impracticable, and that they not only absolutely refused the offer, but kept the proposition from the knowledge of the people. Their statements make it clear that they did not think that at this time it would be possible to form any party in Kentucky to advocate secession. There can be no doubt that the Spanish governor chose his confederates with discretion, and that his offer of immediate money, amounting in value to about the equivalent of \$500,000 in our day, and of place and power beyond, was tempting to these men, who were poor and of an adventurous type of mind. Its unhesitating rejection shows clearly that it was not a thing that they deemed in any way possible.

John Adams was elected president, and Thomas Jefferson vice-president, of the United States, in 1796. This election, particularly that of Mr. Adams, was exceedingly obnoxious to Kentuckians. The people of that State, by a large majority, were Republicans or Democrats, as then called, and zealously opposed the Federalist party—the party to which Mr. Adams owed his election. The struggle between these rival political organizations raged fiercely, and was characterized by all the bitter invective of more modern political warfare. Washington's adherence to and his affiliation with the Federalist party made his administration unpopular in Kentucky, while that of Adams, who was known to be a zealous advocate of the Federalist principles, was "absolutely odious" to the people throughout the State. "In no part of the Union," says McClung, "were his measures denounced with more bitterness, or his downfall awaited with more impatience." When, in 1800, another presidential election came before the people, Kentucky cast her electoral vote for Mr. Jefferson, as against Mr. Adams,\* thus clearly and

conclusively showing her position in national politics.

The question was now being seriously discussed as to the necessity of revising the constitution of the State. In May, 1797, a vote was taken "for and against" the calling of a constitutional convention, and in the following May a second vote was taken, and a majority of 3,049 given in favor of the convention. But as several counties did not return the whole number of their votes, and several others failed to vote on the subject altogether, some question arose as to whether a majority of the people really desired a revision of the constitution. The constitution required that a majority of the votes in the State should be given for the successive annual elections, or a two-thirds majority of the legislature, to call a convention for constitutional revision. The legislature, in the belief that it was the "will of the majority" to revise the constitution, at the session of 1798–99, called a convention for the purpose. The convention accordingly met in 1799, and adopted the second constitution of the State, which, upon being submitted to a vote of the people, was duly ratified. It remained in force until the adoption of the present constitution half a century later. The most important changes in the new document were in the mode of electing the governor, and a part of the legislature, in the jurisdiction of the supreme court, and the appointment of some of the county officers, who had hitherto been elected

dence, the next and only similar case in the history of the government, was in that of John Quincy Adams, a son of John Adams, in 1824, who was elected president by that house of representatives. The proceedings in the first case were as follows: Of 128 electoral votes cast, no candidate received a majority. The entire votes of New York, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, South Carolina and Georgia, with eight from Pennsylvania, five from Maryland and eight from North Carolina—seventy-three in all—were cast for Mr. Jefferson and Aaron Burr each, making a tie, thus devolving the choice upon the house of representatives. John Adams had sixty-five votes, Charles C. Pinckney, sixty-four, and John Jay, one. On Wednesday, February 11, 1801, the house of representatives began balloting, in secret session, having resolved to attend to no other business and not to adjourn until a choice should be effected. Upon the first ballot, eight States—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee—cast their one vote each for Thomas Jefferson; six States—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware and South Carolina—gave their six votes for Aaron Burr, and the votes of Vermont and Maryland (because their representatives were divided) were given blank. Neither had a majority. For seven days the house continued in session, nominally without adjournment, and balloted thirty-five times with the same result. On the afternoon of February 17th, Mr. Jefferson was elected president—receiving the votes of Vermont and Maryland in addition to the eight above named, while those of Delaware and South Carolina were given blank. Mr. Burr became the vice-president. (See Collins, Vol. I, pp. 367, 368.)

\*This was the first case in which the choice of a president went to the house of representatives; and by a singular coinci-



by popular vote. The first constitution, "like all first instruments of the kind," was soon found to be, in many respects, very defective. Under its provisions, the governor and the upper house of the legislature were chosen by an electoral college, and sheriffs were elected triennially by the people. The new constitution changed these; the governor and senate were made elective by the vote of the people, and sheriffs were appointed by the governor, but in a somewhat roundabout way. The justices of the peace, or, as more commonly called, the magistrates, were appointed by the executive, and the oldest in the county, or the longest in office, became high sheriff, and when his term expired he was succeeded by the next oldest, and so on *ad infinitum*. A writer speaking of the second constitution says: "The immediate jurisdiction of the supreme court in land cases was unsatisfactory; the danger of land suits caused by the rude methods of survey in use was being amply justified. As the land was still of relatively slight value, and the means of communication with the seat of the court limited, this method of procedure was troublesome. With action carried on in a local court the owner and witnesses, even in case of appeal, would have no occasion for resort to the State capital." This led to a change in the constitution of 1799, and the supreme court was given only appellate jurisdiction.

The same session of the legislature that called the convention for a revision of the constitution, made itself memorable by the passage of what has since been known in history as the "Resolutions of 1798," and which have already been incidentally alluded to. These famous resolutions are thus commented on in a recent work:\*

It is difficult for us to see in this day the way in which people looked on the Federal government during the tenth decade of the last century. The several colonies had fought their war of separation from Britain as separate political units, each with its own motive, and none with any distinct idea of what the future government was to be. Each had fought for its local rights, for its own hand. The essence of their struggle was for local, as distinguished from external government. The long politi-

cal struggle of Kentucky for separation from Virginia is in itself a capital instance of the feeling of this time. The better known debates in the convention that adopted the constitution of the United States show that at every point the States fought zealously, even furiously, for their separate right. No candid person can read these debates without rising from his task with the conviction that the delegates of this constitutional convention failed to determine the precise relation between the State and the Federal government. They were driven farther than the people had gone, or were then prepared to go, in the direction of consolidation by the logic of facts that they only could perceive in the full meaning. If there had been an effort to prevent the secession act in the constitution, no one can doubt that it would have been overwhelmingly defeated in the convention. The fate of the Adams party in the next coming election shows plainly that even in the States that inclined most strongly to Federalism, these laws were generally disapproved.

Since the one distinct object of the American revolution had been to secure local government it is not to be wondered at, that a people who more than any other in the United States were by the history devoted to this end, should have revolted against the alien and secession laws, which clearly were very dangerous advances in the direction of consolidation against which they had effectively protested in the convention. In the extremity of their conceived need they naturally turned to the patent omissions in the contract by which they were bound to the Federal government. The convention had studiously refrained from providing any means whereby the States should be coerced into submission to the Union—differing in this regard in a very suggestive fashion from similar constitutions in other countries; and this was not an accidental omission, but one that resulted from careful discussion of the problem. That patriots felt this doubt about the conditions of the constitution is well shown by the subsequent proceedings in other States—notably in Virginia and Massachusetts—where men, whose character cannot be impugned without casting a shadow on a whole people, took the same view of the relation between the several States and the Federal government.

We must grant that the seeds of nullification and secession were in these resolutions of 1798, but these germs of trouble were sown in the event that led to the independence of the colonies, and were nourished by the intentional omissions of the constitution itself. The constitution, as we know it, an instrument affirmed partly by assent of the greater part of the States, then by the circumstance of the South Carolina nullification in the fourth decade of this century, and finally by the result of the civil war, did not then exist. All that was before the minds of men was a new and very debatable instrument, concerning whose meaning there was naturally a great difference of opinion. The Ke-

\*American Commonwealths, pp. 142, 143.

ucky resolutions were the first production of the great discussion which was destined to continue for two generations, to be in the end decided, by a bird, in the most famous civil struggle of all time.

That the resolutions were intended only as the expression of a sentiment, and not as the basis for any contemplated action, is shown by the previous and succeeding course of politics within the State. It would be a distortion of history to look upon this action as if it had been taken in 1860. It was, in fact, only a caveat directed against the course of a party disposed to take an even more unconstitutional view of the Union than was held by those who voted for the resolutions.

There has ever been some question in Kentucky, as to the real author of the resolutions of 1798. Many attribute them to the pen of Thomas Jefferson, while others, and with apparent good reasons, claim their authorship for John Breckinridge, the first of that distinguished family to settle in Kentucky. Mr. McClung says: "Early in the session a series of resolutions, which were originally drawn by Mr. Jefferson, were presented to the House by John Breckinridge, the representative from Fayette, and almost unanimously adopted." The biographer of Mr. Breckinridge\* says: "Some twenty years after his death, it began to be whispered, and then to be intimated in a few newspapers, that the Kentucky resolutions of 1798-99, which he offered, and which was the first great movement against the alien and sedition laws—and the general principles of the party that passed them—were in fact the production of Mr. Jefferson himself and not of John Breckinridge; and it is painful to reflect that Mr. Jefferson did certainly connive at this mean calumny upon the memory of his friend. The family of Mr. Breckinridge have constantly asserted that their father was the sole and true author of these resolutions, and constantly defied the production of proof to the contrary, and there seems to be no question that they are right." The question of authorship may never be definitely settled in the minds of every one, but the "preponderance of evidence" seems to point to Mr. Breckinridge as the author.

Gen. James Garrard was elected the second governor of the State in 1796, and was re-elected in 1800. Under the first constitution,

there was a governor's secretary instead of a lieutenant-governor; the second constitution created the last named office, and in 1800, Alexander S. Bullitt was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Gen. Garrard. He was the first lieutenant-governor of the State.

Kentucky was thrown into great excitement, in 1802, by the suspension of the right of deposit at New Orleans, the treaty with Spain, conceding the right, as well as that of navigating the Mississippi River, having "expired by limitation." The navigation of the Mississippi and the right of deposit at New Orleans, had been guaranteed by the Spanish treaty for three years, with the provision, that at the end of that time it might be renewed, or should the right of deposit at New Orleans be withheld, some other place in the Spanish territory of Louisiana should be "afforded for the same purpose, near the mouth of the river." While the excitement was at its height, the news was received of the cession of Louisiana back to France. Napoleon Bonaparte was then first consul of France, and upon the eve of war with England. Impressed with the impossibility of retaining so distant a province as Louisiana, while England maintained her supremacy on the seas, Napoleon determined to place it beyond her reach, by selling it to the United States. Accordingly, for the trifling sum of 80,000,000 francs he disposed of this magnificent empire to the United States, thereby assuring, forever, the free navigation of the Mississippi River.

Christopher Greenup was elected governor of Kentucky in 1804, and John Caldwell lieutenant-governor, while Thomas Jefferson was re-elected president of the United States, receiving 162 of the 176 electoral votes cast. During these administrations the Burr conspiracy occurred, an event more intimately connected with the history of Kentucky than with that of any other individual State of the Union. A better sketch of the affair could scarcely be written than that prepared by Mr. McClung, for Collins' History of Kentucky. It is as follows:

Aaron Burr, who had been elected vice-president

\*Collins, Vol. II, p. 99.



in 1801, had lost the confidence of his party, and was at variance with the president. In 1805 this extraordinary man first made his appearance in Kentucky, and visited Lexington and Louisville. He then passed on to Nashville, St. Louis, Natchez and New Orleans, and again returned to Lexington, where he remained for some time. Gen. Wilkinson, at this time, commanded the United States troops in Louisiana, and the affairs of the United States with Spain were in an unsatisfactory state. That miserable power resented the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, and assumed a sulkiness of demeanor somewhat resembling Mexico in more modern times. In the spring of 1806 their forces advanced to the Sabine in somewhat hostile array, and Gen. Wilkinson had orders to be upon the alert, and repel them if they should cross that barrier. Such was the aspect of affairs, when, in 1806, Col. Burr again appeared in the West, spending a large portion of his time at Blennerhassett's Island, on the Ohio River, but being seen in Lexington, Nashville and Louisville.

This extraordinary man, having quarreled with the president, and lost caste with the Republican party, endeavored to retrieve his political fortunes by becoming a candidate for the office of governor of New York, in opposition to the regular Democratic candidate. He was supported by the mass of the Federalists, and a small section of the Democrats, who still adhered to him. He lost his election chiefly by the influence of Alexander Hamilton, who scrupled not to represent him as unworthy of political trust, and deprived him of the cordial support of the Federalists. Deeply stung by his defeat, Burr turned fiercely upon his illustrious antagonist, and killed him in a duel. Hamilton was idolized by the Federalists, and even his political adversaries were not insensible to his many lofty and noble qualities. Burr found himself abandoned by the mass of the Democrats, regarded with abhorrence by the Federalists, and banished from all the legitimate and honorable walks of ambition. In this desperate state of his political fortunes, he sought the West, and became deeply involved in schemes as desperate and daring as any which the annals of ill-regulated ambition can furnish.

The groundwork of his plan, undoubtedly, was to organize a military force upon the western waters, descend the Mississippi, and wrest from Spain an indefinite portion of her territory adjoining the Gulf of Mexico. The southwestern portion of the United States, embracing New Orleans and the adjacent territory, was, either by force or persuasion, to become a part of the new empire, of which New Orleans was to become the capital and Burr the chief, under some one of the many names which, in modern times, disguise despotic power under a republican form. These were the essential and indispensable features of the plan. But if circumstances were favorable the project was to extend much further, and the whole country west of the Alleghanies was to be wrested from the American

Union, and to become a portion of this new and magnificent empire.

Mad and chimerical as this project undoubtedly was, when the orderly and law-respecting character of the American people is considered, yet the age in which it was conceived had witnessed wonders which had far outstripped the sober calculations of philosophy, and surpassed the limits of probability. When the historian, Gibbon, was closing his great work upon the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, he expressed the opinion that the age of great and startling revolutions had passed away, never to return; that mankind had sobered down, by centuries of experience, to a tame and moderate level, which would not admit of those brilliant materials for history which the past had afforded. Scarcely had this opinion been recorded when the great drama opened in France, and for twenty-five years the world stood aghast at the series of magnificent and wonderful pageants which moved before them in the wild confusion of a feverish dream. Kings became beggars, and peasants became kings. Ancient kingdoms disappeared and new and brilliant republics sprang up in their places. Names, boundaries, ranks, titles, religions, all were tossed about like withered leaves before the wind. A lieutenant in a French regiment had mounted to the throne of western Europe, and drummers, corporals and privates had become dukes, princes and kings.

It was not wonderful, then, that a man like Burr, ostracised in the East, and desperate in his fortunes, abounding in talent, energy and courage, should have determined in the New World, like the Corsican in the Old, to stand the hazard of the die for empire or a grave. The unsettled relations then existing with Spain afforded a specious cloak to his enterprise, and enabled him to give it a character suitable to the temper of the persons whom he addressed. To the daring youth of the West, desirous of military adventure, he could represent it as an irregular expedition, to be undertaken upon private account, against the possessions of a nation with whom the United States would shortly be at war. It was upon land what privateering was upon the ocean. He could hint to them that the United States government would *connive* at the expedition, but could not *openly countenance* it until hostilities actually commenced. There is little doubt that many concurred in the enterprise without being aware of its *treasonable* character, while it is certain that to others the scheme was exposed in its full deformity.

In the prosecution of this object, he applied himself with singular address to any one who could be useful to him in forwarding the great scheme. Blennerhassett's Island lay directly in his path, and he fixed his keen eye upon the proprietor as one who could be useful to him. This unfortunate man was an Irish gentleman, reputed to be of great wealth, married to a beautiful and accomplished woman, secluded and studious in his habits, devoted

o natural science, and as unfitted for the turbulent struggle of active, ambitious life as Burr was for those simple and quiet pursuits, in which his victim found enjoyment and happiness. Blennerhassett's health, though, could be employed to advantage. Burr opened the correspondence by a flattering request to be permitted to examine Blennerhassett's grounds and garden, which had been improved at great expense. Once admitted, he employed all the address and eloquence of which he was master, in turning the whole current of Blennerhassett's thoughts from the calm, sedentary pursuits in which he had hitherto delighted, to those splendid visions of empire, greatness and wealth with which his own ardent imagination was then so fiercely glowing. No better evidence of Burr's power need be desired than the absolute command which he obtained over the will and fortune of this man. He held him to his purpose, inspired him with a fanatic enthusiasm in his cause, and obtained complete command of all that Blennerhassett had to offer.

The scheme of separation from the Atlantic States had been too much agitated in Kentucky not to have left some material for Burr to work upon, and that he neglected no opportunity of rallying the fragments of the old party may be readily believed. There is no doubt that Gen. Adair concurred in his scheme, so far as an expedition against the Spanish provinces was concerned; and it is certain that Burr himself calculated upon the co-operation of Gen. Wilkinson, and held frequent intercourse with him. During the summer of 1806 the public mind in Kentucky became agitated by rumors of secret expeditions and conspiracies, in which Burr and others were implicated, but all was wrapped in mystery and doubt.

At length a paper, entitled the *Western World*, published in Frankfort, by Wood & Street, came out with a series of articles, in which the old intrigue of Sebastian with Power, and the present project of Burr, were blended in a somewhat confused manner, and some round assertions of facts were made, and some names implicated which created no small sensation. Sebastian, then a judge of the supreme court, was boldly asserted to be an intriguer with Spain and a pensioner of the Spanish crown. Innes, then a judge of the Federal court; Brown, a senator in congress from Kentucky; Wilkinson, a general in the regular army, were all implicated. Burr was plainly denounced as a traitor, and the whole of his scheme was unfolded. There was a mixture of truth and error in these articles, which no one was then able to separate, and the public mind was completely bewildered at the number of atrocious plots which were exposed, and at the great names implicated. The friends of some of the parties violently resented the articles, and pistols and dirks were resorted to, to silence the accusation. But the paper sturdily adhered to its charges, and an address was prepared and published to the legislature elected in 1806, praying an inquiry

into the conduct of Sebastian, which was circulated among the people for signatures, and was signed by a great number, particularly in the county of Woodford.

In the meantime Col. Joseph Hamilton Daviess, the attorney for the United States, appeared in open court before Judge Innes on November 3d, and moved for process to compel the attendance of Burr before the court, to answer to a charge of a high misdemeanor, in organizing a military expedition against a friendly power, from and within the territory of the United States. This motion was grounded upon the oath of the attorney, setting forth with great accuracy the preparations then being made by Burr, and imputing to him designs which subsequent events proved to have been well understood by the attorney. This startling affidavit created immense sensation at the time. Burr was then popular in Kentucky, and was caressed and countenanced by her most eminent citizens. Daviess was greatly admired for those splendid powers of eloquence which he possessed in a degree rarely if ever surpassed, but labored under the odium of being an incurable Federalist, and equally bold and eloquent in expressing his opinions. Nine-tenths of the public at the time were startled at the boldness of the accusation, and seem to have attributed it to the well-known hatred of the Federalists to Col. Burr. Be the cause, however, what it might, the public feeling was strongly in favor of Burr and against the attorney, who was boldly and manfully discharging his duty. Judge Innes took time to consider the application, and after two days overruled the motion.

Col. Burr was in Lexington at the time, and was informed of the motion made by Daviess in an incredibly short space of time after it was made. He entered the court house shortly after Innes had overruled the motion, and addressed the judge with a grave and calm dignity of manner, which increased, if possible, the general prepossession in his favor. He spoke of the late motion as one which had greatly surprised him, insinuated that Daviess had reason to believe that he was absent upon business of a private but pressing nature, which it was well known required his immediate attention, that the judge had treated the application as it deserved, but as it might be renewed by the attorney in his absence, he preferred that the judge should entertain the motion *now*, and he had voluntarily appeared in order to give the gentleman an opportunity of proving his charge. Notwithstanding the lofty tranquility of Burr's manner, than which nothing could be more imposing, Daviess promptly accepted the challenge and declared himself ready to proceed as soon as he could procure the attendance of his witnesses. After consulting with the marshal, Daviess announced his opinion that his witnesses could attend on the ensuing Wednesday, and with the acquiescence of Burr, that day was fixed upon by the court for the investigation.



Burr awaited the day of trial with an easy tranquillity, which seemed to fear no danger, and on Wednesday the court house was crowded to suffocation. Daviess, upon counting his witnesses, discovered that Davis Floyd, one of the most important, was absent, and with great reluctance asked a postponement of the case. The judge instantly discharged the grand jury. Col. Burr then appeared at the bar, accompanied by his counsel, Henry Clay\* and Col. Allen. \* \* \* Col. Burr arose in court, expressed his regret that the grand jury had been discharged, and inquired the reason. Col. Daviess replied, and added that Floyd was then in Indiana attending a session of the territorial legislature. Burr calmly desired that the cause of the postponement might be entered upon the record as well as the reason why Floyd did not attend. He then with great self-possession, and with an air of candor difficult to be resisted, addressed the court and crowded audience upon the subject of the accusation. His style was without ornament, passion or fervor; but the spell of a great mind, and daring but calm spirit, was felt with singular power by all who heard him. He hoped that the good people of Kentucky would dismiss their apprehensions of danger from him, if any such really existed. There was really no ground for them, however zealously the attorney might strive to awaken them. He was engaged in no project inimical to the peace or tranquillity of the country, as they would certainly learn whenever the attorney should be ready, which he greatly apprehended would never be. In the meantime, although private business urgently demanded his presence elsewhere, he felt compelled to give the attorney one more opportunity of proving his charge, and would patiently await another attack.

Upon the 25th of November, Col. Daviess informed the court that Floyd would attend on the 2d of December following, and another grand jury was summoned to attend on that day. Col. Burr came into court attended by the same counsel as on the former occasion, and coolly awaited the expected attack. Daviess, with evident chagrin, again announced that he was not ready to proceed, that John Adair had been summoned and was not in attendance, and that his testimony was indispensable to the prosecution. He again asked a postponement of the case for a few days, and that the

grand jury should be kept impaneled until he could compel the attendance of Adair by attachment.

Burr upon the present occasion remained silent and entirely unmoved by anything which occurred. Not so his counsel. A most animated and impassioned debate sprung up, intermingled with sharp and flashing personalities between Clay and Daviess. Never did two more illustrious orators encounter each other in debate. The enormous mass which crowded to suffocation the floor, the galleries, the windows, the platform of the judge remained still and breathless for hours, while these renowned and immortal champions, stimulated by mutual rivalry, and each glowing with the ardor of conviction of right, encountered each other in splendid intellectual combat. Clay had the sympathies of the audience on his side, and was the leader of the popular party in Kentucky. Daviess was a Federalist, and was regarded as persecuting an innocent and unfortunate man from motives of political hate. But he was buoyed up by the false conviction of Burr's guilt, and the delusion of the people on the subject and the very infatuation which he beheld around him, and the smiling security of the traitor who sat before him, stirred his great spirit to one of its most brilliant efforts. All, however, was in vain. Judge Innes refused to retake the grand jury unless some business was brought before them; and Daviess, in order to gain time, set up to them an indictment against John Adair, which was pronounced by the grand jury "not a true bill." The hour being late, Daviess then moved for an attachment to compel the attendance of Adair, which was resisted by Burr's counsel, and refused by the court on the ground that Adair was not in contempt until the day had expired. Upon the motion of Daviess the court then adjourned upon the ensuing day.

In the interval Daviess had a private interview with the judge, and obtained from him an expression of the opinion that it would be allowable to him as prosecutor to attend the grand jury in the room and examine witnesses, in order to explain to them the connection of the detached particles of evidence, which his intimate acquaintance with the plot would enable him to do, and without which the grand jury would scarcely be able to comprehend their bearing. When the court resumed its sitting on the following morning, Daviess moved to be permitted to attend the grand jury in their room. This was resisted by Burr's counsel as novel and unprecedented, and refused by the court. The grand jury then retired, witnesses were sworn, and sent up to them, and on the 5th of the month they returned, as Daviess had expected, "not a true bill." In addition to this, the grand jury returned into court a written declaration signed by the whole of them, in which, from all the evidence before them, they completely exonerated Burr from any design inimical to the peace and well-being of the country. Col. Allen instantly moved the court that a copy of the report of the grand jury should

\*Before Mr. Clay took any active part as the counsel of Burr he required of him an explicit disavowal, upon his honor, that he was engaged in no design contrary to the laws and peace of the country. This pledge was promptly given by Burr, in language the most broad, comprehensive and particular. "He had no design," he said, "to intermeddle with, or disturb the tranquillity of the United States, nor its territories, nor any part of them. He had neither issued nor signed, nor promised a commission to any person for any purpose. He did not own a single musket, nor bayonet, nor any single article of military stores, nor did any other person for him, by his authority or knowledge. His views had been explained to several distinguished members of the administration, were well understood and approved by the government. They were such that every man of honor, and every good citizen, must approve. He considered this declaration proper as well to counteract the chimerical tales circulated by the malevolence of his enemies, as to satisfy Mr. Clay that he had not become the counsel of a man in any way unfriendly to the laws, the government or the well being of his country."—Collins, Vol. I, p. 293.

aken and published in the newspapers, which was granted. The popular current ran with great strength in his favor, and the United States' attorney for the time was overwhelmed with obloquy.

Thus ended one of the most renowned trials recorded in the annals of the Kentucky courts. When we consider the magnitude of the charges against Burr, and how nearly, at the time, was the culmination of his treasonable plots, the result of the trial seems almost farcical. The majority of the people had become so infatuated with Burr, that they would scarcely have believed in his guilt, "though one arose from the dead" to proclaim it; and to show their disapproval of the "persecution of an innocent man," a grand ball was given in Frankfort in his honor, and to celebrate his "triumph over his enemies." This ball was followed by another, given by the friends of Col. Daviess, who believed in the truth of the charges made against Burr. At one of these balls the editor of the *Western World* was attacked, and narrowly escaped personal violence. Excitement was aroused to such a height that small cause would have brought on a collision between the parties, disgraceful as it might have proved fatal. These facts show the tone of public feeling at the time.

The treason of Burr, the falsehoods he indulged in to further his ends, and the base treachery with which he treated those who trusted him, have scarcely a parallel in modern history. His declaration to Mr. Clay was made at Frankfort on the 1st of December, 1806. On the 29th of July, preceding, he had written to Wilkinson, one of his associates in treason: "I have obtained funds, and have actually commenced the enterprise. Detachments from different points and on different pretenses will rendezvous on the Ohio on the 1st of November. Every thing internal and external favors views —. Already are orders given to contractors to forward six months' provisions to any point Wilkinson may name. The project is brought to the point so long desired. Burr guarantees the result with his life and honor, with the lives, the fortunes of hundreds—the best blood of the country. Wilkinson shall

be second only to Burr. Wilkinson shall dictate the rank of his officers. Burr's plan of operations is to move down rapidly from the Falls by the 15th of November, with the first five or ten hundred men, in light boats now constructing, to be at Natchez between the 5th and 15th of December, there to meet Wilkinson there to determine whether it will be expedient in the first instance, to SEIZE on, or pass by Baton Rouge!" When we compare this with his solemn declaration to Mr. Clay, nearly six months later, that "he had no design to intermeddle with, or disturb the tranquillity of the United States, nor its territories, nor any part of them;" and that, "he did not own a single musket, nor bayonet, nor any single article of military stores, nor did any other person for him, by his authority or knowledge," etc., etc., the treachery and falsehood of the man stand revealed in the most glaring characters. Before he wrote the above letter to Gen. Wilkinson, he had fully unfolded his treasonable plot to Gen. Eaton. The latter gentleman, on the 24th of July, 1806, wrote to Gen. Wilkinson in cypher: "Are you ready? Are your numerous associates ready? Wealth and glory! Louisiana and Mexico!!"

President Jefferson issued his proclamation on the 25th day of November, 1806 (only a week before Burr's declaration to Clay), denouncing the enterprise, and warning the Western people against it. Mr. McClung thus concludes his sketch of the Burr conspiracy: "On the 1st of December (1806), a messenger from the president arrived at the seat of government of Ohio, and instantly procured the passage of a law by which ten of Col. Burr's boats, laden with provisions and military stores, were seized on the Muskingum, before they could reach the Ohio. At the very moment that he appeared in court, an armed force in his service occupied Blennerhassett's Island, and boats laden with provisions and military stores were commencing their voyage down the river, and passed Louisville on the 16th of December. Scarcely was the grand jury discharged, and the ball which celebrated his acquittal concluded, when the president's proclamation



reached Kentucky, and a law was passed in hot haste for seizing the boats which had escaped the militia of Ohio, and were then descending the river. Burr had left Frankfort about the 7th, and had gone to Nashville. The conclusion of this enterprise belongs to the history of the United States. But that portion of the drama which was enacted in Kentucky has been detailed with some minuteness as affording a rich and rare example of cool and calculating impudence, and of truth, loyalty and eloquence most signally baffled and put to shame by the consummate art and self-possession of this daring intriguer." It is only necessary to add, that upon the failure of his designs on the territory of the United States, Burr continued his intrigue against Mexico, and went to Europe in the furtherance of his scheme. Disappointed at every step, however, he returned disgusted to the United States, and resumed the practice of law in New York. But he never gained his former prestige, and finally died in poverty and neglect.

After the failure of Burr's intrigue, there came a period of peace and tranquillity, in which the material growth and development of the State were such as it had never before known. Population rapidly increased, manufactories sprang up, and institutions of learning were established in the more thickly settled sections. The political quiet that followed the Burr fiasco was at length broken by the Indian wars of the Northwest, and our second war with Great Britain. These Indian wars, which were carried on for some time, terminated with the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811, in which a number of Kentucky troops took part. The battle was a severe one, considering the numbers engaged. Kentucky lost Col. Owen and the talented and brave Col. Daviess, who had taken so prominent a part in the prosecution of Burr.

Gen. Charles Scott succeeded Mr. Greenup as governor of Kentucky in 1808, and Gabriel Slaughter became lieutenant-governor. James Madison was elected president, as the successor of Mr. Jefferson, who had served two terms. The relations between the United States and Great Britain were becoming more

and more critical, and the storm of war seemed to be rapidly gathering. "The Indian disturbances that led to the Tippecanoe campaign," says a late historian, "were stimulated by the controversies that presaged the war of 1812. It was only after some years of dispute that trouble came to blows, but the British and Canadians doubtless aroused the spirit of depredation in their willing allies, the savages, long before war actually began." The most intense interest was awakened in Kentucky. Public meetings were held, eloquent and fiery speeches were made, and patriotic resolutions were offered in great profusion. When the attack was made upon the Chesapeake, by the British ship *Leopard*, the outrage "exasperated the American people almost beyond control, and was nowhere more fiercely resented than in Kentucky."

The history of the war of 1812 belongs more properly to the history of the United States than of Kentucky, but a history of the latter would not be complete or satisfactory without a brief glance at the incidents which led to this war, and the part taken in it by Kentuckians. Briefly summed up, the causes of the war were as follows:\*

Being the second maritime power in the world the United States became the carrier on the ocean of a large portion of the commerce of Europe. Many English seamen, tempted by the high wages given by American merchants, were employed in our commercial marine; and England claimed and exercised the right of impressing her own seamen wherever they might be found. The enormous navy which she maintained, required to be supported by constant impressment; and under color of seizing her own citizens, she was constantly in the habit of stopping American merchantmen and selecting from the crew such men as her subordinate officers chose to consider English, Irish or Scotch, and who were frequently native American citizens. All Americans upon the ocean thus became liable to be seized at the discretion of any British officer, and forced under the discipline of the lash, to waste their lives in the most unhealthy climates, and in the most degraded stations. This grievance was the subject of protracted and bitter remonstrance, from the administration of Washington to the opening of the war; but Great Britain constantly refused to abandon the right, or rather the exercise of the power. \*

To the embittering grievance of impressment was added, in 1806 and 1807, a series of paper blockades, by means of which, not only American seamen

\*Collins, Vol. I, pp. 296, 297.

but American merchandise afloat, became subject to seizure and confiscation upon the high seas, under circumstances which left the American government no choice but to abandon the ocean entirely, or submit to a wholesale plunder upon the seas, destructive to their property and intolerable to national pride. By these orders in council the whole French empire, with its allies and dependencies, then embracing nearly all of Europe, were declared in a state of blockade. Any American vessel bound to or returning from any port in any of these countries, without first stopping at an English port and obtaining a license to prosecute the voyage, was declared a lawful prize. This was in retaliation of Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees, wherein he had declared the British Islands, their dependencies and allies, in a state of blockade, and had rendered every vessel liable to confiscation, which either touched at a British port, or was laden in whole, or in part, with British produce. This decree, however, was in retaliation of a previous decree passed by the English government in 1806, whereby the whole imperial coast, from Brest to the Elbe, was declared in a state of blockade.

All these decrees were haughty and high handed violations of [inter]national law, which allows of no mere paper blockades, and requires the presence of a sufficient force to render them legal. Between these haughty belligerents, no American vessel could be free from liability to confiscation. \* \* Both decrees were equally hostile to American commerce; but the English had set the first example, and the practical operation of their orders in council was far more destructive than Napoleon's decree. One thousand American vessels, richly laden, became the prize of the British cruisers; irritating cases of impressment were constantly occurring; the language of American diplomacy became daily more angry and impatient, that of England daily more cold and haughty, and in June, 1812, the American congress declared war.

The Federalist party, the party to which Washington adhered, and to which Adams belonged, opposed the war of 1812. Its great strength lay in New England, where the principles of the Puritans were strongly ingrafted upon the minds of the people. This party, composed at the time of the mass of intelligence and property, and a majority of the religious strength of the country, looked upon France as a power hostile to religion and freedom, and regarded her revolution with horror, and condemned Bonaparte as a usurper and tyrant. The Democratic or Republican party, on the other hand, sympathized with Napoleon, and strongly and zealously advocated and favored the war with England.

When war was declared against England, congress authorized the president to levy 100,000 men. In this levy the quota of Kentucky was 5,500. Fifteen hundred of the number were to be sent to the aid of Hull at Detroit. These were raised without delay, and scarcely had they crossed the Ohio, on their way thither, when news reached them of Hull's surrender. Soon after this Gen. William Henry Harrison, then governor of the Indiana Territory, was commissioned by Gov. Scott, of Kentucky, as major-general, and placed in command of the Kentucky troops. Harrison moved swiftly to the North, receiving additional recruits to his army daily from both sides of the Ohio. The first battle in which the Kentucky troops were engaged, beyond a few unimportant skirmishes with the Indians, was at the River Raisin. Most of the troops engaged in this battle on the American side were from Kentucky, and the sad result of the engagement carried mourning to many a Kentucky family. The Americans were successful in the first battle, but were afterward attacked by a large force of British and Indians, under Gen. Procter, and though they fought valiantly until their ammunition was exhausted, they were finally defeated and taken prisoners. Under promise of "honorable conditions" they surrendered; but their wounded, who were left without a sufficient guard, to the shame and disgrace of Procter be it said, were massacred by the savages of his army. This melancholy event was followed by the more discouraging, and yet more disgraceful, campaign against the Illinois Indians. Two thousand Kentuckians under Gen. Hopkins, in October, crossed the Wabash into the Illinois country and proceeded against the Kickapoo towns. After a long and tedious march, their provisions gave out, and there still being no signs of the Indians, the troops became disgusted, and, in spite of remonstrances of their officers, they returned to Vincennes.

Gen. Harrison's defense of Fort Meigs, and Col. Croghan's\* defense of Fort Stephenson retrieved, in some degree, the disaster of

\*Pronounced Crawn.



Raisin, and the failure of Gen. Hopkins' expedition against the Illinois Indians. The war in the north, so far as it concerned the Kentucky troops, closed with Com. Perry's victory on Lake Erie, and the battle of the Thames. But 150 Kentuckians served under Perry in his battle on Lake Erie, and as volunteers only for the battle. In the battle of the Thames the British and Indians, about 2,000 strong, commanded by Gen. Proctor and Tecumseh, were opposed by Gen. Harrison, with about 3,000 men, by far the larger part of whom were Kentuckians. The British and Indians were overwhelmingly defeated, and Tecumseh, one of the most renowned Indian warriors since the days of King Philip, was killed. Five brigades of Kentucky troops, under Gens. Trotter, Allen, Chiles, Caldwell and King were engaged in the battle. The brigades of Chiles, Trotter and King formed the division of Maj.-Gen. Henry, those of Caldwell and Allen the division of Maj.-Gen. Desha. The venerable Shelby, who had again been elected governor of Kentucky, was present in person, and at the request of Gen. Harrison commanded the Kentucky troops. He remained on the field during the engagement, and directed all their important movements.

The theater of strife was now transferred to another section of the country. The closing scene of the war took place at New Orleans. On January 8, 1815, the most brilliant engagement of the whole war was fought near that city, between the British, under Sir Edward Pakenham, and the Americans, under Gen. Jackson. The British were 12,000 strong, composed chiefly of the

veterans of Wellington, who had measured strength with Napoleon on more than one bloody field. Jackson's army was mostly militia, ragged, and but poorly armed, and numbered less than 6,000 men. The British lost, according to their own account, 2,070 including Gens. Pakenham, Gibbs and Keane, and a host of other gallant officers while the American loss did not exceed a dozen men, killed and wounded. A large proportion of Jackson's troops were Kentuckians, and it is only necessary to say they fought as Kentuckians were wont to fight, and covered themselves with glory in the unequal struggle with Pakenham's veterans.

This was the last battle of the war. Peace had been agreed on, and a treaty signed at Ghent, some weeks prior to the battle, but the news had not yet reached this country. It came soon after, however, and was hailed with universal joy, and ratified without opposition. The people returned to domestic pursuits, and peace reigned throughout the land.

In August, 1812, Gen. Isaac Shelby was elected governor for the second time and Richard Hickman, lieutenant-governor. James Madison was re-elected president of the United States. He carried Kentucky and in the electoral college received 128 of the 217 electoral votes; the other 89 being cast for DeWitt Clinton. The clouds of war then came with the beginning of these administrations, and that soon burst in wrath upon the country, cleared away before the close, and left the country once more to the blessings of peace.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## POLITICAL ANNALS FROM THE WAR OF 1812 TO 1860.

THE people of Kentucky have always taken an active interest in the political history of the country. They are naturally politicians. A newspaper article contained recently the following caustic paragraph: "Kentuckians are too fond of talking politics to kill off anybody who can talk on the other side—they would rather keep him to argue with. Give a Kentuckian a plug of tobacco and a political antagonist, and he will spend a comfortable day wherever he is." This may be tinged with satire, but is not altogether devoid of truth. Nor is it a reproach to the honesty and intelligence of the masses that it is true. The early citizens were brought up to rely upon their own judgment in many things, and to think and act for themselves, and this trait has been transmitted, undiminished, to their posterity.

Political parties in Kentucky assumed a distinctive form during the administration of Gen. Jackson as president of the United States. The events which led to their organization, however, may be traced back to the war of 1812. The old Federal party, which bitterly opposed President Jefferson and his official acts, became extinct during that war, never more to be revived as a political organization. The war measures of President Madison were generally and even earnestly supported by the people throughout the country, and in no section of the republic with greater zeal than in Kentucky. But the close of the war found the country upon the verge of bankruptcy. Not alone in Kentucky, nor in the United States, but in the whole civilized world, financial depression reigned supreme. The French revolution and the wars which succeeded it, were the direct cause of this "monetary disorder."

An inflated paper currency had taken the place of gold and silver as a "circulating medium," and, as is ever the case, greatly increased nominal values. But the restoration of peace to Europe, and a revival of industrial pursuits, together with a resumption of specie payments, caused a great decline in the "nominal value of commodities," and spread ruin, desolation and bankruptcy everywhere. In Kentucky was inaugurated the bitterest political warfare ever known in the history of the State.

George Madison was elected governor in 1816, but died shortly after his election, and before he had been installed into the office. The question now arose whether the lieutenant-governor, under the provisions of the constitution, became governor, or whether the legislature had the legal right to order a new election. After a long and heated discussion, the question was decided against the calling of a new election, and the lieutenant-governor-elect (Gabriel Slaughter) became governor for the full term of four years. Under his administration commenced that great political conflict, which agitated the State for more than a decade, and arrayed men against each other in fierce antagonism scarcely equaled by the late civil war. The long financial pressure had loaded the people with debt, and their universal cry was relief from the heavy burden. In answer to their petition, the legislature at a single session (1817-18) chartered forty independent banks with an aggregate capital of \$10,000,000. The act creating these banks, with a painful lack of wisdom, permitted them to redeem their notes with the paper of the bank of Kentucky, which was then in good credit, instead of in specie.



Rev. John A. McClung,\* writing upon the subject nearly thirty years later, says: "In the summer of 1818, the State was flooded with the paper of these banks. Their managers were generally without experience or knowledge of finance, and, in some instances, destitute of common honesty. The consequences were such as might have been anticipated. Speculation sprang up in all directions. Large loans were rashly made and rashly expended. Most of these bubbles exploded within a year, and few were alive at the end of two years. In the meantime the pressure of debt became terrible, and the power to replevy judgments was extended by the legislature from three to twelve months, by an act passed at the session of 1819-20.† During the summer of 1820, the cry for further relief became overwhelming, and vast majorities of both houses stood pledged to some measure which should relieve the debtor from the consequences of his rashness. The reign of political quackery was in its glory. The sufferings of the patient were too acute to permit him to listen to the regular physician who prescribed time, industry and economy as the only honest and just remedy. He turned eagerly to the quacks who promised him instantaneous relief, by infallible nostrums and specifics, without pain, without self-denial and without paying the penalty which nature always imposes upon any gross violation of her laws."

Gen. John Adair succeeded Mr. Slaughter, in 1820, as governor of the commonwealth. He was a native of South Carolina, and was born in 1757. He grew to manhood amid the stirring scenes of the revolution, and in 1786 came to Kentucky, where he at once took an active part in the Indian wars of that period. He settled in Mercer County. In the campaign of 1813, he served as an aid to Gov. Shelby, and as such, took part in the battle of the Thames. Gov. Shelby afterward appointed him adjutant-general of the Kentucky troops, and in this position he commanded them in the battle of New Orleans.

He served repeatedly in the legislature, and was several times elected its speaker. He died May 19, 1840.

Gov. Adair sympathized with the people in their financial distress, and recommended to the legislature further measures of relief. At the session of 1820-21, that body, with the governor's approval, chartered the Bank of the Commonwealth. This new financial prodigy was a kind of State paper-mill whose chief and sole business was to grind out money in endless profusion. Its paper with no guarantee of redemption in specie was made payable and receivable for public and private debts, and for taxes, and the creditor, who refused to receive it, in liquidation of his claim, was forced to await two years, under the new law replevying debt for that length of time. Its only security was certain lands owned by the State, lying south of the Tennessee River, which were pledged for the final redemption of its notes. The writer already quoted from, further says:

But these were not the only acts of this mad session. They had already one bank, the old Bank of Kentucky, then in good credit, its paper redeemable in specie, and its stock at par, or nearly so. By the terms of its charter, the legislature had the power of electing a number of directors which gave it the control of the board. This power was eagerly exercised during this winter. An experienced conservative president and board were turned out by the legislature, and a president and board elected, who stood pledged before their election to receive the paper of the Bank of the Commonwealth, in payment of debts due the Bank of Kentucky. This, no doubt intended to buoy up their darling bank and sustain the credit of its paper. But the effect was instantly to strike down the stock of the Bank of Kentucky to one-half its nominal value, and to entail upon it eternal suspension of specie payment. The paper of the new bank sank rapidly to one-half its par value, and the creditor had his choice of evils. One was to receive one-half his debt in payment of the whole, and the other, was to receive nothing at all for two years, and at the end of that time, to do the best he could, running the risk of new delays, and of bankruptcy of his security. Great was the indignation of the creditor, at the wholesale confiscation of his property, and society rapidly arranged itself into two parties, called "relief" and "anti-relief." With the first party, were the great mass of debtors, and some brilliant members of the bar, such as John Rowan, William T. Barry, Simon P. Sharp and Rezin Davidge. A great majority of the voting population swelled the ranks, and

\*Collins, Vol. I, p. 318.

†A subsequent act extended the time to two years.

it was countenanced by the governor, and furnished with plausible arguments by the eminent lawyers already named, to whom may be added the name of George M. Bibb.\* With the anti-relief party, were ranged nearly all the mercantile class, and a majority of the bar and bench, and most of the better

\*George M. Bibb, one of the leaders in the relief party, was a man noted in the political history of Kentucky. As a lawyer, jurist and statesman, he was equally distinguished. He was a native of Virginia, and was born in Prince Edward County, in 1776. He was a graduate of both Hampden Sydney, and William and Mary Colleges. He studied law with Richard Venable, and was admitted to the bar in Virginia. In 1798, he came to Lexington, where he soon distinguished himself as an able lawyer. He was appointed by Gov. Greenup, a judge of the appellate court in 1808, and by Gov. Scott, its chief justice in 1809, but resigned the next year. He was again appointed by Gov. Desha in 1827, and resigned in 1828. He was twice elected to the United States senate, first in 1811, and again in 1829. From 1835 to 1840, he was chancellor of the Louisville Chancery Court, but resigned it for the secretaryship of the treasury in President Tyler's cabinet. From that time until his death in 1859, he practiced law in the District of Columbia.

William T. Barry, the chief-justice of the "new court of appeals" was a Virginian by birth, and came to Lexington in early life, where he soon became a leading member of the bar. In 1820 he was elected lieutenant-governor, under Gen. Adair. While in this position, the old and new court controversy came up, and with all his energies he engaged in the strife. Upon the reorganization of the court of appeals, he was appointed its chief-justice, and although his position proved to be unpopular in the end, he discharged the duties of chief-justice with dignity and honor. He was defeated in 1828 for governor by Gen. Metcalfe. Lexington continued to be his home, until the accession of Gen. Jackson to the presidency, when he removed to Washington City, and became postmaster-general in Jackson's cabinet. In 1835 he was appointed minister to Spain, and on his way there, was seized with a sudden illness at Liverpool, England, which terminated in his death, at the early age of fifty-two years. In November, 1854, his remains were interred in the State Cemetery at Frankfort.

John Rowan, the able coadjutor of Judge Bibb, in the relief measures, was born in Pennsylvania, in 1773. His father came to Louisville in 1783, but the following year removed to Long Falls, on Green River. Young Rowan received his education in a classical school at Bardstown; studied law and was admitted to the bar at Lexington in 1795. He early engaged in politics, and was a member of the constitutional convention of 1799. Gov. Greenup appointed him secretary of state in 1804, and in 1806, he was elected to congress; also served several terms in the State legislature. In 1819, together with Henry Clay, he was appointed by the legislature to defend the "occupying claimant laws" of Kentucky, in the supreme court of the United States. With his characteristic zeal, he threw his great talents into the relief and anti-relief controversy, as the champion of the new court of appeals, and with Bibb, Sharp and others, carried their cause over all opposition. He was elected to the United States senate in 1824. He died in Louisville in 1843, in the seventieth year of his age.

Solomon P. Sharp, another of the active supporters of the new court of appeals, was of humble origin, and his family poor and obscure. They settled in Russellville, when he was but a child, and where he grew to manhood. Through his own exertions mainly, he received a good education, studied law, and at the age of nineteen, was admitted to the bar. He was elected to the legislature, as soon as his age would permit him to take a seat in that body, and at twenty-four, was considered one of the first public men of the commonwealth. After several terms in the State legislature, he was elected to congress, and re-elected to a second term. He was the intimate friend of John C. Calhoun, and stood side by side with him in support of Mr. Madison's administration. He removed to Frankfort, to practice his profession in the higher courts, and in 1825, while still a young man, fell by the hand of an assassin.

John Trimble, one of the associate judges of the new court of appeals, was a native Kentuckian, and was born December 4, 1783. At the age of nineteen, he was appointed secretary to Robert Evans, governor of the Indiana Territory, and resided two years at Vincennes. He returned home and studied law with George Nicholas, one of the most eminent jurists of Kentucky. He practiced at Paris from 1807 to 1816, when he was appointed to the circuit bench, and removed to Cynthiana. Gov. Desha appointed him the third judge of the new court of appeals, but he soon resigned the position. He was tendered the appointment of United States judge for the district of Kentucky, by President John Quincy Adams, but declined it. He died in 1852, at the age of sixty years.

Judges Haggin and Davidge, the two remaining judges of the new court of appeals, were able lawyers and jurists. They never, however, attained to as high judicial, or political distinction, as some of their colleagues in these exciting times. Judge Davidge occupied the circuit bench for many years, and died in Hopkinsville, at an advanced age. Judge Haggin filled no prominent public station, except that of judge of the court of appeals. He died in Lexington in 1835, while still in the prime of life.

class of farmers. The mass of property and intelligence was drawn up in array, against the mass of numbers, and an angry conflict commenced in the newspapers, upon the stump, in the taverns and highways, which gradually invaded private and domestic circles. Robert Wickliffe, of Fayette County; George Robertson, since chief-justice of Kentucky, then an eminent lawyer of Garrard County, and Chilton Allan, an eminent lawyer of Clark County, were early engaged in the conflict, and were regarded as leaders of the anti-relief party.

This was the beginning of the relief and anti-relief measures, and the origin of the organization known as the old court and new court parties. No stronger partisan feeling, no bitterer political warfare, ever raged in Kentucky, than was inaugurated and carried on under these spirited battle-cries. The reckless relief act of the legislature was condemned by the more calm and conservative element, as unconstitutional. A test case was soon brought before the circuit court, and Judge Clark, an able jurist of Clark County, in whose court it was presented, decided the act in direct violation of the constitution and so rendered his verdict. This decision brought down upon him the indignation of the relief party, and he was soon summoned to appear before the "judgment bar" of the legislature to answer for the offense. A special session was convened in the spring of 1822, and strenuous efforts were made to remove Judge Clark, but he boldly defended his opinion with reason and firmness, and for once, at least, right prevailed over might. But his triumph was of short duration. A lack of the constitutional majority in the legislature, and suggestions from cooler heads to await the decision of the supreme court, alone saved him from a summary dismissal from his office. Judge Clark, amid all this excitement and pressure, adhered to his decision, and stood firmly upon its merits. Judge Blair, of Fayette County, soon came to his support in an able and learned opinion of similar import. This "refractory spirit of the inferior judiciary" enraged the relief people, and called forth still harsher and severer efforts to carry out their views. A recent writer upon this exciting subject says: "No State has made more serious mistakes in governmental affairs than



Kentucky. We shall see that, one by one, she exhausted the follies that it was possible for a developing community to commit, but we shall also see that they profited by their painful experience." So it was in this case. The relief party persisted in their policy until the State was brought to the brink of ruin, and then came the reaction.

After the failure on the part of the legislature to remove Judge Clark, all parties awaited, with intense interest, the decision of the supreme court. That august body was composed of John Boyle, chief justice, and William Owsley and Benjamin Mills, associate judges. The friends of the relief measures endeavored to frighten them into a decision favorable to their party, but to their credit, be it spoken, without success. At the fall term of the court in 1823, the question came before them in the case of *Lapsley vs. Brashear*, and disregarding the threats of vengeance hurled at them, should they dare to thwart the "will of a majority of the people," they delivered separate opinions, but all concurring with their brethren in the circuit court, in the conclusion, that "those statutes, so far as they retroacted on contracts depending for their effect on the law of Kentucky, were inconsistent with that clause in the Federal constitution, which prohibits the legislature of the several States in the Union from passing any act 'impairing the obligation of contracts,' and also, of course, with the similar provision in the constitution of Kentucky, inhibiting any such enactment by the legislature of this State. A more grave and eventful question could not have been presented to the court for its umpirage. It subjected to a severe, but decisive ordeal, the personal integrity, firmness and intelligence of the judges, and the value of that degree of judicial independence and stability contemplated by the constitution. The question involved was new and vexed; and a majority of the people of the State had approved, and were, as they seemed to think, vitally interested in maintaining their constitutional power to enact such remedial statutes."\* This opinion was received by the

relief party with a tempest of rage, and the conflict was renewed with greater fury than before. Efforts were made to remove the judges by act of the legislature, and the issue involved in the election of 1824 was made upon these grounds.

The judges composing the court of appeals John Boyle, William Owsley and Benjamin Mills, were among the ablest lawyers, and jurists of Kentucky. Of them, the Rev. Mr. McClung remarked: "These gentlemen had passed the meridian of life, and had been drilled for a long series of years to the patient and abstract severity of judicial investigation. In simplicity and purity of character, in profound legal knowledge, and in Roman-like firmness of purpose, the old court of appeals of Kentucky have seldom been surpassed."

John Boyle, the chief justice, was born in Virginia, in 1774, and like many of the great men of the country, he rose to eminence, principally through his own exertion from the humblest circumstances. His family was poor and obscure, and he was early thrown upon his own resources. In 1777 his father came to Whitley's Station in Kentucky, but soon after removed to Garrard County. Young Boyle's education was good for that early period. He received instruction in the languages from Rev. Samuel Finley, a Presbyterian minister. He studied law with Thomas Davis, and was admitted to the bar in Mercer County. In 1802 he was elected to congress, and twice afterward re-elected, declining the canvass for a fourth term. He was appointed by President Madison the first governor of Illinois after its organization into a territory, but declining the appointment. In 1809 he was placed upon the appellate bench, and in 1810 he became the chief justice of the appellate court, which trust he held with honor for sixteen years. Upon the reorganization of the court, and the accession to power of the national court party, Judge Boyle resigned, but was soon after appointed, by the national government, district judge of Kentucky. This position he held until his death, which occurred in 1841. During the last year of his life he was p-

\*Judge Robertson in Collins' History, Vol. I, p. 495.

essor of law in the Transylvania University.

William Owsley was a native of Virginia, born in 1782, and the year following, his father emigrated to Lincoln County, Ky. His advantages were limited, but by energy and industry he succeeded in obtaining a good common school education. He taught school, became deputy county surveyor, deputy sheriff, and held other positions of importance. He studied law with Chief Justice Boyle, and commenced practice in Garrard County; was several times sent from that county to the legislature, and at the age of thirty-one was appointed by Gov. Scott, a judge of the court of appeals. He resigned a short time, but was reappointed by Gov. Shelby in 1813. In 1844 he was elected governor over William O. Butler, after a most exciting campaign, and by the largest vote polled in the State up to that time. He moved to Frankfort for the purpose of practicing his profession in the higher courts of the State, but finally purchased a farm in Boyle County and retired from active life. He died on December 9, 1862, at the age of eighty years.

Benjamin Mills was born in Maryland, 1779, and received a liberal education. While still a mere youth, he was called to the presidency of Washington Academy, at Washington, Penn., which institution soon after became Washington College. He came with his father's family to Bourbon County, and relinquishing the study of medicine, which he had begun sometime before, took to the profession of the law. He was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice at Paris, about the year 1806. He represented Bourbon County several terms in the legislature, and in 1817 was appointed to the circuit bench. In 1820 he was appointed a judge of the appellate court, a position he held until 1828, when he retired. He removed to Frankfort the better to enable him to devote his time to practice in the superior courts, and continued to reside at the capital, until his death, which occurred in 1831, from a stroke of apoplexy.

The great excitement which followed the decision of the court of appeals is very

graphically described by Mr. McClung in Collins' History, from which article quotations have already been made. The following extract, not only readable but interesting, is from the same source:

The great majority had been accustomed to make and unmake, to set up and pull down, at its sovereign will and pleasure. Presidents, governors, senators, representatives, had long been the creatures of its power, and the flatterers of its caprice. James I., had not a more exalted notion of his divine prerogative than the great majority had of its undoubted right to govern. The power of the judiciary had heretofore been so unobtrusive, that its extent and importance had escaped attention, and the masses were startled to find three plain citizens could permanently arrest the action and thwart the wishes of that majority, before which, presidents, governors, and congresses, bowed with implicit submission. Many good, honest citizens looked upon it as monstrous, unnatural, unheard-of, in a Republican government. It shocked all the notions of liberty and democracy which had grown with their growth, and violently wounded that sense of importance allied to arrogance, which always attends a long exercise of unresisted power.

The judiciary, by the constitution, held their offices during good behavior. Nothing less than two-thirds of both houses could remove them. Could they hope to obtain this majority? The canvass of 1824 was conducted with the hope of such result. Gen. Joseph Desha was the candidate of the relief party for governor, and canvassed the State with that energy and partisan vehemence, for which he was remarkable. He was elected by an overwhelming majority.\* A vast majority of both houses were of the relief party. The governor and the legislature met in December with passion heated by the fierce canvass through which they had passed, and the unsparing wounds which they had received from their enemies. The sword was fairly drawn, and the scabbard had been thrown away by both parties. So exasperated were the passions, that the minority was as little disposed to ask quarter, as the majority was to give it. The three judges were summoned before the legislative bar, and calmly assigned reasons at length, for their decision. These reasons were replied to with great speciousness and subtlety; for the great talents of Rowan, Bibb and Barry were at the command of the relief party, and their manifestoes were skillfully drawn. A vote was at length taken, and the constitutional majority of two-thirds could not be obtained. The minority exulted in the victory of the judges.

But their adversaries were too much inflamed to be diverted from their purpose by ordinary impedi-

\*Gen. Desha received 38,378 votes, and his opponent, Christopher Thompson, 22,499 votes.



ments. The edict "*Delenda est Carthago*," had gone forth, and the party, rapidly recovering from their first defeat, renewed the assault in a formidable direction, which had not been foreseen, and when success was clearly within their reach. The majority could not remove the judges by impeachment or address, because their majority, though large, was not two-thirds of each house. But they could repeal the act by which the court of appeals had been organized, and could pass an act organizing the court anew. The judges would follow the court, as in the case of the district court and court of quarter sessions, and a bare majority would suffice to pass the act. A bill to this effect was drawn up, and debated with intense excitement, during three days and three protracted night sessions. Wickliffe denounced the party with fierce and passionate invective, as trampling upon the constitution, deliberately, knowingly and wickedly. Rowan replied with cold and stately subtlety, perplexing, when he could not convince, and sedulously confounding the present act with the repeal of the district court, and with the action of congress, in repealing the Federal court system, and displacing its judges by a bare majority. On the last night the debate was protracted until past midnight. The galleries were crowded with spectators as strongly excited as the members. The governor and Lieut.-Gov. McAfee were present upon the floor, and mingled with the members. Both displayed intense excitement, and the governor was heard to urge the calling of the previous question. Great disorder prevailed and an occasional clap and hiss were heard in the galleries. The bill was passed by a large majority in the house of representatives, and by a nearly equal majority in the senate. No time was lost in organizing the new court, which consisted of four judges. William T. Barry was chief justice, and John Trimble, James Haggin and Rezin Davidge were associate justices. Francis P. Blair was appointed clerk, and took forcible possession of the records of Achilles Sneed, the old clerk. The old court, in the meantime, denied the constitutionality of the act, and still continued to sit as a court of appeals and decide such causes as were brought before them. A great majority of the bar of Kentucky recognized them as the true court, and brought their causes by appeal before their tribunal. A great majority of the circuit judges, also, obeyed their mandates as implicitly as if no organizing act had passed. A certain proportion of cases, however, were taken by the new court, and some of the circuit judges obeyed their mandates exclusively, refusing to recognize the old court. A few judges obeyed both, declining to decide which was the true court.

This judicial anarchy could not possibly endure. The people, as the final arbiter, was again appealed to by both parties, and the names of relief and anti-relief became merged in the title of old court and new court. Great activity was exerted in the canvass of 1825, and never were the passions of the

people more violently excited. The result was the triumph of the old court party by a large majority in the popular branch of the legislature, while the senate still remained attached to the new court; the new popular impulse not having had time to remove it. In consequence of this difference between the political complexion of the two houses the reorganizing act still remained unrepealed, and the canvass of 1826 saw both parties again arrayed in a final struggle for the command of the senate. The old court party again triumphed, and at the ensuing session of the legislature, the obnoxious act was repealed, the opinion of the governor to the contrary, notwithstanding,\* and the old judges reestablished, *de facto* as well as *de jure*. Their salaries were voted to them, during the period of their forcible and illegal removal, and all the acts of the new court have ever been treated as a nullity.

Thus, after a brief season, peace and tranquillity had been restored. For months the State was trembling upon the brink of a heaving volcano, and but for the "considerate prudence" of the old court leaders, there might have been precipitated upon the people a bloody revolution. The struggle between the contending elements had certain very important effects upon the political life of the commonwealth. Upon this exciting and agitating question, Chief Justice Robertson said: "The memorable contest between the constitution and the passions of a popular majority—between the judicial and legislative departments—proves the efficacy of Kentucky's constitutional structure, and illustrates the reason and the importance of that system of judicial independence, which it guarantees. It demonstrates that, if the appellate judges had been dependent on a bare majority of the people, or their representatives, the constitution would have been paralyzed, justice dethroned and property subjected to rapine by tumultuary passion and numerical power. And its incidents are results not only commendable to the gratitude of the living and unborn the proscribed judges and the efficient compatriots who dedicated their time and talents for years to the rescue of the constitution, but also impressively illustrate the object and efficacy of the fundamental limitations of the will of the majority—that is, the ultimate prevalence of reason over passion, of truth over error."

\*The act was passed over Gov. Desha's veto.

which, in popular governments, is the sure spring only of time and sober deliberation, which it is the object of constitutional checks to insure." Another writer upon the subject, nearly forty years later, says: "The question before the court, in its legal aspect, turned upon the clause of the Federal constitution that forbade the impairment of contracts, though the immediate victory was gained on other and more special legal grounds. But there was a nearer and simpler question, one of honesty in the management of public affairs, which was the part debated before the people, and on which they gave their decision in an unmistakable way. This debate may be fairly regarded as a turning point in the politics of the State. The election, which gave the relief party its overwhelming majority in the legislature of 1844, and elected Desha governor by a vote of 38,000 to 22,000 for his opponent, represents the uninformed and rash state of public opinion. The reversal of this vote in the following year shows an extraordinary revolution of sentiment. It shows a moral awakening which was full of promise; and on that time has justified. From this time on the State has always inclined to conservative ways. In the end the controversy between the old and new courts was very wholesome, since it showed the people the way in which grave dangers lay. That the people of the commonwealth met the emergency in a manly fashion, promptly reconsidering their first steps when they had a chance to see whereto they led, and in the end found a position on firm ground, is a matter of satisfaction to all who hold the name of Kentucky dear."

George Robertson and Robert Wickliffe were among the most eminent and zealous advocates of the anti-relief party, and to their exertions was due, in no small degree, its ultimate success. Mr. Robertson was a native of the State, and was born in 1790, in Mercer County. After receiving a liberal education he studied law with Samuel McKee, and in 1809 was licensed to practice by Judges Boyle and Wallace. He served repeatedly in the State legislature, and in the

lower house of the Federal congress, and declined many high and important positions, preferring to devote his talents to the practice of his chosen profession, rather than to breast the storms of political life. For fourteen years he was chief justice of the court of appeals, and his judicial decisions are the embodiment of profound learning and research. Says his biographer: "His law lectures and political essays, his legal opinions as contained in the Kentucky Reports, speak for themselves, evincing at once depth of thought, laborious research, accurate discrimination and sound philosophy." He was a member of the legislature during the relief and anti-relief party. Judge Robertson was a great lawyer, a profound jurist and a wise statesman. He died at his home in Lexington, May 16, 1874, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

Robert Wickliffe belonged to one of the most distinguished families of Kentucky. He was born in 1775 at Redstone, Penn., during the stay of his parents there, on their way from Prince William County, Va., to Kentucky. He studied law with George Nicholas, was admitted to practice, and soon became a leading lawyer at the bar. He, like Judge Robertson, preferred the practice of law to the excitement of political life, and so far as possible shunned its fitful honors. But notwithstanding his distaste for politics, he was elected to the legislature from Fayette County several successive terms, and to the State senate. In the latter body, he served from 1825 to 1833. His legislative service embraced one of the stormiest periods in the political history of the State—the relief and anti-relief warfare. Mr. Wickliffe distinguished himself as a leader and champion of the anti-relief and old court parties, and contributed largely to the overthrow of the new court of appeals. He was an able and successful lawyer, and amassed a handsome fortune. He died in 1859 at an advanced age.

The final triumph of the old court party occasioned a feeling of relief and satisfaction throughout the State. The factions quietly acquiesced in the verdict of the people, and for some time party lines stood near where



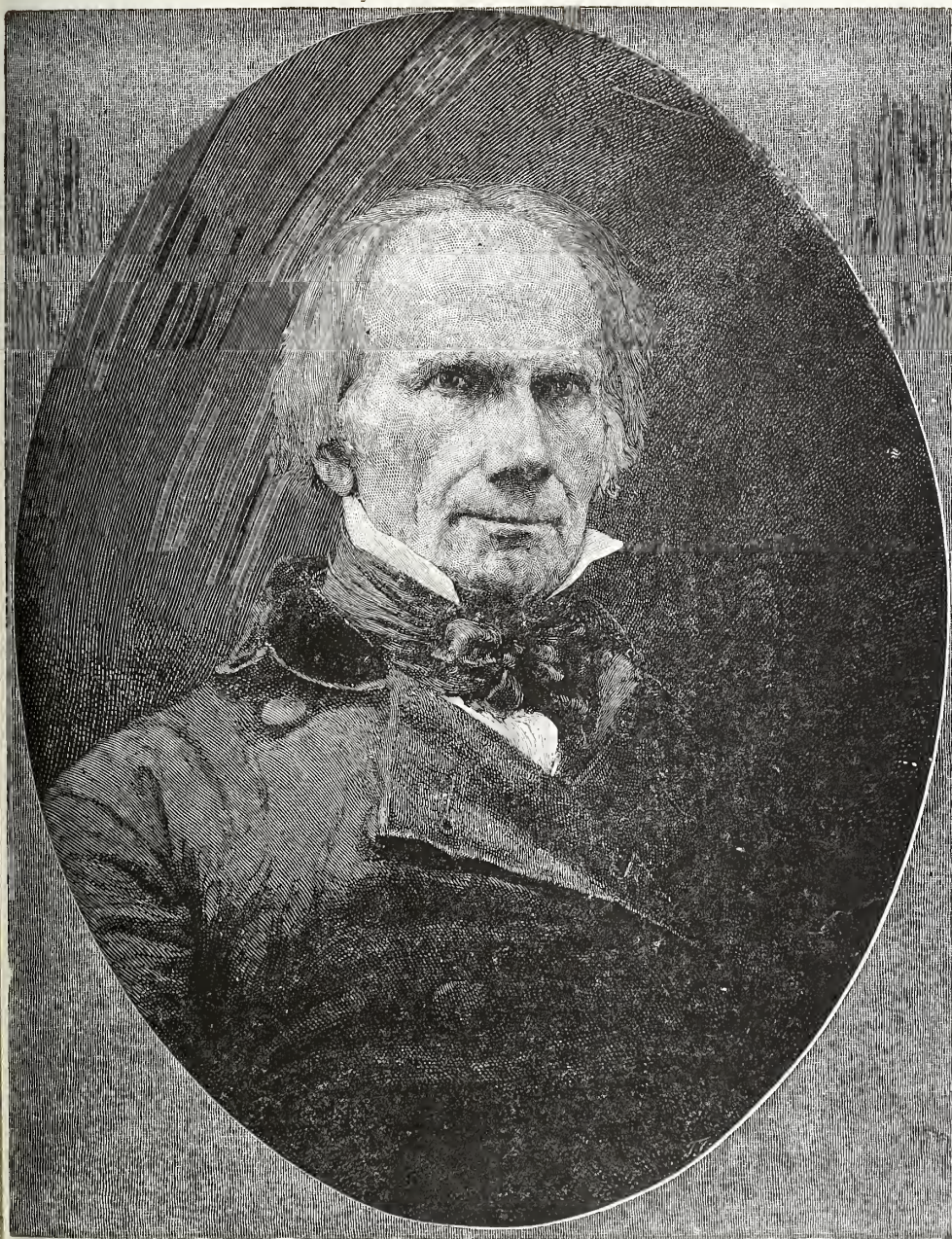
they had been placed by this spirited conflict. But the people soon turned their attention from local questions to the more extended field of national politics. The presidential campaign of 1824 had been the most exciting since the formation of the republic, excepting perhaps that of 1800, which resulted in the election of Mr. Jefferson over the elder Adams, and to the questions awakened by that campaign they now turned with an interest but little diminished from that they had displayed in the contest between the old and new courts. The candidates for president in the election of 1824 were Henry Clay, Gen. Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams and William H. Crawford, of Georgia. Each of these distinguished gentlemen had his friends, who supported their favorite candidate from personal preference and not from party predilection. None of them, however, had a majority of the votes of the electoral college,\* and under the constitutional rule, upon the house of representatives devolved the duty of making choice of president, each State, by its delegation in congress, casting one vote. Gen. Jackson led Mr. Adams in the electoral college by a small plurality; Mr. Crawford was third on the list of candidates, and Mr. Clay, who was the hindmost man, was dropped from the canvass. Mr. Adams was chosen president by the casting vote of the State of Kentucky. Mr. Clay was a member of the national house of representatives, and its speaker, and it was at once claimed by many of his political enemies that it was through the influence of the State of Ohio, which, as well as his own State, Mr. Clay had carried in the presidential contest, that the delegation from Kentucky was induced to cast the vote of the State for Mr. Adams, an eastern man, in preference to Gen. Jackson, a southern and western man. By that *coup d'état*, Mr. Clay was instrumental

in organizing political parties that survived the generation of people to which he belonged, and ruled in turn the destinies of the republic for more than a quarter of a century.

Mr. Clay was not a native of this State, yet he was so long identified with its political history, as to become more warmly endeared to the people than any other citizen of the commonwealth. He was born in Hanover County, Va., April 12, 1777, and was the son of a Baptist clergyman. His early years were marked by poverty and toil, and his educational facilities confined to a limited attendance at the log schoolhouse of the neighborhood. About the age of fifteen he was appointed to a deputy clerkship in the clerk's office of the high court of chancery, where he attracted the attention of the chancellor, Wythe. That gentleman engaged him as an amanuensis, and assisted him in mental culture and improvement. Through his influence, Clay studied law in the office of Robert Brooke, then attorney-general of Virginia, and in due time was admitted to the bar by the Virginia court of appeals. He came to Kentucky in 1797, and at once entered the political arena of the State. An important election was approaching—an election for delegates to a convention to frame a new constitution. One feature or clause of the plan presented to the people was a provision for the final emancipation of the slave population. The measure was vigorously opposed in every part of the State, but Mr. Clay, regardless of his popularity, boldly took ground in its favor, and exerted his influence toward the election of men to the convention who would contend for the eradication of negro slavery. His efforts, however, failed, and the young champion of "liberty and equal rights" became somewhat unpopular on account of the part he had acted. But this partial unpopularity did not last long. His position on the alien and sedition laws of 1798-99, and his zealous advocacy of the rights of the people, restored him to their confidence and affection, and obtained for him the title of the "great commoner." In 1803 Mr. Clay was elected, for the first time, a representative in the legislature, and was re-elected

\*The electoral vote stood, Jackson 99; Adams 84; Crawford 41; Clay 37; Delaware gave one vote for Adams and two for Crawford; Maryland divided the vote between Adams and Jackson; Virginia cast her vote for Crawford; Kentucky cast hers for Mr. Clay; Maine gave nine votes to Adams; New Hampshire and Vermont voted the same way; New Jersey and Pennsylvania cast their vote for Jackson; Georgia voted for Crawford; North and South Carolina voted for Jackson; Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut voted for Adams; New York gave Jackson one vote, Adams twenty-six, Crawford five and Clay four; Tennessee, Indiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana voted for Jackson; Illinois gave two votes to Jackson and one to Adams; Ohio gave sixteen and Missouri three votes to Clay.





HENRY CLAY.





every succeeding term until 1806, when he was chosen United States senator to fill out the unexpired term of Gen. Adair, who had resigned. He was elected to the legislature again in 1807, and chosen speaker; he remained a member of the house until 1809, when he was again elected to the United States senate, this time to fill out the unexpired term of Buckner Thurston.

In 1811, Mr. Clay was elected to the national house of representatives and entered upon the great political period of his life, which commenced with his election as speaker of that body, and terminated with his death forty years later. He had never before been a member of the lower house of congress, and this fact renders it still more remarkable that he should have been elected its speaker, on the day he took his seat, by a majority of nearly two to one over two opposing candidates. This was an honor that body had never before bestowed on any individual, nor has it done so to the present day. He was elected speaker six times, and after occupying the position for about thirteen years, he resigned it, in 1825, to become secretary of State in Mr. Adams' cabinet.

Mr. Clay, as we have seen, had been a presidential candidate in the contest of 1824, and when his own defeat was assured, had been instrumental in the election of Mr. Adams. Accepting, then, the first place in his cabinet gave rise to the charge of "bargain and sale" between the president and his chief secretary, that caused great excitement throughout the country. These aspersions were without foundation in truth, and at this day no one will dare to question Mr. Clay's patriotism or honesty. But so persistent were the charges made by the partisans of Gen. Jackson that they injured Mr. Clay, somewhat, in the public estimation, and contributed largely to the General's success in the next presidential contest. In 1828, party lines were closely drawn between Gen. Jackson and Mr. Adams, and the result of a hot and bitter canvass was the triumphal election of the hero of New Orleans, both by the electoral and popular vote. The defeat of Mr. Adams at this time was a severe blow to the

popularity of Mr. Clay, and threatened to end forever his political career. But the personal and moral intrepidity that made him a leader by right soon recovered for him his wonted place in the affections of his people. It has been thought by some of his friends, that, in the presidential contest of 1828, Mr. Clay was by far the strongest candidate in his party, and that in the substitution of John Quincy Adams he lost the most favorable opportunity of his life of becoming the chief magistrate of the nation. The revulsion of sentiment evoked by a mature consideration of the charges brought against him, for his action in the election of Adams in 1824, was at the flood tide, and would more probably have contributed to his success at this time (1828) than four years later, when he again opposed and was defeated by Gen. Jackson. It was the custom—and except in the case of the elder Adams had been observed up to this time—to elect a president to a second term as an "endorsement of his administration," and to this questionable custom may be attributed the substitution of Mr. Adams as a candidate in this campaign.

The old court party had now assumed the name of "National Republicans," and had, at the August election of this year, put forward Gen. Thomas Metcalfe, known throughout the State as "Old Stone Hammer" (from the fact of his being a "stone mason") for governor. The opposition, or new court party, adopted the name of "Democratic Republicans" and selected as their standard-bearer in the gubernatorial contest, against Gen. Metcalfe, William T. Barry, late chief justice of the new court of appeals. Metcalfe had been a representative in congress several terms. He possessed great popularity—having risen from the humblest walks of life—and was a man of more than ordinary ability. He was born in Fauquier County, Va., in 1780, and five years later his parents immigrated to Kentucky. They were poor but highly respectable people, and young Thomas, after a few years' attendance at the neighborhood schools, was apprenticed to an elder brother who was a stone mason. He became a proficient in the trade, and built



many of the early court houses, both in Kentucky and Ohio. He was elected to the legislature in 1812, and re-elected five times thereafter. He was a captain in the war of 1812, and served with gallantry. In 1818, he was elected to congress, serving six terms consecutively. He resigned in 1828, before the close of his last term, to make the race for governor, in which he was successful, defeating his opponent, Mr. Barry, by 709 votes. But Joseph R. Underwood, who was associated with him, was defeated by John Breathitt for lieutenant-governor, thus presenting the novel situation of a governor and lieutenant-governor of opposite political principles. The Democratic Republicans secured a majority in the legislature. In November following, Jackson carried the State by a popular majority of 7,934 over Mr. Adams.

The old court party thus drifted into National Republicans, and the new court party into Democratic Republicans. The latter became the zealous supporters of Gen. Jackson, and for several years succeeded in maintaining supremacy in the legislature, and of electing a majority of the representatives to congress from the State. During the period from 1828 to 1832, they were most generally known in Kentucky as the "Jackson party," while the National Republicans were called the "Clay party." Throughout the country at large, they became, during the campaign of 1832, the "Jackson" and "anti-Jackson" parties. In 1831 the Jackson party lost control of the State legislature, but retained a majority of the members of congress from Kentucky. As a result of the success of the Clay party or National Republicans, Mr. Clay was elected to the United States senate in 1831 over Richard M. Johnson, a strong adherent of Gen. Jackson.

The gubernatorial and presidential campaigns of 1832 were spirited, and hotly contested in Kentucky. The Clay, or National party put forward Judge Buckner for governor, while the Jackson or Democratic party nominated John Breathitt, the then lieutenant-governor. He was elected over Buckner by 1,242 majority. The presidential candi-

dates were Mr. Clay and Gen. Jackson. Although the Jackson party was successful in the State election in August, in November following Mr. Clay carried the State over Jackson by a popular majority of 7,322 votes. But in the national contest he was defeated by a large majority, Jackson receiving 219 of the 286 electoral votes. Mr. Clay was defeated for the presidency, but he now held his own commonwealth in the "hollow of his hand," as it were, and he long ruled it wisely and well. Says a recent writer: "In founding and strengthening the conservative spirit that began to come with the greater wealth and culture of the State, he did a great work. From the time of his local victory over Gen. Jackson to the present day, the conservative element of Kentucky has never lost its hold upon the State. Parties have changed names, political issues have come and gone, but the conservative power, that came from the bank question and was affirmed by Clay, still firmly holds the commonwealth." The Clay party for many years, with but one or two exceptions, carried the State in all important political contests, and became, after the election of 1832, the Whig party, while the Jackson became the Democratic party.

But now another dark era in the financial history of Kentucky was at hand, second only to that of the relief and anti-relief period. The repeal of the charter of the United States Bank, without any "provision for its replacement in the system of American commerce," was a blow from which the State did not soon recover. Upon the eve of this crisis the campaign of 1836 opened. James Clark was the Whig candidate for governor. He it was whose decision from the circuit bench created such an intense excitement during the relief and anti-relief war, and whom the relief party strove so hard to displace for that decision. He was a native of Virginia, and came to Kentucky with his father's family in an early day, and located in Clark County. He studied law with his brother, and was admitted to the bar in Virginia, when he returned to Kentucky and began practice. He served several terms in the legislature and in

congress, and in 1817 was appointed to the circuit bench. He was elected governor over Matthew Flournoy, the Democratic candidate, by 8,096 majority. Gen. William H. Harrison was the presidential candidate of the Whigs, and carried the State by 3,520 votes over Martin Van Buren, but was defeated in the national election. The financial policy of the administration, inaugurated during President Jackson's last term, had resulted in a return to the worthless paper money of the relief and anti-relief period. Hundreds of banks were started up, and the mania for speculation again ran riot. There was no difficulty in finding banks to lend money to those who desired to borrow, for "the more of their paper they could set afloat, the larger would be their profits." The matter culminated in 1837, and all the banks of the United States were forced into a "suspension of payments." Not only were the people involved in debt, but the State had undertaken a vast system of internal improvement on its own credit, and was as deeply involved as the people themselves. The following extract, from a sketch written upon this gloomy period, shows the critical state of the times: "Nearly every business man of the State and many of the farmers were rendered bankrupt or burdened by debt to the point of virtual insolvency. In this time of trial the people showed the profit of the lessons of the preceding ten years. There was a general effort to mitigate the evils by mutual help, rather than by legislation. The State refused to forfeit the charters of the suspended banks, or to compel them to resume specie payments. The brief breathing-time of 1838, when for a few months the banks tried to resume payment, revived the hopes of the people; but the burden of unliquidated debt rested too heavily on them for an enduring revival of business, so that the banks were compelled again to suspend their proper functions. The years 1840-41-42 were the most hopeless this people ever have known. \* \* \* \* \*

It is not surprising that this time of trial led to the revival of the 'relief party,' which grew rapidly to formidable dimensions. But

the conservative element was bold, and readily met their scheme. The legislature refused to take any unreasonable steps. The most they did was to modify the system of the courts, so as to give the creditor a little more time in which to meet the actions brought against him. Gradually, through infinite suffering that is recorded in the long dockets of the courts of that time, and the cloud of judgments that fell on all forms of property, the people won their way back to commercial prosperity."

The "hard cider" campaign of 1840 came on in the midst of this financial depression. In the State election, which took place in August, Robert P. Letcher was the Whig candidate for governor, and was elected over Judge Richard French by 15,720 majority. Gen. William Henry Harrison was again at the head of the Whig ticket for president, with John Tyler for vice-president. Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson, president and vice-president, were the Democratic candidates for re-election. The contest was an exciting one, and created intense interest throughout the State, as well as the country at large. Like the first campaign (successful one) of Gen. Jackson, it was decided principally on the memories of the war of 1812. Harrison was a great favorite with the people of Kentucky, and had been called to lead the Kentucky troops—contrary to the law, which required that the militia of the State should be commanded by one of its own citizens—to Detroit, after the disgraceful surrender of Hull, to defend our northern frontier. Col. Johnson, the Democratic candidate for vice-president, was a Kentuckian, a man of great popularity, and the supposed slayer of the renowned Indian chief, Tecumseh, in the battle of the Thames. He was a lawyer, statesman and soldier, and in each profession had won fame. He was born in 1781, educated in Transylvania University, and studied law with the celebrated George Nicholas. He served in the State legislature, in congress, in the national senate and as vice-president, and in all these positions acquitted himself with honor and credit. It was probably owing to these considerations that Gen.



Harrison's majority in the State was not larger. The vote was Harrison and Tyler, 58,489; Van Buren and Johnson, 32,616; majority, 25,873 for the Whig candidates.

No presidential campaign since that of 1824 had so excited the people as the present one. Gen. Harrison had been defeated by Van Buren in 1836, and now they were arrayed against each other a second time. Edward Stanwood, in his history of presidential elections, says: "The Whig party went into the campaign of 1840 without positive principles or definite policy. The platform was opposition to the party in power, without any specific promises of something better, and the appeal for support was based on the theory that they had tired of the long continuance of Democratic rule. Clay was set aside because he was a Free-Mason, and, therefore, objectionable to an element the opposition wanted in the East, and because he favored the protective tariff, which was unpopular in the south Atlantic States. Gen. Harrison was open to neither of these objections, and the convention nominated him by a vote of 148 to 90 for Mr. Clay, and 16 for Gen. Scott. At the end of four days the convention adjourned without formulating any platform. In all the speech-making there was no assertion of distinctive principles, nothing but expressions of hatred and opposition to "Van Buren and the locofocos." Indeed, the "old hero of Tippecanoe" was put forward as the candidate of the "Anti-Van Buren party." The campaign which followed was marked by extraordinary enthusiasm among young men for a candidate who was nearly seventy years old. It was a campaign of noise and demonstrations. There were endless processions, with representations of "Old Tip," log-cabins, coon skins, the candidate drinking mugs of cider, etc. Van Buren was renominated, and a long declaration of principles set forth against assumption of State debts, against a United States bank, against "fostering one branch of industry to the detriment of another," against a policy of general internal improvements, in favor of economy, against interference with slavery, and so on. The Democrats had been in

power since the beginning of the century, unless the four years of the second Adams be excepted. Their party was closely organized. They were intrenched in the offices, and used the public patronage without scruple. They affected contempt for the shouting campaign of the Whigs, and met the noise and demonstrations with ridicule, declaring Harrison was so ignorant that the Whigs had to shut him up in a log-cabin, and dare not give him pen and ink. The Whigs, however, kept up their songs:

Farewell, old Van,  
You're not the man;  
To guide the ship  
We'll try old Tip, etc. etc.

The popular vote stood: Harrison, 1,275,016; Van Buren, 1,129,102; James G. Birney (the Abolition candidate), 7,069. The electoral vote was much more significant. Mr. Van Buren carried only the States of New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas and Illinois—sixty electoral votes. Harrison carried nineteen States, and received 234 electoral votes."

In the gubernatorial contest of 1844, William O. Butler was the Democratic candidate and William Owsley the Whig candidate. Mr. Owsley was elected by a majority of 4,624. Archibald Dixon, his associate, received a majority of 11,081 for lieutenant governor over William S. Pilcher, the Democratic candidate. In the presidential campaign Mr. Clay was again put forward by the Whigs, while the Democrats nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee. As soon as the latter nomination was made Mr. Clay predicted his own defeat, and when asked upon what grounds, replied that his opponent was "unknown as a public man." The result of the election in November proved the truth of his prophecy. He carried the State by a majority of 9,267 over Mr. Polk, but was defeated by a majority of sixty-five votes in the electoral college.

The defeat of Mr. Clay in 1844 may be attributed mainly to his opposition to the annexation of Texas, which was the most important question involved in the campaign. Mr. Polk's indorsement of that issue secure



to him the presidency. Mr. Clay believed that the annexation of Texas would involve the country in foreign war, and create internal discord by the extension of slavery, and his great energies were aroused to avert such dreaded evils. His defeat was the final blow to the long deferred hopes of his friends of seeing him president. He still remained

nomination of the Whigs. Mr. Clay's political career now seemed closed forever. He was growing old. The storms of political life had battered his "decaying tabernacle," and the twilight shadows were gathering around him. For fifty years he had served the State and nation, and much desired to spend the remainder of his life with his family



"ASHLAND"—THE HOME OF HENRY CLAY.

first in the hearts of his people, but this defeat considerably lessened his influence among them, and when the presidential convention of 1848 was held, Gen. Zachary Taylor, the old "rough and ready" soldier, the hero of Buena Vista, received the

and friends. But this was to be denied him. Already the low mutterings of the storm that burst upon the country in 1860-61 could be heard in the distance, and all eyes were once more turned to Mr. Clay, the great pacificator. Says his biographer, Conwell: "He had



calmed the storm raised by the Missouri question; his wisdom had averted the civil war proffered by the Nullifiers, and it was believed he could again tranquilize and restore peace and harmony to the country. He yielded to the voice of patriotism, and his State returned him to the theater of his past glories."

Mr. Clay was again elected to the United States senate, and in December, 1849, took his seat in that body. The compromise measures\* of 1849-50 were the all-absorbing questions before the senate, and he entered into their discussion heart and soul. He undoubtedly cut his life short by this last mighty and triumphant effort in behalf of his country. After the close of the session he visited his home at Ashland, near Lexington, and returned in 1851 to Washington, "broken with the storms of state and scathed with many a fiery conflict." Early in the next year he commenced to fail rapidly. During the spring he gradually sank, and for weeks lay patiently awaiting the stroke of death, which came June 29, 1852, and the "Sage of Ashland" was no more.

We tell thy doom without a sigh,  
For thou art Freedom's now and Fame's;  
One of the few immortal names  
That were not born to die.

His funeral obsequies and the honors paid to his memory throughout the country are a part of the nation's history. His remains repose in the cemetery at Lexington, and a lofty monument tells to the passer-by where the great "commoner" sleeps.

In 1848, John J. Crittenden was the Whig candidate for governor, with John L. Helm upon the ticket with him for lieutenant-governor. Next to Henry Clay, no man, living or dead, perhaps, possessed a larger share of the affections of the people of Kentucky than Mr. Crittenden. He was a native of the State, and was born in Woodford County, in 1786. He was educated in the schools of Kentucky, completing his studies in Washington Academy and William and

Mary College in Virginia. On his return to Kentucky, he began the study of law with Hon. George M. Bibb, and after being licensed to practice located at Russellville, the center of the Green River bar. As early as 1811, he was elected to represent Logan County in the legislature, serving six terms from that county, and the last term as speaker. During his last year in the legislature from Logan County, he was elected to the United States senate, and was the youngest member of that august body. He removed to Frankfort in 1819, to practice his profession in the higher courts of the State. He was several times elected to represent Franklin County in the legislature, and was a member during the old and new court controversy, and was an able and zealous champion of the old court. In 1835, he was elected for the second time to the United States senate, which position he held until President Harrison appointed him attorney-general of the United States. Upon the death of Mr. Harrison he resigned, and was soon after elected to fill out the unexpired term of Henry Clay in the Federal senate. In 1843 he was re-elected to a full term, but resigned in 1845 to make the race for governor. He was opposed in this contest by Lazarus W. Powell, an able Democratic statesman, and whom he defeated by 8,521 majority. Upon the death of Gen. Taylor and the reorganization of the cabinet under Mr. Fillmore, Mr. Crittenden was appointed attorney-general, and resigned as governor to accept the position. Mr. Helm, the lieutenant-governor, filled out the unexpired term. At the close of Fillmore's administration, he was again elected to the United States senate, and served until 1861. Upon the dissolution of the Whig party, Mr. Crittenden acted with the Know-nothing American party, and in opposition to the Democrats. He was elected to the lower house of congress in 1861, and was serving in that body when the war commenced. He opposed the secession of the Southern States and was one of the staunchest Union men in Kentucky. He made strenuous efforts to effect a compromise whereby the war might be averted, but failed in its accomplishment.

\*The admission of California into the Union without the restrictions of slavery, and the extension of the Missouri line of 36° 30' through the new territories—north of which slavery was interdicted, and south of which the people were permitted, in organizing their State governments, to decide the question for themselves.—Hodge. (See Collins, Vol. I, p. 332.)

He died in Louisville, July 25, 1863, while still a member of congress.

Following the election of Mr. Crittenden as governor in 1848, Gen. Taylor received a majority of 17,524 in the State for president over Gen. Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate. Gen. Taylor was recognized as a Kentuckian, though really born in Virginia, and brought to Kentucky by his parents when but an infant. With the laurels of Buena Vista—in which battle the Kentucky troops distinguished themselves—blooming upon his brow, he was highly esteemed throughout the commonwealth. Gen. William O. Butler, a gallant soldier of the Mexican war, and an honored citizen of Kentucky, was the Democratic candidate for vice-president, and doubtless to some extent reduced the Whig vote in the State. Gen. Taylor was elected by a majority of thirty-six electoral votes.

A new era was now approaching in the political history of Kentucky. After the lapse of nearly half a century, the question of revising the State constitution began to be seriously agitated by the leading men and politicians. The constitution adopted in 1799 was objectionable in some of its features, and to remedy apparent evils it was proposed to form a new one. Under the law, the question calling a convention for the purpose had to be submitted to the people at two annual elections, and a majority of the legal voters cast their ballots in its favor. The legislature, at its session of 1846-47, authorized the submission of the question to the people, and at the August election, in 1847, out of a total of 137,311 votes, 92,639 were cast in favor of a constitutional convention. In August, 1848, the question was again submitted, and carried by a majority of 39,792 in favor of the convention. In 1849 (at the August election), members to the convention were chosen, and the result was forty-eight Whigs and fifty-two Democrats. They met on the 1st of October following, and continued their deliberation to the 21st of December. On May 7, 1850, the new constitution was submitted to the people for their approval, and was adopted by a majority of 51,351 out of a total of 91,995 votes

cast. The convention assembled again on the 3d of June, and adopted some amendments to the newly constructed document, and on the 11th adjourned, after having "proclaimed the present or third constitution."\*

The most important changes made in the revision of the constitution regarded the judiciary, the finances, and further changes or amendments to it. It is a matter of grave doubt whether or not all these changes were well advised. The great "underlying cause of dissatisfaction" with the constitution of 1799, was that of filling the most lucrative offices, such as judges and clerks of the courts, justices of the peace, and through them the sheriffs,† etc., etc., by appointment, and not by popular vote of the people. Chancellor Kent said that the great danger to this country is "the too frequent recurrence to popular election." This is made more manifest every passing year. No longer the office seeks the man, but the man the office, and it is often the case, that the man with no qualification for the place he seeks, save his money-bags, is the successful competitor for public position, over men much better qualified to discharge the duties of the office. Should the fabric of this government ever fall, it will require but little wisdom to trace the cause of its wreck to the corruption of popular elections. The appointing power, although anti-Republican in principle, seems to be, judging from the experience of the past, the best calculated to secure efficiency and competency in office. The first constitution (1792) made the office of sheriff elective; the framers of the second abrogated that clause, believing, as Mr. Butler in his *History of Kentucky* expresses it, "that such elections are almost sure to make the sheriff and his securities the victims of indulgence, inconsistent with private safety and the punctual collection of taxes." Another authority‡ says: "Under that plan (the elective) it was found, in numerous instances, that the public revenue was continually squandered, and thousands

\*See Appendix A, Note 31.

†Every two years the oldest justice of the peace in each county, by right of seniority, became high sheriff.

‡Allen's *History of Kentucky*, p. 438.



of dollars annually lost to the State; and I have heard it said, by men of those days, that there were a greater number of defaulters among sheriffs during that period than there was under the second constitution during the whole time of its existence. I believe with Mr. Butler, when he says 'that the necessary courting of the people for their favor for every public employment, eventuates in corruption.' There are hundreds in Kentucky, at this day, who can bear testimony to the fact in the operations of the present constitution." Under the appointing power (the second constitution) the offices were generally filled by faithful and competent men, and the records of that period show but few changes. Striking instances of this fact are found in the cases of Jo Allen, who held the offices of county and circuit clerks of Breckinridge County successively for over fifty years, and of Judge Benjamin Shackelford, of Christian County, who occupied the circuit bench of the Seventh Judicial District uninterruptedly for thirty-six years.

The strongest objection to the elective clause of the present constitution regards the judiciary. Mr. Allen, in his *History of Kentucky*, published in 1872, upon this subject says: "I was ever opposed to an elective judiciary; and more so since the test which has been made under our present constitution than before. Opinions expressed by me twenty years ago have been fully verified. I then believed, and still believe, that impartial justice will not at all times be administered by those who depend for their stations upon the sycophancy which they breathe toward the wealthy, influential and the powerful; and who, instead of reading their books and qualifying themselves for the stations, are electioneering and swaggering in grog-shops and groceries. The judiciary, as one of the three great departments of the government, deserves as much, if not more, to be preserved than either of the other two. Unlike the legislative or executive department, it possesses neither power nor patronage; neither sword nor purse. Of all the departments it is the feeblest by far; for it neither makes laws nor does it execute them.

Its powers are merely to decide and declare what the law is, when proper cases are brought before them by others; and yet feeble as their power is, it is one of the most important stations in our government; and to insure justice, all must admit, should be the most independent. Their independence is the strongest support to our liberty, and the safest guard to our happiness; nay, it is the best armor and ablest tower of protection to any government. The independence of the judiciary alone preserved the liberty of England amidst divers changes; it has preserved our country, and it will ever do so whilst its independence is maintained. My observation and experience within the last twenty years have satisfied my mind that the election of judges by the popular vote is not the surest protection to the poor or to the fallen in fortune; a leaning is often discoverable on the side of wealth and influence. Under the former constitution, though salaries were far lower than at present, the wisest and the best men of the legal profession occupied seats on the bench, especially of the court of appeals. It is not always the case now; nay, it is but seldom the case; and it is to be feared that no better condition can exist in Kentucky as long as the present system continues." Upon the same subject a more recent writer says: "It seems impossible to resist the conviction that the system of appointing the judiciary machinery is, on the whole, the best that can be contrived; yet it is perfectly clear that it does not recommend itself to the mass of American citizens. One by one the State have fallen away from it, until at present there are but two that retain this feature which they inherited from their British ancestors."

The powers of the legislature under the former constitution, "to raise money on the credit of the State," had led to the accumulation of debt, which, in 1849 (at the time of revising the constitution) amounted to \$4,500,000. The greater part of this sum had been squandered on internal improvements of no practical value, which had been inaugurated during the speculative period of the preceding ten or fifteen years. To extin-

uish this debt and guard against a repetition of it, some very stringent clauses were ingrafted in the new constitution, that have proved of great value, and been the means of clearing away the burden placed upon the people by the reckless spirit of internal improvement, so that at the present time there is no actual State debt.

To call a "revising convention" the new constitution provides, that after a resolution to that effect has been adopted by both houses of the general assembly, the question shall be submitted to a vote of the people at two annual elections for representatives to the legislature; and at each of these elections, a majority of the votes cast for representatives at the preceding election shall be required to call "the revising convention into existence." This is a wise provision, as it compels the people to continue in one mind for at least two years regarding the necessity of changes, and hence avoids any risk of hasty action.

With the adoption of the new constitution the State entered upon a short season of prosperity. Indeed, it has been said, that from 1848 to the panic of 1857, it saw its richest years, and the most prosperous period of its existence.

The first election of State officers under the new constitution occurred in August, 1851. There were three tickets for governor and lieutenant-governor placed before the people, viz.: Archibald Dixon and John B. Thompson were the Whig candidates; Lazarus W. Powell and Robert N. Wickliffe, Democratic candidates, Cassius M. Clay and George D. Blakey, "Liberty" or emancipation candidates. Powell, the Democratic candidate, was elected over Dixon by 850 majority, while Thompson, the Whig candidate for lieutenant-governor, was elected over Wickliffe by 6,145 majority—thus giving the State a Democratic governor and a Whig lieutenant-governor.\* Clay, the anti-slavery candidate,

received 3,621 votes in the State, and in this vote is partially explained the defeat of Dixon. The Whigs as a party opposed the extension of slavery, and favored final emancipation. This led many of the more ultra to vote for Clay, while those who conscientiously supported the institution of slavery, deserted the party and voted with the Democrats. Although the "Liberty" party had been organized in 1840, it cut no figure in Kentucky politics until at this election, when its candidate for governor—Cassius M. Clay—received over 3,000 votes in the State. At this election five Whigs were elected to congress from the State, and five Democrats, while the legislature, on joint ballot, counted 75 Whigs to 63 Democrats. Kentucky, at the presidential election in 1852, again showed her loyalty to the Whig party by giving Gen. Winfield Scott and William A. Graham (Whigs) a majority of 3,262 over Franklin Pierce and William R. King (Democrats). John P. Hale and George W. Julian, the anti-slavery candidates, received 265 votes in the State. Pierce and King were elected, receiving a majority of 212 electoral votes. This was the last national contest in which the Whig party was known. Four years later it appeared under the name of the Know-nothing or American party.

The organization of the Know-nothing party presents an interesting phase in the political history, not only of the State, but of the nation. A late writer† says: "The curious student, who will take the trouble, may easily trace something of a connection from the old Federal party down to the Know-nothingism of half a century later. The former culminated under the elder Adams in disaster and disgrace, by the enactment of the alien and sedition laws and its final overthrow in the election of Mr. Jefferson. From that time, however, *nativist* organizations existed more or less in the larger cities of the Union, where their contests were

\*Lazarus W. Powell was born in Henderson County, October 6, 1812. He graduated with honor from St. Joseph College, Bardonia, a renowned Catholic institution of Kentucky; studied law with John Rowan, and attended a course of law lectures at Transylvania University. In 1836 he was elected to the legislature, and in 1844 was a Democratic elector for Polk and Dallas. He was defeated for governor in 1848 by John J. Crittenden, but in 1851 was elected the first governor under the new constitution of the State. The most eventful episode in his life, was his service in the United States senate. He was elected to that body in 1859, and participated in the most

important discussions incident to the late civil war. He was of undoubted loyalty, but his colleague, Garrett Davis, questioned his good faith, and presented a resolution to the senate to expel him. The judiciary committee reported against the resolution, but Mr. Davis strongly advocated it; the resolution was defeated, and Davis afterward retracted the charge. Mr. Powell was defeated for a second term in the senate. He died July 3, 1867, at his home in Henderson.

†Stave in History of Illinois, p. 646.



mostly personal and local, meeting with varying success and failure. Later, in State and national elections, they mostly co-operated with the Whig party, and occasionally sought to commit it to their narrow doctrines. Upon the dissolution of the Whig party this element devised a new secret organization more subtle in its operations, and by its mysterious ways enticing the young and unwary (for the human mind loves mystery) with principles proscriptive of foreigners and intolerant of Catholics. The dark ceremonies of the order, conducted with mysterious secrecy, were peculiarly impressive. In this feature of the institution is found the meaning of the name 'Know-nothing.' It was significant of their obligations. The local organizations were denominated lodges, the meetings of which were usually held under cover of night, as if their deeds were evil, by aid of dark lanterns in lonely and unfrequented places, in the recesses of forests, hollows, deserted, or untenanted buildings, unfinished attics, etc., repairing thither stealthily, though none pursued—conduct most unbecoming patriotic citizens of a free country. Lodges sent delegates to the council, which nominated candidates, designated other delegates to other councils or conventions, issued orders, etc., all of which, the members had solemnly sworn to implicitly support and obey, under penalty of expulsion, proscription, personal indignity, if not outrage. At first their nominations were made from the other political parties, and by their secret and united weight they would generally turn the scale as to them seemed meet. Thus emboldened, the operations of the order were extended, and finally its own distinctive nominations openly announced for either local or other offices. Advancing with clandestine and rapid strides, it attained political supremacy in several States, and cast a large vote in many others. Still aspiring, in 1856 a presidential ticket was put forth. But it may be said that the Know-nothing order lost power so soon as it openly made separate nominations from its own party, and quit secretly espousing the nominations of other parties. While many of the pre-

tensions of all parties are hollow—advance to make political capital among the masses—the cry of 'Americans to rule America' by the ostracism of foreign born citizens and proscription in religion, the two cardinal tenets of the party, was both unrepudiated and unconstitutional—unrepublican, because in conflict with the Declaration of Independence; and unconstitutional, because the instrument says: 'No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to an office of public trust under the United States.' Further, the constitution not only permits, but fosters the freest discussion. With frequent appeals to the people, a tribunal than which none is higher, with the duty of the citizen to arraign and investigate the conduct of government, and scrutinize the operation of the laws, what can justify political organizations which avoid the open day, meet in darkness and seclusion, which offer no ground to open combat, whose principles are a sealed book, and whose adherents, under sworn obligations, 'know nothing?' It tended to segregate foreign born and Catholic residents into communities distinct in feeling and in political and religious interests, and to excite in their breasts the animosities and hatreds of race by fastening upon them politically the brand of 'Helots.' "

In no part of the Union was the feeling against the Catholics or the foreign element more pronounced than in Kentucky. This is rather a strange phase in the political history of the State, when it is remembered that the foreign population was few in numbers, and the great majority of native Catholics among the most honorable and respectable citizens of the commonwealth. At the August election, in 1854, which was for county officers only, the Whigs, under the new name of Know-nothings, were victorious throughout the State, with few exceptions. In August, 1855, the election was for State officers, members of congress and of the legislature, and partisan feeling was at fever heat. The Know-nothing, or American party, elected six members of congress, and the Democrats elected four; while the general assembly

hood: senate, thirteen Americans and seven Democrats;\* representatives, sixty-one Americans and thirty-nine Democrats. Charles Morehead was elected governor on the Know-nothing or American ticket, by a majority of 4,403, over Beverly L. Clarke, Democrat. He was a man of wide popularity, and in every position he filled gained honorable distinction. He was a native of Kentucky, and was born in 1802 in Nelson County. He graduated from Transylvania University with the highest honors, studied law and was duly admitted to practice. He served in the legislature and in congress several terms, and in all his public acts a sense of duty guided him above selfish and personal considerations. After the expiration of his term as governor he retired from public service, and declined all further official honors until the war clouds of 1861 began to gather, when he accepted the responsible position of a delegate from Kentucky to the "Peace Conference" at Washington. Mr. Morehead died in 1868 in his sixty sixth year.

On the day of the election (August 6, 1855) the most disgraceful riot took place ever known in the city of Louisville. The day is still "painfully remembered," and quoted in the annals of the city as "Bloody Monday." Twenty-two persons were killed outright, or died of wounds received, many others were injured, while some twenty houses or more were burned, and a great deal of other property destroyed. The riot was precipitated by the rough element of the Know-nothing party, who, laboring under intense political excitement, occasioned by distorted reports that the Catholic people meditated serious disturbances on election day, attacked them in various parts of the city, but more fiercely in the First and Eighth Wards. The most deplorable scenes were enacted, and violence and bloodshed followed the track of the ruffians. They paraded along the streets with a cannon at their head, and set fire indiscriminately to the houses of foreigners. Several persons, who were con-

cealed in the fated buildings, or fled to them for safety from the infuriated mob, were burned to death, while others were shot while attempting to escape from the flames. The riot continued far into the night, and serious fears were entertained of the total destruction of the city. But through the exertions of the mayor, police, and influential citizens, such a catastrophe was prevented. The disgraceful affair brought considerable discredit to the Know-nothing party and contributed in no small degree to its ultimate defeat in Kentucky. In the campaign of 1856 the Whig element was not strong enough in it, or past mistakes had so enfeebled the party, that the Democrats carried the State. The result of a spirited contest was that James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge, Democratic candidates for president and vice-president, received a majority (in the State) of 6,118 over Millard Fillmore and Andrew J. Donelson, the American candidates.\* John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton, Republicans, received 314 votes. At the State election, in 1858, the Democrats were victorious by an overwhelming majority, electing eight Democrats to two Americans to congress; sixty-one Democrats to thirty-nine Americans to the State legislature, and thirteen Democrats to seven Americans to the State senate. The power of the American party, which, under its first organization, carried everything in Kentucky, was now broken. The Democrats were again successful in 1859, and elected Beriah Magoffin governor, over Joshua F. Bell, the American candidate, by 8,904 majority. Linn Boyd, the Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor, was elected over Alfred Allen (American) by 11,713 majority. The delegation to congress was divided, five of each party being elected.

The dark clouds, that had long been gathering on the political horizon, were soon to overshadow the country and plunge it in civil war. North and south of Mason and Dixon's line the low rumbling of the thunder

\*Eighteen senators held over, one-half being elected every four years.

\*Buchanan and Breckinridge were elected president and vice-president by 173 electoral votes, to 114 cast for Fremont and Dayton, and 8 for Fillmore and Donelson, the latter carrying only the State of Maryland.



could be heard. With prophetic knowledge, Prentice had beheld the coming storm long before it broke, and strove to avert it. Clay, bowed in body beneath the weight of years, but as erect in soul as "any spire that ever rose from a temple of God toward heaven," had stepped forward, and by Titanic strength and exertion turned aside, for the time, the fury of the tempest. But with deeper gloom and more portentous threatenings the clouds were again closing over, and there seemed to be none to rise up and command—"Peace, be still." In 1860 the storm came.

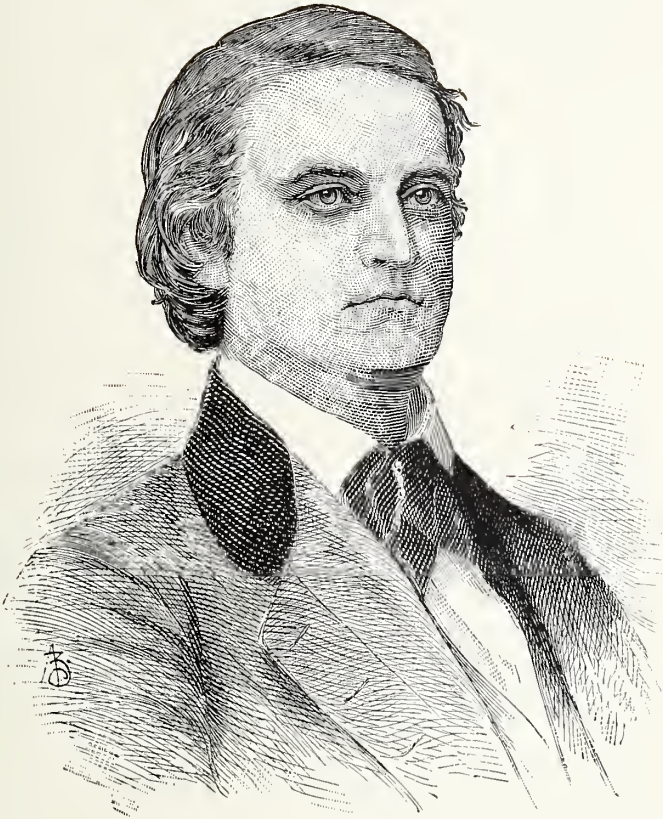
It is not the purpose of this chapter to enter upon a discussion of the issues that led up to the civil war, nor to paint the horrors of its dismal and shifting scenes. These questions are treated at length in their proper places. The presidential election of 1860 from the beginning was contemplated by all men of reflection with the most profound solicitude. The canvass opened with quite a medley of political parties. Four able tickets, any of whom were eminently capable of administering the affairs of the nation, were put forward by the respective parties and factions, viz.: John Bell and Edward Everett, were the American candidates; John C. Breckinridge and Joseph Lane, Southern Democrats; Stephen A. Douglas and Herschel V. Johnson, Western Democrats; Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin, Republicans. Owing to the split in the Democratic party, Bell and Everett carried Kentucky, the vote in the State being as follows: Bell and Everett, 66,016; Breckinridge and Lane, 52,836; Douglas and Johnson, 25,644; Lincoln and Hamlin, 1,366. Bell's majority over Breckinridge was 13,180; over Douglas, 40,372. Breckinridge's majority over Douglas was 27,192. Lincoln and Hamlin were elected, receiving in the electoral college, 180 of the 303 votes. Bell received the electoral votes of Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia, amounting to 39; Breckinridge received those of Delaware, Maryland, the Carolinas, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, 72; Douglas, although

receiving the largest popular vote next to Lincoln,\* carried but one State, Missouri in the electoral college; Lincoln received the electoral votes of all the other States—eighteen in number.

The Whig party, as we have seen, was the ruling party in Kentucky from its organization to the time of its change of name to the Know nothing or American party. The "Liberty or anti-slavery party was organized in 1840 and a presidential ticket placed in the field. The small vote polled by this ticket throughout the country was drawn mainly from the Whigs. The Temperance party, even then quite an element in politics, drew its greater number of adherents also from the Whig party. But, notwithstanding all these drains upon the Whig masses, it continued one of the great ruling parties of the country, as well as the dominant party in this State, until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 which led to the formation of the Republican party. The latter, in its organization, absorbed the Whig and Liberty or Abolition parties. With the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in 1860, the national government passed into the control of the Republican party, and so remained until 1884, when the Democrats, after having been out of power for a quarter of a century, again triumphed.

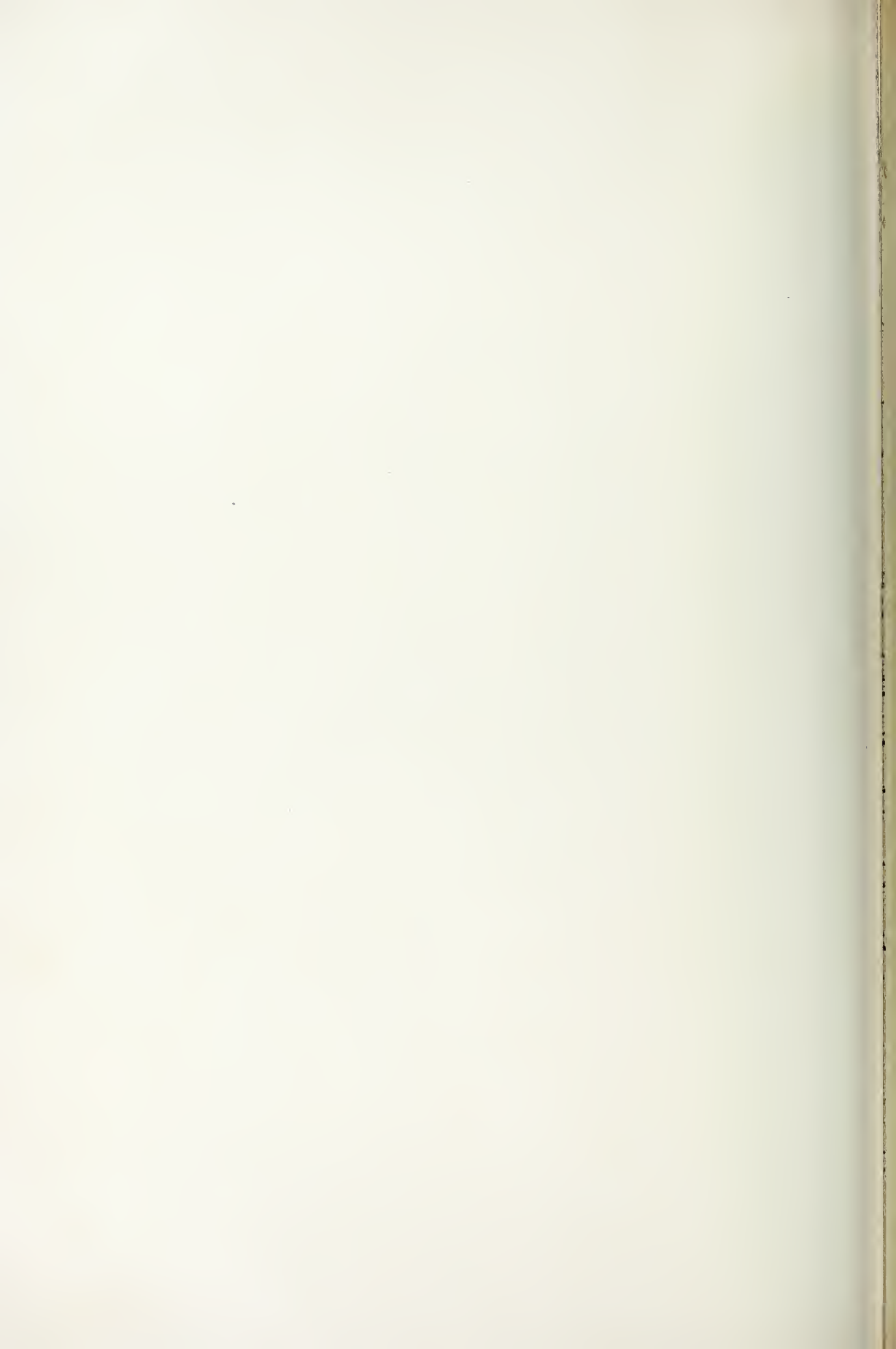
The Democratic party dates its birth back to that of the Whigs. It originated or assumed a distinctive form during the presidency of Gen. Jackson, and is still one of the great ruling parties of the country. Since its triumph over the Know-nothing party, in 1856, it has been the dominant party in Kentucky. For fifty years, or more, it has maintained its organization without change of name, a fact remarkable in the history of political creeds in America. The discord in its ranks, which, in 1860, lost it national control, had well nigh resulted in its total disruption. But after twenty-four years of defeat and disaster it is again restored to power.

\*The popular vote of the United States stood: Lincoln, 1,866,452; Douglas, 1,375,157; Breckinridge, 847,953; Bell, 590,631.



JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.





## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND WAR WITH MEXICO.

TEXAS, during the Mexican revolution and the civil wars of that period, assumed its independence and set up a government of its own. Its territory extended from the Sabine to the Rio Grande, and was an empire in itself. Situated in the mildest part of the temperate zone, it presented attractions that allured in vast numbers adventurous pioneers to its rich domain. Most of these early colonists had been citizens of the United States, born and bred amid the wild scenes of the western frontier and of the far south mainly, and were dependent on the trusty rifle for their very subsistence. The trapper, the buffalo hunter, the restless, roving backwoodsman, who, like the Indian, moved westward as civilization encroached on his solitudes, and a few master-spirits were there grouped together in one heterogeneous mass. They formed a community that was not perfect in its moral symmetry, but all powerful in its rough strength, as proven in the contest with the veteran soldiers of Santa Anna. There were those of every national prejudice. All the marked characteristics of men met their opposites, and there was no law to restrain or govern either, except that public judgment that was crystallized into a resistless force. This wonderful alembic, where were fused normal and abnormal humanities, thoughts, false educations and prejudices into a molten stream, scorched everything along its way, as the volcanic eruption does the debris over which it flows. It was the untrammelled school of attrition of every variety of mind with mind—the rough diamond that gleams and dazzles with beauty only when rubbed with diamond dust.

The adventurers, who flocked to Texas

from the States, increased rapidly, until they became more numerous than the Mexicans, who previously inhabited the country. The difference of race, religion and laws was soon apparent in diversities of sentiment and objects between the old and new inhabitants. "The Texan of the United States brought with him, not only greater energy and industry, but a wild and restless ambition—a more intense and speculative pursuit of future objects. When differences so deep and original as these exist among different classes of people, they will soon become manifested in external action. The new inhabitants soon seized the direction of all public affairs, and Texas became, in fact, the possession of these adventurers from a foreign land, rather than of those ancient citizens, to whose government it had once professed allegiance. The power thus obtained was soon manifested in other acts. It is not in the nature of things, that a country should change its inhabitants and not also change its government. The new possessors will assume the laws and institutions to which their habits have been used and their sentiments assimilated."\* So it was with Texas. The American population had increased, in 1831, to about 20,000, and though immigration from the United States had been prohibited by Mexico, it still continued to increase. Steps were taken to separate Texas from Coahuila, which was accomplished in 1833,† and application made to the Mexican government as a distinct State, and for admission as such into the

\*Mansfield's History of the Mexican War.

†Texas, from 1727 to 1824, was a separate province, and in no wise connected with any other political division of Mexico. But in 1824 it was, as a province, united with Coahuila, neither being sufficiently populous to form a State of itself. From this time to 1833 the combination was known as the "State of Coahuila and Texas."—H. Yoakum.



Mexican Union.\* But their petition was unheeded, and their commissioner—Stephen F. Austin—detained at the Mexican capital awaiting the answer of the dilatory government. Austin, wearied with the delay, wrote home to the people, advising them to organize their State government without waiting further consent of the Mexican authorities.† His letter was intercepted, himself seized and thrown into a dungeon, where he remained incarcerated nearly a year without even knowing the cause of his arrest and imprisonment. Austin was among the early immigrants to Texas, a man of more than average ability, and the ablest leader the Texans then had. His father, Moses Austin, had obtained a large grant of land from Mexico, to which, at his death, Stephen succeeded. For the latter's eminent services, and in recognition of his exertions in planting a colony in Texas, his name has been attached both to a county and to the capital of the State. He was finally released by the Mexican government and permitted to return home. Such in general was the condition of Texas, when it knocked for admission at the door of the American Union.

In the meantime, Mexico had been reduced to a military despotism, with Santa Anna at its head. In September, 1835, he sent Gen. Cos into Texas with a large force to coerce the rebellious Texans into submission to his will. A battle was fought on the banks of the Rio Guadalupe, in which a part of the Mexican force was defeated. Soon after the Texans captured Goliad, and with it a large quantity of arms and military stores. Gen. Austin, at the head of the Texan army, in October laid siege to the strong town of Antonio de Bexar. During the progress of the siege Cols. Fannin and Bowie, with less than a hundred men, gained a brilliant victory over 400 Mexicans. Gen. Austin's army was poorly equipped. He was without cannon suitable for the reduction of so strong a place, but he stormed it on the 5th of December, forcing Gen. Cos with his garrison to retire within the fortress

of the Alamo, where he was at length obliged to capitulate.\*

Santa Anna now determined to proceed against the Texans in person. With an army of 10,000 men and a large train of artillery he entered their country, early in 1836, and on the 21st of February arrived before the town of Bexar. He surprised the garrison and drove them into the Alamo without provisions. They numbered but 150 men, including a re-enforcement of thirty-two received from Gonzales. The battle which followed is thus described by Frost, in his history of the war between Texas and Mexico: "For ten days the air was darkened by the shot and shells poured into the fort by Santa Anna; yet not a man of the Texans had fallen while the ground was strewn with hundred of their enemies, pierced by the ball of the unerring rifle. At length, on the night of the 5th of March, they beheld the enemy advancing to assault the place. With their artillery the gallant defenders beat whole battalions to the earth, yet the Mexican pushed on his men, confident of ultimate success. The scaling-ladders were planted; and the Mexicans poured into the fortress. The men of the garrison, looking more like spectres than men, still dealt death upon the enemy. They sold their lives dearly, but the immense numbers of their assailants made their destruction certain. Seven of them, finding their companions all dead, asked for quarter, but were refused. They retired to a corner of the fortress, placed their backs to the walls and fell, each upon a pile of his fallen foes. Such was the victory of the Alamo, the Thermopylae of Texas, which cost the victor 1,500 of his bravest men."

Thus the Texan revolution raged. The war continued with varying fortune until the battle of San Jacinto, on the 21st of April, 1836, when the Mexican power was broken, resulting in their authority over the Texans being finally destroyed. This was the most remarkable battle of the war, and the most important in its results. Santa Anna's army numbered more than 1,500 men, and was composed of veterans who had grown gray in the

\*This was several years prior to any advances being made by Texas toward the United States government.

†Yookum's History of Texas.

\*History of the Texan Revolution, p. 167.

numerous wars of Mexico. Gen. Houston, who commanded the Texans, had 700 infantry and sixty-one cavalry. But, nothing daunted, "the gallant Texans charged the enemy's lines until within a few yards, when they delivered their fire with dreadful effect, shouted their war-cry, 'Remember the Alamo,' and rushed upon the foe with the bayonet — and the contest was decided."\*

The battle was disastrous to the Mexicans, and the destruction of their army was complete. More than 600 were killed in the fight, 280 wounded and 730 captured. Gens. Cos and Almonte were among the prisoners, as well as Santa Anna, who was taken the next day after the battle. A treaty was now effected between the two countries, and Santa Anna as president of Mexico, signed it on the 14th of May, acknowledging "the full, entire and perfect independence of Texas." By this treaty, the boundaries of the new republic were defined as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Rio Grande; thence up the principal stream of the said river to its source; thence due north to the forty-second degree of north latitude; thence along the boundary line as defined in the treaty between the United States and Spain (February, 1819) to the beginning."†

It was agreed on the part of the Texans that the lives of their prisoners should be spared, and that Santa Anna should be sent to Vera Cruz, and thence to the United States. He arrived in the latter country in December, 1836, and visited the president at Washington. He returned to Mexico in 1837, and retired in solitude to his hacienda of Magno de Clava.

In violation of every principle of honor, the republic of Mexico disregarded the treaty with Texas, and, as before, continued to treat the Texans as rebels. It was contended that the treaty had been made by Santa Anna while under constraint, and was, therefore, of no effect until ratified by the government of Mexico. Taking advantage of the existing difficulties, Bustamante, who had been ban-

ished from Mexico, now returned and placed himself at the head of affairs. Having seized upon the presidency, he repudiated the Texan treaty and recommenced the war. It was continued in predatory incursions on both sides until Texas became one of the United States, and thus engaged the attention of Mexico at home.

Texas, at a very early period of her struggle, expressed a desire to be admitted as a State into the American Union. She had applied for admission into the Mexican confederation in 1833, and on August 4, 1837, made a formal proposition to the United States. Most of the early citizens were from the States, and had imbibed the principles of liberty in their broadest sense; so it is but natural that they should desire to remain politically and socially connected with the land of their birth. They had battled, apparently, not so much for absolute independence, as for emancipation from Mexican tyranny, and, in order to secure this object, they had laid less stress on national sovereignty, than upon a state of dependence, which would insure them safety. Of a government of rigid laws and stern police regulations, they knew nothing, but they were shrewd, active, alert and rich in animal life and energy. Among the denizens of the forest they were irresistible, but to meet in organized convention to form laws for a new nation, were labors utterly above their abilities. With some few allowances for manner of life they could accommodate themselves to almost any old government, but to originate a new one, or to execute it after its origination, was the point at which they failed. This disposition in a people whom past adversities or future hopes had impelled to this new region in pursuit of fortune or adventure, seems a little strange. Most nations, however small, glory in their independence of foreign control, especially if that independence has been achieved by their own efforts. But the burden of self-government, it was thought by the Texans, was too great for a young and irregularly settled country.\* The proposition of Texas to become a member of

\*Texan Revolution, p. 169.

†These boundaries constituted one of the grounds of claim against Mexico, on the part of the United States, in the subsequent troubles between those powers.

\*Frost's History of the Mexican War.



the American Union was declined by President Van Buren, on the ground that it would be "an act of injustice to a sister republic." He declared that so long as we were bound by a treaty of amity and commerce with Mexico, to annex Texas would necessarily involve the question of war, and that a disposition to espouse the quarrel with Mexico was at variance with the spirit of the treaty, and with the policy and welfare of the United States.\* The application was not pressed at that time, and Texas still remained exposed to the guerrilla warfare carried on by Mexico. But negotiations were continued with the United States, and with England and France, for loans and troops, the object of which was to force from Mexico an acknowledgement of Texan independence.

This unsettled state of affairs—a partial war at one time, and a series of negotiations at another—continued to exist in Texas until the accession of Mr. Tyler to the presidency revived the plan of annexation. The question, though very cautiously handled by the politicians of that day, was a growing one, and did not fail to impress its importance upon a number of leading men, among whom was the president himself. Mr. Tyler had begun his administration with the settled intention of making Texas a part of the United States as soon as circumstances would permit. During the first two years of his term, however, his time was too much taken up with the tariff question, and other important subjects causing acrimonious discussion, to allow him to force the issues of the Texan question. Circumstances continued unfavorable, and Mr. Webster, the secretary of state, was opposed to the policy. In 1842, Texas, having once more applied for admission, the danger became imminent lest, disgusted with her treatment, she might never again propose terms for annexation. From this time it became the leading question in the mind of the president, resulting in the withdrawal of Mr. Webster, in May, 1843, from the cabinet, though on every other question he agreed with the executive.† The position of

Mr. Tyler, at this time, attracted the notice of both the great political parties, and drew out the opinions of leading men and the criticisms of the press. As his official term approached its close, it became more and more evident that annexation would be one of the rallying points on which, during the national election, the opposing masses would test their strength. Mr. Upshur, who had succeeded Mr. Webster as secretary of State, was killed on February 28, 1844, by an explosion on board the steamer "Princeton," and the president appointed John C. Calhoun with whom the annexation of Texas was a favorite project, to succeed him. Together the president and his secretary labored assiduously to accomplish annexation.

Mexico, in the meantime, had aroused herself to action. Fearful of losing so large a portion of her ancient territory, she awoke to the necessity of protecting her interests and of defending her honor, though it should be at the expense of war. On August 23, 1844, Mr. Bocanegra, the Mexican minister of foreign relations, addressed a note\* to Waddell Thompson, our minister to Mexico, from which the following is taken: "If a party in Texas is now endeavoring to effect its incorporation with the United States, it is from a consciousness of their notorious incapability to form and constitute an independent nation without their having changed their situation or acquired any right to separate themselves from their mother country. His excellency the provisional president, resting on this deep conviction, is obliged to prevent an aggression unprecedented in the annals of the world, from being consummated, and if it be indispensable for the Mexican nation to seek security for its rights at the expense of the disasters of war, it will call upon God, and rely on its own efforts for the defense of its just cause." As if to prevent any misunderstanding of the meaning of Mexico, General Almonte, Mexican minister at Washington, wrote to the secretary of state, under date of November 3d as follows: "But if, contrary to the hopes and wishes entertained by the government of the undersigned for the

\* State Papers.

† American History, Vol. VIII, p. 330.

\* State Papers.

reservation of the good understanding and harmony which should reign between the two neighboring and friendly republics, the United States should, in defiance of good faith, and the principles of justice which they have constantly proclaimed, commit the unheard-of act of violence of appropriating to themselves an integrant part of the Mexican territory, the undersigned, in the name of his nation, and now for them, protests in the most solemn manner against such an aggression; and he moreover declares, by express order of his government, that on sanction being given by the executive of the Union to the incorporation of Texas into the United States, he will consider his mission ended, seeing that, as the secretary of state will have learned, the Mexican government is resolved to declare war as soon as it receives intimation of such act."

Thus it will be seen that the United States did not enter blindly into negotiations with Texas, nor in ignorance of what the result of annexation would be. Long prior to the admission of Texas, she had been officially informed by the Mexican government that war must inevitably follow such act. Unheeding the solemn protest of Mexico, negotiations were continued and even pressed to an experimental test. Gen. Almonte's letter of remonstrance had been written to the secretary of state in November, 1843. On April 2, 1844, President Tyler submitted to the senate a "treaty of annexation," accompanied by an elaborate message. It was the signal for a violent explosion against the administration, and the result was, after a bitter debate, the rejection of the treaty by a vote of thirty-five to sixteen.\* The question was thus left open for discussion, and was one of the leading issues, as predicted, before the people in the presidential contest of 1844. "Polk, Dallas and Texas" was the battle-cry of the Democrats, and their candidates, Polk and Dallas, being elected by a large majority, this was taken as a public declaration on the subject. President Tyler now directed all his efforts to effect another treaty before the close of his official term, and so successfully,

that, on March 1, 1845, congress passed the joint resolution annexing Texas to the United States. On the same day the president affixed his official signature to the document, and on the 4th of July following, the treaty was ratified by the Texan government. Thus the signal was given for one of the most unjust and unnecessary wars of modern times—a war that proved but the prelude of another far more dreadful. Had the war with Mexico been avoided, as it well might have been, by a refusal to recognize the "Lone Star" republic, and receive it as a State into the American Union, it is possible that the civil war, which followed a decade and a half later, might not have occurred. Thus one event leads to another, and

One woe doth tread upon another's heel,  
So fast they follow.

Time has healed the breach made by this national robbery, and years of peace have softened the angry feelings then aroused. The annexation of Texas precipitated the war between Mexico and the United States, but there were more important questions involved, which the unjust act developed. An eminent American statesman has said that, "the commencement of the Mexican war was the opening of a new volume of American history." This is quite true. The contest with Mexico is merely the preface to that volume—the production of the civil war of 1861–65. To protect slavery, and to extend the baleful institution, was the ruling idea with the great majority of those in the United States, and particularly in the South, who favored annexation, and may thus be considered the direct cause of the Mexican war, and which culminated finally in the war between the States. The Whig party in politics opposed annexation on the ground that the acquisition of new territory would but result in the extension of slavery. One of the great exponents of the party thus expressed its general sentiment\* on the subject:

If further acquisition of territory is to be the result either of conquest or treaty, then I scarcely know which should be preferred, eternal war with

\*Public Documents of 1844.

\* Thomas Corwin in a speech in the United States senate opposing the Mexican war.



Mexico, or the hazards of internal commotion at home, which last, I fear, may come if another province is to be added to our territory. There is one topic connected with this subject which I tremble when I approach, and yet I cannot forbear to mention it. It meets you in every step you take. It threatens you which way soever you go in the prosecution of this war. I allude to the question of slavery. Opposition to its further extension, it must be obvious to every one, is a deeply rooted determination with men of all parties in what we call the non-slaveholding States. New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, three of the most powerful, have already sent their legislative instructions here—so it will be, I doubt not, in all the rest. It is vain now to speculate about the reason of all this. Gentlemen of the South may call it prejudice, passion, hypocrisy, fanaticism. I shall not dispute with them now on that point. The great fact that it is so, and not otherwise, is what it concerns us to know. You nor I cannot change this opinion if we would. These people only say, we will not, cannot consent that you shall carry slavery where it does not already exist. They do not seek to disturb you in that institution, as it exists in your States. Enjoy it if you will and as you will. This is their language, this their determination. How is it in the South? Can it be expected that they will expend in common their blood and their treasure, in the acquisition of immense territory, and then willingly forego the right to carry thither their slaves, and inhabit the conquered country if they please to do so? Nay, I believe they would contend to any extremity for the mere right, had they no wish to exert it. I believe, and I confess I tremble when the conviction presses upon me, that there is equal obstinacy on both sides of this fearful question. If, then, we persist in war, which, if it terminate in anything short of a mere wanton waste of blood as well as money, must end (as this bill proposes) in the acquisition of territory, to which at once this controversy must attach—this bill would seem to be nothing less than a bill to produce internal commotion. Should we prosecute this war another moment, or expend \$1 in the purchase of a single acre of Mexican land, the North and the South are brought into collision on a point where neither will yield. Who can foresee or foretell the result?

This was the position, these the sentiments, of one of Ohio's greatest statesmen, and like views were entertained by a majority of his people and his party. Henry Clay, the great "commoner," took the same ground, as did Daniel Webster and most of the leading Whigs of the country. They opposed the extension of slavery as a national evil, and to avert such evil, they opposed the annexation of Texas. Had slavery not become aggressive for territorial expansion, it would

doubtless have taken a long time for the slow process of political policy to have accomplished its final extinction.

Upon the passage of the joint act admitting Texas into the sisterhood of State Mexico immediately broke off all diplomatic intercourse with the American government, called home her minister, and began preparations for war. War soon followed. "The army of occupation, under Gen. Zachary Taylor, was ordered to Corpus Christi, July, and during the winter following, was ordered to a point opposite Matamoras to take possession of the territory in dispute \* \* \*

The Mexicans occupied the territory at the time, with a military force stationed at Brazos Santiago, which, on the approach of Gen. Taylor to Point Isabel withdrew west of the Rio Grande. \* \* \* On the 28th of March, 1846, Taylor, with about 4,000 men, took position on the left bank of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras and within cannon shot of that place. April 24th, Gen. Arista arrived in Matamoras and assumed command of the Mexican force. On the same day Gen. Taylor, having learned that a large body of Mexicans had crossed the river twenty miles above, dispatched Capts. Thornton and Hardee with sixty men to reconnoiter their movements. They fell in with what they supposed was a scouting party, but which proved to be the advance guard of a strong force of the enemy posted in the chaparral. The Americans charged and pursued the guard across the clearing and in an instant their forces were surrounded by the main body of Mexicans, who fired upon them, killing sixteen and taking the remainder prisoners."†

Although it had been more than a year since the passage of the act of annexation this slight skirmish may be regarded as the commencement of hostilities between Mexico and the United States. The report of the capture of Thornton and Hardee did not reach Washington until the 9th of May, and

\*The Texans claimed the whole country east of the Rio Grande. Mr. Slidell was appointed an envoy by the United States and sent to the Mexican government to settle all questions of boundary between the two countries, but his mission was unsuccessful.

†Stuve's sketch of the Mexican war in History of Illinois.

after the opening battle of Palo Alto. The news spread over the country it created the most intense excitement. Public meetings were held, and the indignation of the people gave vent to warlike speeches and resolutions. Governors tendered the services of their militia to the president, and issued proclamations to their people to organize and enroll themselves in readiness for emergencies. The excitement was at fever heat. The president sent in a special message to Congress, and two days later that body passed an act authorizing him to accept the services of 50,000 volunteers, and appropriating \$10,000,000 to carry on the war. Military organizations began now in earnest. But while these scenes were transpiring in the United States, more thrilling ones were being enacted in Mexico. The battle of Palo Alto, the first actual battle of the war, occurred on the 8th of May, 1846, followed on the next day by the battle of Resaca de la Palma, both of which the Americans, though confronted by largely superior numbers, were victorious.

A call for volunteers soon followed, and in the apportionment of troops among the States, the South and West came in for the largest quotas. The patriotism of Kentucky blazed from one end of the commonwealth to the other. The governor, anticipating the call, issued his proclamation for volunteers, and more than 13,000 responded. Under the first requisition for troops, the State was required to furnish 2,400 men—two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry. Notwithstanding the ascendancy of the Whig party in Kentucky, and the general opposition of that party to the war, 10,000 more volunteers reported for duty than could be accepted. The quota was filled, and the surplus companies were disbanded and furnished transportation to their homes at the expense of the State.

The Louisville Legion, a military organization now nearly half a century old, were among the first troops to tender their services to the governor. Composed of the flower of Louisville manhood, the Legion, ten companies strong, commanded by Col. Ormsby, was

accepted by the State, and became the First Kentucky Infantry. It was mustered into the United States service, and at once embarked for the seat of war.

The history of the Louisville Legion dates back to 1837. In that year a company was organized, called the "Louisville Guards," Thomas Anderson, captain, and Charles Tilden and John Barbee, lieutenants. The "Washington Blues," under Capt. W. L. Ball; the "Kentucky Riflemen," under Capt. Thomas J. Martin, and the "Louisville Grays," under Capt. J. Birney Marshall, were organized in 1838 and 1839. These four companies, in 1840, were formed into a battalion under the charter of the "Louisville Legion," with Thomas Anderson, colonel; Jason Rogers, lieutenant-colonel; Humphrey Marshall, major, and John Barbee, adjutant.

In 1846, after war had been declared against Mexico, the strength of the Louisville Legion was increased to nine companies of infantry and one of artillery, thus forming a full regiment. Upon the offer of their services to the governor, they were accepted, and in four days were on the way to Mexico. They were mustered into service on the 17th of May, 1846, with the following regimental officers: Stephen Ormsby, colonel; Jason Rogers, lieutenant-colonel; John B. Shepherd, major; William Riddel, adjutant, and T. L. Caldwell and J. J. Matthews, surgeons. The company commanders were: First Company—C. H. Harper, captain; Second Company—Sanders, captain; Third Company—E. B. Howe, captain; Fourth Company—F. Kern, captain; Fifth Company—Godfrey Pope, captain; Sixth Company—John Fuller, captain; Seventh Company—Conrad Schröder, captain; Eighth Company—F. F. C. Triplett, captain; Ninth Company—W. L. Ball, captain; Tenth Company—C. W. Bullen, captain.

After the close of the war, the Legion, as an organization, became somewhat lukewarm, if it did not wholly disband, and at the outbreak of the civil war, many of the surviving members entered into the service, some into the Federal and some into the Confederate



army. During the labor troubles of 1877, when it became evident to the people, throughout the country, that effective State organization was necessary at times to preserve the civil authorities, the Louisville Legion was reorganized and put on an effective footing. The Mexican veterans of the old Legion turned over their charter to the new organization, and since then its history is familiar to the people of the city and the State. The two regiments additional to the Legion, embraced in the first call for troops, were officered as follows: Second Infantry—William R. McKee, of Lexington, colonel; Henry Clay, Jr., of Louisville, lieutenant-colonel; Cary H. Fry, of Danville, major; First Company—William H. Maxey, of Green County, captain; Second Company—Franklin Chambers, of Franklin County, captain; Third Company—Phil B. Thompson, of Mercer County, captain; Fourth Company—Speed Smith Fry, of Boyle County, captain; Fifth Company—George W. Cutter, of Kenton County, captain; Sixth Company—William T. Willis, of Jessamine County, captain; Seventh Company—William Dougherty, of Lincoln County, captain; Eighth Company—William M. Joiner, of Kenton County, captain; Ninth Company—Wilkerson Turpin, of Montgomery County, captain; Tenth Company—George W. Kavanaugh, of Anderson County, captain.

First Cavalry—Humphrey Marshall, of Louisville, colonel; E. H. Field, of Woodford County, lieutenant-colonel; John P. Gaines, of Boone County, major; and E. M. Vaughn, of Fayette County, adjutant. First Company—William J. Heady, of Jefferson County, captain; Second Company—A. Pennington, of Jefferson County, captain; Third Company—Cassius M. Clay, of Fayette County, captain; Fourth Company—Thomas F. Marshall, of Woodford County, captain; Fifth Company—J. C. Stone, of Madison County, captain; Sixth Company—J. Price, of Garrard County, captain; Seventh Company—G. L. Postlethwaite, of Fayette County, captain; Eighth Company—J. S. Lillard, of Gallatin County, captain; Ninth Company—John Shawhan, of Harrison County, captain;

Tenth Company—B. C. Milam, of Franklin County, captain.

A company had been recruited by John Williams, in Clark County, but, through a misunderstanding between the governor of Kentucky and the United States secretary of war, it had been excluded from the new organization. Capt. Williams applied once to the war department to have it entered into service as an independent company. While this application was pending, Capt. Williams marched them to the rendezvous at Louisville, and uniformed them, and when an order was soon received by Gen. Wool, he mustered it in. It was accordingly mustered into the service of the United States, and ordered to report to the colonel of the Second United States Regular Infantry, then en route for Mexico. It served with this regiment until its term (one year) expired, and participated in the battle of Cerro Gordo, where it received the highest praise for its bravery. Capt. Williams was soon after appointed colonel of the Fourth Kentucky Infantry, a regiment organized under the second call for troops.

On the 31st of August, 1847, a second requisition was made on Kentucky for troops, and two regiments asked for. They were organized and ready for service by the 20th of September, and were numbered and officered as follows: Third Infantry—Manlius V. Thomas, of Georgetown, colonel; Thomas L. Crittenden, of Frankfort, lieutenant-colonel; John Breckinridge, of Lexington, major; —Bradly, adjutant. First Company—A. Caldwell, of Laurel County, captain; Second Company—W. P. Childs, of Estill County, captain; Third Company—Thomas Todd, of Shelby County, captain; Fourth Company—William E. Simms, of Bourbon County, captain; Fifth Company—John R. Smith, of Scott County, captain; Sixth Company—James Ewing, of Bath County, captain; Seventh Company—Leander M. Cox, of Fleming County, captain; \*Eighth Company—Leonidas Metcalfe, of Nicholas County, captain; Ninth Company—J. A. Pritchard, of

\*It is reported of Capt. Cox's company, that twenty-five of his men were over six feet high.

One Company, captain; Tenth Company—B. Robinson, of Fayette County, captain. Fourth Infantry—John S. Williams, of Winchester, colonel; William Preston, of Louisville, lieutenant-colonel; William T. Ford, of Greensburg, major; William E. Woodruff, of Louisville, adjutant. First Company—J. S. Corum, of Caldwell County, captain; Second Company—G. B. Cook, of Livingston County, captain; Third Company—D. McCreery, of Daviess County, captain; Fourth Company—P. H. Gardner, of Hart County, captain; Fifth Company—T. Keating, of Jefferson County, captain; Sixth Company—John C. Squires, of Adair County, captain; Seventh Company—John G. Lair, of Pulaski County, captain; Eighth Company—L. R. Hardin, of Washington County, captain; Ninth Company—B. Rowan Hardin, of Nelson County, captain; Tenth Company—L. W. Bartlett, of Henry County, captain. Twelve other full companies reported, one in each of the following counties: Mason, Montgomery, Fayette, Madison, Bullitt, Campbell, Hardin, Harrison and Franklin, and three from Louisville, besides several fragmentary companies that were never completed, the filling of the quota rendering further recruiting unnecessary. Prior to the second call being made, four companies for the war were enlisted in Kentucky, and March 1, 1847, mustered into the regular army of the United States.

Gen. Zachary Taylor, commander-in-chief of the army in Mexico, at the commencement of the war, is claimed as a Kentuckian, though really born in Virginia. His father moved to Kentucky, in 1785, when Zachary was but nine months old, and settled in the present county of Jefferson. Born at the close of the revolution, young Taylor grew to manhood amid the Indian wars, which raged for years upon the frontiers, and were particularly severe in Kentucky. As he grew up he developed a fondness for arms, and at the age of twenty-three was commissioned a lieutenant in the United States army. From this subordinate position he rose by regular gradation to the rank of major-general, and second in command in the regular army.

He was no "carpet knight," but his promotions were all won by hard service in the field. He was one of the foremost soldiers of the age, and his biographer does him but justice when he says: "No man but Gen. Taylor could have won the victory of Buena Vista." Shortly after Gen. Scott was ordered by the government at Washington to Mexico, to take command of the army, Gen. Taylor resigned and returned to the United States. He was elected president in 1848, by the Whig party, over Gen. Lewis Cass, but died in July, 1850, a little more than a year after his inauguration. He lies buried near Louisville, where recently a handsome monument has been placed at his grave, to mark the spot where the old hero sleeps.

William O. Butler was commissioned a major-general by President Polk, June 29, 1846, for service in the Mexican war. He was born in Jessamine County, Ky., in 1791, and was educated in Transylvania University. He entered the army before he was twenty-one years old, and served in the war of 1812. He was at the battle of the river Raisin, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. Subsequently he was with Gen. Jackson in the battle of New Orleans, and for his gallantry received the commendation of his commanding general. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in Carroll County, Ky. In 1844 he was the Democratic candidate for governor, but was defeated. He served with distinction in the Mexican war and was severely wounded at the siege of Monterey. When the troubles arose between Gen. Scott and his officers, after the capture of the city of Mexico, Gen. Butler was promoted to the chief command of the army, which position he retained until the conclusion of peace. He was a candidate for vice-president of the United States in 1848, on the ticket with Gen. Cass, but they were defeated by Taylor and Fillmore. He was one of the six commissioners from Kentucky, in 1861, to the "Peace Conference" at Washington. He died at his home, in Carroll County, a few years ago.

Of the field and staff officers of the Kentucky regiments many of them attained to



the highest distinction, civil and military. They were the very flower of Kentucky chivalry, and those still surviving bore a prominent part (most of them) in the late civil war, both in the Federal and Confederate armies.

Humphrey Marshall was a member of one of the most noted families of Kentucky. He was a lawyer, statesman and soldier, and in each profession he was pre-eminently great. He served in the United States congress, and was a major-general in the Confederate army. William R. McKee and Henry Clay, Jr., the latter the favorite son of the "sage of Ashland," were killed in the battle of Buena Vista. M. V. Thomson was lieutenant-governor of the State under Gov. Letcher, from 1840 to 1844. Thomas L. Crittenden is a son of the Hon. John J. Crittenden—Kentucky's distinguished senator—was a major-general in the Federal army, and is now an officer in the United States army. John C. Breckinridge was vice-president of the United States under James Buchanan, was a candidate for the presidency in 1860, was defeated and afterward elected to the United States Senate; he resigned to enter the Confederate army, became a major-general, and subsequently was chosen secretary of war for the Confederate States. John S. Williams was a major-general in the Confederate army and has since served with distinction in the United States senate—his services terminating March 4, 1885. William Preston has been a member of congress, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1849, minister to Spain under President Buchanan, and was a major-general in the Confederate army. Stephen Ormsby was one of the most prominent and public-spirited men of Jefferson County, but was neither statesman nor politician. He loved the Louisville Legion as his children, and his affection was fully returned by them. William E. Woodruff is a lawyer, still resides in Louisville, was colonel of the Second Kentucky (Federal) Infantry, and was promoted to brigadier-general. He and Gen. Preston, Senator Williams and Gen. Crittenden, are all of the list (the field and staff) known to be now living.

It is impossible to follow the Kentucky troops all through their service in Mexico. The record of both officers and men was such as to cast no reflection upon the high standard of excellence attained by the soldiers of the commonwealth in the early Indian wars and the war of 1812. There were but few battles or even skirmishes of any importance, in the early part of the war, in which Kentucky troops did not participate, but by far the largest representation was in the battle of Buena Vista. Their decimated ranks were an eloquent but mournful tribute to the part they bore in that terrible and unequal struggle.

The Kentucky volunteers, except the Legion which had already left for the front, rendezvoused at Louisville, and on the 9th of June, 1846, were mustered into the United States service by Col. George Croghan. On the 4th of July following they embarked for Memphis and from there proceeded overland to Little Rock, thence through Texas to Camargo, on the Rio Grande, where they crossed into Mexico. They did not reach the scene of active operations until several months after the battle of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Pampa, and the fall of Matamoras.

The first fighting in which any of the Kentucky troops were engaged was at the siege of Monterey, in September (1846), and but few of them, except the Louisville Legion, were engaged there. The Legion was posted to guard a battery, and for twenty-four hours maintained its position, holding the enemy in check without being able to return the fire, and exhibiting the courage of tried veterans. For the part they took in the protracted fighting around this stronghold of the enemy, the Kentucky legislature passed resolutions complimentary to them, and voted thanks to Gens. Taylor and Butler, and a sword to each of these officers. Maj. Philip N. Barbour of the Third United States Regular Infantry, a gallant Kentuckian, was killed during the siege, thus marring the joy of his victorious comrades in arms. He was a brave officer, and the legislature, on the 23d of February, 1847, ordered his remains brought home, and interred in the State cemetery at Frankfort.



HUMPHREY MARSHALL.





Maj. Gaines and Capt. Clay, of the First Kentucky Cavalry, with thirty men, were surprised on the 22d of January (1847) by a large force of the enemy at Encarnacion, and captured. Five days later Capt. Heady and Lieut. Churchill, of the same regiment, with seventeen men, were captured. The prisoners were marched off to the City of Mexico, where most of them remained in captivity until their comrades had served out their term of enlistment and returned home. About a month after his capture, Maj. Gaines withdrew his parole as a prisoner of war, and succeeded finally in making his escape to the American Army. He gained the lines in time to take a gallant part in the battles of Churubusco, Chapultepec, and in the fighting around the walls of the Mexican capital.

After the fall of Monterey, the next important military operations were at Buena Vista. On the 12th of November (1846) Gen. Worth was ordered from Monterey to Saltillo with two regiments of infantry, a company of volunteers, eight companies of artillery and a field battery. About the 17th of December, Gen. Taylor received a dispatch from Worth, stating that Santa Anna threatened an attack upon Saltillo. Gens. Butler and Wool were ordered to re-enforce Worth, and Gen. Taylor set out a few days later himself for the same point. Saltillo is the capital of the State of Coahuila and an important place, and, once in possession of the Mexicans, it was highly necessary to hold it. Gen. Taylor had proceeded but a short distance on his march, when he was met by a messenger from Worth announcing that the rumored attack of Santa Anna was unfounded. Deeming his presence there now unnecessary, Taylor returned to Monterey, but soon after, accompanied by Gen. Twiggs' division, moved toward Victoria, where he arrived on the 4th of January.\*

It was about this time that Gen. Taylor received a demand from Gen. Scott for a part of his troops to aid him in his operations against Vera Cruz. He immediately returned to Monterey to comply with the request of Gen. Scott, though to do so deprived him of

nearly all his regulars, and the volunteer divisions of Worth and Twiggs, and the brigades of Quitman and Patterson. In the latter part of January, Taylor received information from Gen. Wool, encamped in the neighborhood of Saltillo, that rumors were again prevalent of an attack on that place by Santa Anna. Leaving 1,500 men at Monterey, Gen. Taylor, on the 31st of January, marched for Saltillo, determined, if practicable with his small force, to anticipate the attack of Santa Anna. He reached the strong mountain pass of La Angostura, three miles from Buena Vista, and after a short halt proceeded to the camp of Gen. Wool, now at Saltillo. Upon concentrating the troops, Gen. Taylor found he had an effective force of less than 5,000—all volunteers, except about 500. This handful of comparatively raw troops was confronted by Santa Anna with an army of 20,000 veterans. Frost thus describes the field of Buena Vista:

Buena Vista is a small village or rancho, situated five miles southwest of Saltillo, on the road between that place and San Luis Potosi. The American and supply train were here stationed during the whole battle, and upon the small force left to guard it, a portion of the Mexican cavalry from their right wing charged late on the 23d. On each side of the San Luis Potosi road, precipitous mountains rose to a great height, thus forming a narrow valley very difficult for the movements of a large cavalry force. On the west side of the road, and extending to the foot of the mountains, was a labyrinth of deep and impassable gullies, which rendered all traveling on that part of the valley impossible. Three miles below Buena Vista these gullies approached so near the base of the eastern ridge of the mountains, as to narrow the valley to the width of the road, from which it received the name of the pass La Angostura, or the narrows. A small force placed at this spot would be utterly inaccessible from the west, almost equally so from the mountains of the east, and could hold the road against a direct attack from a vastly superior foe. In this strong defile was placed Washington's battery of three guns, supported by two companies of the First Illinois Volunteers. West of this pass the right wing of the American army was drawn up on the sides of the mountains, their eastern extremity stretching toward the pass. On a broad plateau or table-land formed by extensions of the eastern mountain chain was the left of the army, their east flank covered by cliffs, and their west by Washington's battery. On the extreme east, among the high mountains, were situated, on the evening of the 22d, the

\*Frost's Mexican War, p. 341.



American light troops, with whom and the Mexican light infantry the skirmish of that day took place.

Two months before the battle of Buena Vista, Gen. Wool, on a trip to Saltillo, pointed out this defile as the spot of all others for a small army to fight a large one. It was upon his suggestion that Gen. Taylor, on the 21st of February, fell back to the cliffs and gorges of Buena Vista, there to measure strength with the greatest general of Mexico. Gen. Taylor had an able and efficient second in Gen. Wool. In his report of the battle, he thus recognized the ability of Wool as a commander and his valor as a soldier: "The high state of discipline and instruction of several of the volunteer regiments was attained under his command, and to his vigilance and arduous services before the action, and his gallantry and activity on the field, a large share of our success may justly be attributed." He intrusted the immediate command of the American army to Wool, who planned the action, and stationed the troops in their respective positions, which was somewhat as follows: On a plateau, directly east of Washington's battery, were six companies of Col. Hardin's First Illinois Regiment, flanked on the left by the Second Kentucky Infantry under Col. McKee, and the Second Illinois Infantry, covering Sherman's battery. East of these troops, on another plateau, was the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry. North of these, on the broad table-land, Col. Davis' Mississippi riflemen were drawn up in battle array, with artillery in the center and on each flank. On the afternoon of the 22d, the enemy attacked the American light troops, stationed on the left, with considerable spirit. Gen. Wool immediately sent information to Gen. Taylor, who was at Saltillo, and ordered the troops stationed in the village of Buena Vista to be brought forward.\*

Soon after the arrival of Gen. Taylor upon the field he received a summons from Santa Anna to surrender. The following is the note of the Mexican commander: "You are surrounded by 20,000 men and cannot, in any human probability, avoid suffering a rout

and being cut to pieces with your troops; as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from a catastrophe, and for that purpose give you this notice in order that you may surrender at discretion under the assurance that you will be treated with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character, to which end you will be granted one hour's time to make up your mind, to commence from the moment when my flag of truce arrives in your camp. With this view, I assure you of my consideration." To this imperious summons Gen. Taylor responded: "In reply to your note of this date, summoning me to surrender my forces at discretion, I beg leave to say that I decline acceding to your request."\*

The American commander now expected that an attack upon him would immediately begin, and preparations were made to meet it. Changes were ordered in the positions occupied by the Kentucky and Illinois troops, so as to secure the plateau east of Washington's battery, which commanded the road to Saltillo, the key to the position of the American army. Contrary to the general expectation, however, no attack was made beyond light skirmishing, and about sunset Gen. Taylor, with Col. Davis' regiment of Mississippi riflemen and a squadron of dragoons, returned to Saltillo, leaving Gen. Wool in command.

The heaviest fighting on the 22d occurred on the American left, where were stationed the First Kentucky Cavalry, under Col. Marshall, the Arkansas Cavalry, under Col. Yule, and a battalion of Indian riflemen, all under the immediate command of Col. Marshall. Santa Anna early in the afternoon of the 22d pushed forward a large force of infantry against these troops, while at the same time he made a feint upon the American right. Gen. Wool in his official report thus describes the engagement that ensued: "At 2 o'clock, as the enemy's light infantry were moving up the side of the mountain, and in the vines, they opened fire on our riflemen from a large howitzer posted on the road, and between 3 and 4 o'clock Col. Marshall engaged

\*Mansfield's History Mexican War.

\*Gen. Taylor's Report.

the Mexican infantry on the side of the mountain, and the firing continued on both sides at intervals until dark. In this our troops sustained no loss, while that of the enemy is known, by subsequent inspection of the ground, to be considerable." This skirmish closed the battle of February 22. To the greater part of the Americans it was their first experience in actual war. Although the night was cold, they slept on their arms, ready for a renewal of the fight in the morning. Without fires, they bivouacked on the black rocks, around which rose tall cliffs most shutting out the twinkling of the stars.

A highly descriptive writer speaks of their situation in the following terms: "Thick darkness gathered around the little army, the air seemed clothed with vapors, and a silence, that pained the ear more than the jarring of cannon, hung around. Now and then a solitary figure moved heavily through the gloom, making the stillness more awful by his foreboding scream. Many a young soldier, whose heart beat high with the longings of ambition, looked up fearfully that night through the frowning shade, and turned away to dream of home and sleep his last sleep."

Few great battles have been won under more unfavorable circumstances than that of Guadalupe Vista. Gen. Taylor's army had been reduced to a few thousand raw troops, and a few hundred regulars, by the requisition made upon him by Gen. Scott. Deprived of the veterans who had stood by him at Palo Alto, Mesaca de la Palma, and at Monterey, he pondered anxiously the chances against him. Says an eloquent writer\* on the subject: Santa Anna, whom he was to meet for the first time, had a world-wide fame for courage and for strategy; he was supported by Ampudia, who had already proved himself determined and crafty; by Arista, who with his magnetic physique and strong personal influence, cemented many conflicting elements in the Mexican army; by Lombardini, his second in command, whom he greatly trusted; by Acheco and Perez; by Mora y Villamil, whose scornful dispatch to Gen. Taylor some weeks earlier stung the old soldier into an

indignant reply; by Ortega, whose division was to be held like a whip with which Santa Anna would scourge the defeated Americans from the soil of Mexico; and Minon, whose cavalry should drive the fugitives back to the lash of Ortega. He had, too, Torrejon, with his brilliant lancers, the pride of the Mexican forces. It was, indeed, a fine army, officers and men treading their own soil, inspired by sentiments of patriotism and religion, while their confidence in the skill and courage of their leader, Santa Anna, gave stability to their enthusiasm. The little army awaiting them may be viewed at a glance:—the commander-in-chief, resolute to obstinacy, careless of life in the heat of action, both for himself and for his soldiers, yet tender-hearted and self-sacrificing; liable to make mistakes, yet cool, ready and invincible in his ability to escape from their effects. Wool, his second in command, an experienced soldier, brave, ambitious and sanguine; Lane, an untried brigadier-general of volunteers; besides these a few colonels, captains and lieutenants. As events proved, each of these minor officers became in turn a commander, and few generals of the line could have excelled them in bravery, skill and discretion. Capts. Bragg and Sherman, and Lieut. O'Brien, with their batteries, seemed ubiquitous during the whole contest, while Washington, with his few guns, held the left wing of the Mexican army in check from the beginning to the end of the battle. Col. May's name became a synonym for dashing bravery; Gen. Lane, wounded, but still fighting, led his heroic Indiana men on; Col. Davis displayed ability that was considered an evidence of military genius; McKee and Clay, in one of the Kentucky regiments, were graduates of West Point, and fulfilled the expectations that their training inspired; Cols. Marshall and Yell led their mounted men with great gallantry. Yell had left his seat in congress for the dangers of the field. Bissell, a former member of congress, was a man of fine attainments and excellent judgment; Hardin had stimulated the pride and interest with which Col. Churchill, inspector general, United States army, had regarded

\*American History, Vol. III, p. 714.



the Illinois regiments. His name had been urged at Washington for brigadier-general of volunteers, but his political antecedents prevented such an appointment. He had seen service in the Black Hawk war, and for several years was general-in-chief of the Illinois militia at a time when it was not merely a nominal position." Such was the *personnel* of the opposing armies on the eve of the battle of Buena Vista.

The battle was continued on the morning of the 23d—where it had closed on the previous evening—in front of Col. Marshall's position. During the night a re-enforcement of about 1,500 of the enemy had been thrown forward, and at 2 o'clock in the morning, they drove in Marshall's pickets. At dawn of day the action began in earnest. Hard pressed by the immense masses of the enemy, the intrepid riflemen, animated by their commander, received them with coolness, and poured into them the contents of their unerring rifles, which heaped the hillside with piles of the slain. At an opportune moment Marshall was re-enforced by Maj. Trail, of the Second Illinois Volunteers, with a battalion from that regiment, and with this addition to his force he continued to hold the enemy in check. Covering themselves behind rocks and ridges of the mountain the troops were secure from artillery, and met every charge of the enemy with advantage. No part of the field was more sternly contested. More than 300 Mexican dead strewed the ground in front of Marshall's position, thus showing the deadly aim of his riflemen. From day-break until 10 o'clock they fought, in the rugged passes of the mountains, often ten times their own force, never quailing before the superior numbers assailing them. When the Second Indiana Infantry gave way, Col. Marshall was compelled to fall back to prevent being cut off from the main army. In the encounter with Torrejon's lancers at the village of Buena Vista, he fought with the same courage and with less than 400 Kentuckians and Arkansians, defeated and routed 1,500 of the enemy.

At 9 o'clock Santa Anna formed his army in three columns of attack, to overwhelm

Taylor and his little band of Spartans. The first column under Gen. Mora y Villa, composed of a number of the finest regiments in the Mexican army, was ordered to march down the road and carry the Angostura Pass. A battery of eighteen guns was placed upon the eminence above to assist in this movement. The second column comprised Lombardini's and Pacheco's heavy infantry, ordered to advance in two divisions; Lombardini's over the base of the southern ravine and around the head of the front ravine to gain the plateau, while Pacheco was to pass up through the ravine, and unite with Lombardini, when they were to attack in front of the left of the American center. The third column, Ampudia's light infantry, was sent to the support of the force already engaged on the mountain with the Kentucky, Illinois, Arkansas and Indiana troops. The reserve under Ortega, remained in the rear on the road.\*

From Frost's history of the Mexican war, one of the best on the subject extant, is taken the remainder of the sketch of this battle. Commencing with the struggle on the American left, it is described as follows:

The position of affairs was most critical, for the Mexicans succeeded in forcing the American position the day was theirs. There being no artillery opposed to them but O'Brien's section alone, another piece, it was all important for him to maintain his ground until guns could come round the ravine to join him. He determined, therefore, to hold this position until the enemy reached the mazes of his guns. The struggle was a terrible one. Each party put forth its utmost strength, and the feelings of the soldier were wound to a pitch of enthusiasm, that made him reckless of death itself. The enemy sunk down by scores, and a body of lancers charging the Illinois troops were compelled to fall back. Still the main body rushed on, showing the mountain passes with the trampling of the armed thousands, and shouting above the uproar of battle. The wounded and dying were crushed under their furious charge, and soon their horses were within a few yards of O'Brien's pieces. Here they received the last discharge, and as the driving fire smote their columns, a groan of anguish followed, and horse and rider sank down and rolled over the rocky surface in the arms of death. It was a dreadful moment, and as the column swayed to and fro beneath the shock, and then sternly united

\*E. H. Walworth's sketch in American History, Vol. 1, p. 726.

the headlong leap, companies that were mere spectators grew pale for the result. Although O'Brien was losing men and horses with alarming rapidity, he gave orders to again fire, when suddenly the few recruits who were fit for duty lost their presence of mind, and with all his efforts they could not be kept to the guns. After staying at his post to the last, he retired slowly and sullenly. He lost his pieces, but by his gallant stand he had kept the enemy in check long enough to save the day.

About the same time the Second Illinois Infantry, under Col. Bissell, having become completely out-flanked, were compelled to fall back. Col. Marshall's light troops, on the extreme left, came down from the mountainous position, and joined the American main army. Masses of cavalry and infantry were now pouring through the defiles on the American left, in order to gain the rear north of the large plateau. At this moment Gen. Taylor arrived upon the field from Satillo. As the Mexican infantry turned the American flank, they came in contact with Col. Davis' Mississippi riflemen, posted on a plateau, north of the principal one. The Second Kentucky Infantry, under Col. McKee, and a section of artillery, under Capt. Bragg, had previously been ordered to this position from the right, and arrived at a most important crisis. As the masses of the enemy emerged from the defiles, to the table-land above, they opened upon the riflemen, and the battle became deeply interesting. The masses, meanwhile, were drawing up for a charge. The artillery on each side was in an incessant blaze, and one sheet of sparkling fire flashed from the small arms of both lines. Then the cavalry came crashing down in a dense column, their dress and arms glittering in the sun, seemingly in strange contrast with the work of death. All around was clamor and hurry, drowning the shouts of command, and groans of the dying. Davis gave the order to fire; a report from hundreds of rifles rang along his line, and tangled heaps of the enemy sank to the ground. A truck with dismay, the lacerated host heaved back, while, in mad confusion, horse trod down horse, rushing wounded and dying beneath their hoofs in the reckless rushing of retreat. The day was now more saved.

At the same time Col. McKee's Kentucky regiment, supported by Bragg's artillery, had driven back the enemy's infantry, and recovered a portion of the lost ground. The latter officer then moved his pieces to the main plateau, where, in company with Capt. Sherman, he did much execution, particularly upon the masses that were in the rear. Gen. Taylor placed all the regular cavalry and Capt. Pike's squadron of horse under the orders of Lieut.-Col. May, with directions to hold in check the enemy's column, still advancing to the rear along the base of the mountain. May posted himself north of the ravine, through which the enemy were moving toward Buena Vista, in order to charge them as they approached that place. The enemy, however, still continued to advance,

until almost the whole American artillery were playing upon them. At length, unable to stand the fearful slaughter, their ranks fell into confusion, some of the corps attempting to effect a retreat upon their main line of battle. To prevent this, the general ordered the first dragoons, under Lieut. Rucker, to ascend the deep ravine, which these corps were endeavoring to cross, and disperse them. The squadron, however, were unable to accomplish their object, in consequence of a heavy fire from a battery covering the enemy's retreat.

Meanwhile, a large body of lancers assembled on the extreme left of the Americans, for the purpose of charging upon Buena Vista. To support that point, Gen. Taylor ordered forward May, with two pieces of Sherman's battery. The scattered force at the hacienda were collected by Majs. Monroe and Morrison, and uniting with some of the troops of the Indiana regiment they were posted to defend the position. Before May could reach the village, the enemy had begun the attack. They were gallantly opposed by the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry, under Cols. Marshall and Yell. The shock was a heavy one. Col. Yell fell at the head of his column, and the Kentuckians lost Adj. Vaughn, a young officer of much promise. The enemy's column was separated into two portions, one sweeping by the American depot under a destructive fire from the Indiana troops, until they gained the mountains opposite, the other portion regaining the base of the mountain to the west. Lieut.-Col. May now reached Buena Vista, and approaching the base of the mountain, held in check the enemy's right flank, upon whose masses, crowded in the narrow gorges, and ravines, the artillery was doing fearful execution. The position of that portion of the Mexican army which had gained the American rear, was now so critical as to induce the belief that it would be forced to surrender. At the moment, however, when the artillery was thinning its ranks and May, after much maneuvering, was about charging their flank, a white flag was observed approaching the American headquarters, and Gen. Taylor ordered the firing to cease. The message was simply a demand from Santa Anna, requesting to know what the American general wanted. Gen. Wool was sent to have a personal interview with the Mexican general, but on reaching his lines was unable to stop his further advance, and returned to headquarters. The object of the Mexicans had, however, been accomplished—their extreme right moving along the base of the mountains, and joining the main army.

The roar of artillery, which had lasted from before sunrise, now partially ceased on the principal field, the enemy apparently confining his efforts to the protection of his artillery. Gen. Taylor had just left the main depot, when he was unexpectedly recalled by a heavy fire of musketry. On regaining his position, a stirring scene was presented. The Illinois troops and the Second Kentucky Infantry, had been attacked in a rugged defile by an over-



whelming force of both cavalry and infantry, and were now struggling alone against fearful odds. Could the enemy succeed in defeating these troops, they might renew the main attack with great advantage, and perhaps gain the day. To prevent the catastrophe, Capt. Bragg, who had just arrived from the left, was immediately ordered into battery. Feeling how important was every moment, that brave officer abandoned some of his heaviest carriages, and pushed forward with those that could move most rapidly. Gaining a point from which they could be used, he placed them in battery, and loaded with canister. His position was one of imminent peril. The supporting infantry had been routed by the superior numbers hurled against it, the advanced artillery captured, and the enemy, flushed with victory, were throwing their masses toward him. He appealed to the commanding-general for help—none was to be had. Nerving himself for his terrible duties, he returned to the battery, and spoke a few low, hurried words to his men. Silently, but firmly, they gathered around their pieces, and awaited orders. The commanding-general sat on horseback, gazing with thrilling intensity upon that handful of troops. After all the losses and triumphs of the day, victory had eluded their grasp to hang upon the approaching struggle. The cavalry were almost near enough to spring upon his guns, when Bragg gave the order to fire. Suddenly they halted, staggered a few paces, and then closed for the charge. The shouts of their supporting infantry followed the roar of artillery, and they again advanced. The cannoneers had marked the effect with feelings too intense to admit of outward expression, and rapidly reloading, they again poured forth a shower of grape. The effect was fearful; and Gen. Taylor, as he beheld the bleeding columns, felt that the day was his own. A third discharge completed the rout. Discipline gave way among the enemy to the confused flight of terrified hosts, as, pouring through the rugged passes, they trod each other down in their hurried course. One wild shout went up from the American army, broken at short intervals by the thunder of Bragg's artillery.

This final repulse was not accomplished without a melancholy loss. It fell heaviest on the Kentuckians, of whom Cols. McKee and Clay, of the Second Infantry, were both killed. The former fell amid some rocks, pierced with a mortal wound, and was subsequently hacked and mutilated by the enemy's bayonets. Lieut.-Col. Clay was wounded in the leg, and sat down near a rock. But his sorrowful followers rushed from their ranks, amid the enemy's fire, and bore him in their arms. Although the Mexicans pressed closely behind, the soldiers carried him until the road became so rugged, that two could scarcely walk together. He then begged them to leave him and take care of themselves, which they were at length compelled to do; two brave fellows remaining with him and sharing his fate. The Mexicans surrounded them, and as Clay defended himself with his sword, was stabbed to death with bay-

onets. The brave Col. Hardin, the pride of the Illinois troops, was killed in the same charge with McKee and Clay.

In the retreat of the enemy, a portion of the American infantry pursued them through a ravine so far, that they got out of supporting distance. On seeing this, the Mexicans suddenly wheeled round and attacked them. The infantry were in their turn driven back, taking the course of another ravine, at the end of which a body of the enemy were waiting to intercept them. Fortunately, while the cavalry were pursuing, they came within range of Washington's battery, which opening upon them with grape, drove back their column in confusion, and saved the exhausted fugitives.

This was the last struggle on the well-fought field of Buena Vista. For ten hours the battle had raged with unmitigated fury, and yet, strange to say, each army occupied the ground that it had early in the morning. As night crept among the rocky gorges, the wearied soldiers sank down on their arms upon the field. Although the air was very cold, the American army slept without fires, expecting a renewal of the attack early on the following morning. The night was one of horror. On every rock and in every defile, piles of dead and wounded lay, the latter writhing in torture, their wounds stiff and clotted with the chill air, while their piercing shrieks for aid, and supplications for water, made the night hideous. The whole medical staff were busy until morning, dressing wounds, amputating limbs, and removing the dead to Saltillo. The wolves and jackals stole from the caverns of the mountains, and howled in startling chorus over the banquet prepared for them by man.

The forces engaged in the battle of Buena Vista, according to the official reports, were, to be exact, on the American side, 4,760 men, of whom 344 were officers. The entire regular force was two squadrons of cavalry, and three batteries of light artillery—in all about 450 men. Mexican force, as stated by Santa Anna himself, was 20,000. The Americans lost 267 killed, 456 wounded, and 23 missing. Santa Anna admitted a loss of 1,500, which doubtless was far below the actual number. More than 500 of his dead were left upon the field unburied. A writer, speaking of the loss sustained in the battle by the Americans, said: "The list of the killed and wounded on the American side, is a mournful proof of the ferocity and violence which characterized this severe conflict, and a sad testimonial of the chivalry and fearlessness of the American soldiery. Sixty-five commissioned officers killed and wounded in so small an army exhibits a proportion

and result unparalleled in the history of war."

Considerable space has been devoted to the battle of Buena Vista. This is deemed appropriate, and but a simple act of justice to the large number of Kentucky soldiers who participated in it. No troops bore a more prominent and important part in the stubbornly contested struggle, than the First Kentucky Cavalry, and the Second Kentucky Infantry. The first left its brave young adjutant dead on the field, and the latter its first and second officers in command, while the rank and file were piled in slaughtered heaps. The charge in which McKee and Clay fell was the saddest event in results of the battle-fatigued day, and their death was a melancholy blow to their comrades, and a serious loss to their State. Of Col. Marshall's cavalry, Gen. Taylor, in his official report of the battle, said: "The Kentucky cavalry, under Col. Marshall, rendered good service, dismounted, acting as light troops on our left, and afterward, with a portion of the Arkansas regiment, in meeting and dispersing the column of Mexicans at Buena Vista village." Of the same regiment, Gen. Wool in his report said: "Col. Marshall rendered gallant and important service both as commander of the riflemen in the mountain, where he and his men were very effective, and as the commander of his own regiment, in connection with those of the Arkansas regiment, under Col. Yell, after the latter's death under Lieut.-Col. Roane, in their operations against the enemy's lancers." But Kentucky troops need no argument to prove their valor—it has been tested upon too many bloody fields. In Marshall's regiment (330 strong) 27 were killed, and 34 wounded; in McKee's regiment (571 strong) 44 were killed, 57 wounded. This sad record tells the story of their part in the battle.

While the battle of Buena Vista was raging a portion of the Louisville Legion and a portion of Col. Morgan's Second Ohio Infantry was fighting Gen. Urrea at Mier, twenty-five miles from Monterey. The Mexican general had attempted to cut off and destroy a heavy wagon train belonging to the army at Buena

Vista, and the Kentucky and Ohio troops had been ordered to its rescue. The Mexicans succeeded in capturing and burning 300 wagons, but the re-enforcements arrived in time to save the balance of the train.

After the battle of Buena Vista, the Kentucky troops took no active part in the Mexican war, except the company of Capt. Williams, which was attached to the Sixth United States Infantry. It participated in the battle of Cerro Gordo, and for its gallant conduct and that of its commander, won the highest praise. He attained and still bears the sobriquet of "old Cerro Gordo" Williams. The term of service of the first regiments expired some time after the battle of Buena Vista, while those recruited under the last call for troops did not arrive in Mexico until the hard fighting was over. Hence the remainder of the war has but little interest in the history of Kentucky. The city of Mexico fell in September, 1847, but the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was not consummated until February 2, 1848, and peace reigned once more between the two countries.

On their return home the soldiers were received with every mark of affection, and tendered, as they well deserved, the enthusiastic welcome of the people. Public dinners, old-fashioned barbecues, flattering eulogiums and patriotic speeches were profusely showered upon them; the press vied with the orators of the period in praises of the heroic deeds of our volunteer soldiery. But the joy of the returned warriors was marred by the absence of many of their comrades who came not back; whose bones they had left to molder into dust on the banks of the Rio Grande, at Monterey, in the gorges of Buena Vista, on the heights of Cerro Gordo, and around the walls of the City of Mexico. Most of the Kentucky dead, however, were afterward brought home for interment, especially those who fell at Buena Vista, under an act of the legislature. In the summer of 1847, they were buried in the State Cemetery at Frankfort, with the honors of war. Included in the proceedings, was the recitation of a poem written especially for the occasion by Theodore O'Hara, and which has since im-

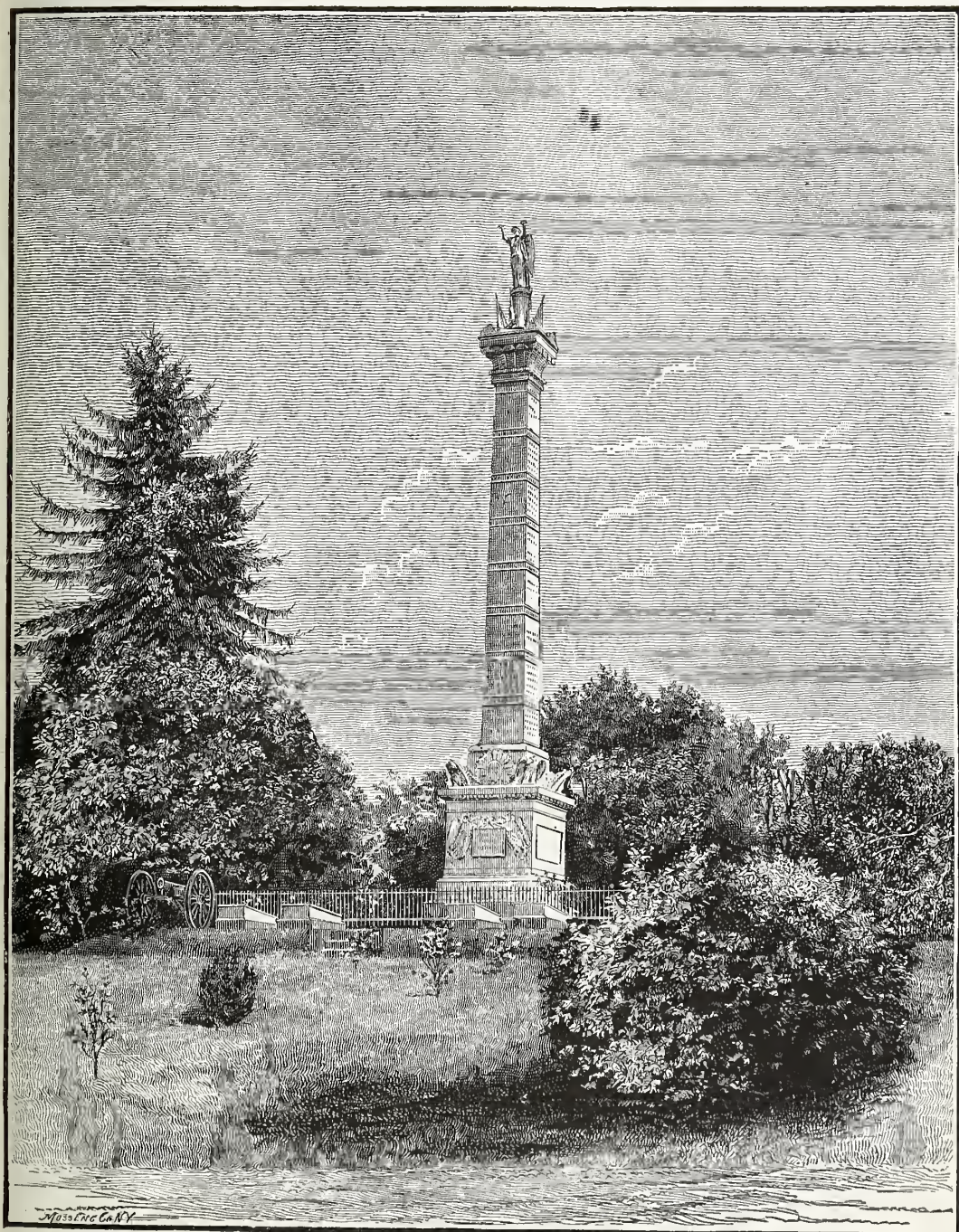


mortalized his name. The first stanza of this poem (which is entitled "The Bivouac of the Dead") is familiar to thousands of people throughout the country, who do not know its origin or author. It is as follows:

The muffled drum's sad roll has beat  
The soldier's last tattoo;  
No more on life's parade shall meet  
The brave and daring few.  
On fame's eternal camping ground  
Their silent tents are spread,  
And glory guards with solemn round  
The bivouac of the dead.

A magnificent monument—one of the handsomest soldiers' monuments in the United States—has been erected to their memory and that of other Kentucky heroes, in the State in the public cemetery. Upon the four sides of the stately column are inscribed the names and battles of the heroic dead whose graves are grouped around its base. The monument stands upon one of the loveliest spots in the cemetery (a high bluff) and overlooks the beautiful river which bears the name of the State. It is a loving tribute to heroic worth.





SOLDIERS' MONUMENT, FRANKFORT.





## CHAPTER XV.

## FIRST PHASES OF THE CIVIL WAR IN KENTUCKY.

THE "cause" which led to the war of the rebellion has been so elaborately discussed by its friends and opponents as to enshrine it in the minds of the whole people. However fallacious may have been the arguments used by the prime movers to bring about the secession of those States which declared themselves free and independent prior to the inauguration of President Lincoln, they proved effective in producing that result. Henceforth the "cause" was the cause of State sovereignty, and those who favored as well as those who opposed secession as a means for redressing grievances, were united in the attempt to form a confederacy in order that they might the more effectually resist coercion.

Thus the primal evil, slavery, depending upon the principle of State sovereignty and the right of secession, was followed by the organization of the Confederacy, and when, in resistance to the proclamation of the president of the United States commanding them to return to their allegiance, they defied his authority, the "cause" assumed the name and character of a war for independence.

It is worse than folly to ridicule the uprising of a great people to assert their independence, and, if need be, to die in the defense of their homes and firesides. Hallowed in the memories of thousands of hearts by the blood of loved ones sacrificed upon its altar, the "lost cause" is to-day, after the lapse of many years, loved as fondly and enshrined as fully as when its brave and devoted adherents bore its tattered banner through four years of carnage, furling it at last amid the desolation of ruined homes and fair fields laid waste, and embalming it in the tears of a proud though prostrate people.

It is the purpose of the pages which follow to confine the narrative strictly to the relation of events in the order in which they occurred, relying for their accuracy upon contemporaneous records now on file in the war department at Washington. The history of these events cannot be written without bringing into prominence the courage and fidelity of Kentuckians, whose graves billow nearly every battle-field from the Mississippi to the sea; but the object will be to allow their glorious record to speak for itself, confident that the highest praise that can be awarded them will be a faithful chronicle of their heroic achievements. While many will doubtless regret that the lives of the Kentuckians sacrificed in the cause of the Confederacy were not given to the Union, and that the Breckinridges, Marshalls, Johnstons, Clays, Williamses and Buckners, names illustrious in the annals of the State and nation, did not present themselves, a living wall, against the tide of secession, which beat against but never submerged Kentucky, still, in the picture, as it presents itself, they will recognize the well known features of Nelson, Crittenden, Jackson, Harlan, Watkins, Rousseau, Whitaker, Price, Croxton, Kelly and a host of others, who stood in solid phalanx, breasting the assault until the State took its place in line in favor of the Union; while outlined against the sky, at the head of the nation, struggling to establish its authority over a re-united country, is the loved and honored form of that other Kentuckian, Abraham Lincoln.

Fondness for military distinction has always been a characteristic of the American people. Service in her armies at all periods having been voluntarily performed, the uniform of the soldier had come to be regarded as the insignia of



heroism, rather than the badge of servitude. The national flag had waved over many a hotly contested field, but had always pointed to ultimate victory, and wars had been sufficiently frequent to secure to the survivors of one, promotion in the one succeeding, and to preserve the traditions of military prowess fresh in the memory of a brave and grateful populace. The commander-in-chief of the United States army was himself the hero of two wars, and many of his comrades in arms were still living, the honored patriarchs of cities and towns that had succeeded the savage wilderness in which many of their deeds of prowess had been performed.

The period which followed the war with Mexico had witnessed the organization of military companies in all parts of the country, fostered by the State, and commanded by the veterans of Buena Vista, Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec which, in point of discipline, drill and martial bearing, were the pride and glory of the people at large. To these organizations the thoughts of the people of both sections now naturally turned, and their confidence was not misplaced, for many a regiment, which gained distinction in either army for efficiency upon the field and good conduct in the camp, owes its success to the faithful drilling it received at the hands of the officers furnished by the militia of the States. Every State was provided with a staff department, appointed by the governor, and an arsenal of military stores.

Notwithstanding the fact that John C. Breckinridge was the favorite son of Kentucky, a member of one of its prominent and influential families, and a man of most winning address and persuasive eloquence, the official record of the votes polled in his native State, when he was a candidate for the presidency, shows that the people had already begun to distrust the wing of the party of which he was the especial champion. The vote stood:

For Bell.....	65,913
For Douglas.....	25,442
For Breckinridge.....	52,936
For Lincoln.....	1,366
Total.....	145,657

—a majority of nearly two to one against him. The proclamation of President Lincoln, calling for 75,000 men to suppress the rebellion, had the effect to determine the political bias of every thinking mind in the United States, except in Kentucky. Yet the facts were unmistakable that a rebellion had been inaugurated by the secession of six States; that the flag at Fort Sumter had been fired upon; and that the president of the United States had determined to restore the supremacy of the national government over all the territory of the United States. In response to the call upon the State for its quota of troops, on the 15th of April, 1861, Gov. Magoffin said: "Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States." This action of the governor was endorsed at an immense meeting held on the 20th, at Louisville, where speeches were made by the Hon. James Guthrie, Hon. Archie Dixon, Hon. John Young Brown, Judge Bullock and Judge Nicholas, and a resolution was unanimously adopted encouraging him to resist the general government. On the 24th, Gov. Magoffin issued a proclamation calling on the State to place herself in a condition of defense, and convening the legislature on the 6th of May following, "to take such action as may be necessary for the general welfare."

A period of intense anxiety intervened between the date of the proclamation of the governor, convening the legislature, and its meeting on the 6th of May. Public meetings were held at Lexington and other places, at which members of the legislature were instructed as to the wishes of their constituents, while the question of union or secession became the all absorbing topic of conversation at every fireside. The position as idle spectators of a conflict in which each had an interest, a position they were compelled to occupy by the action of the apostle of peace, was exceedingly distasteful to the youth of the State, whose martial tastes were inherited from a bold, spirited ancestry. They were the descendants of the pioneer whose inflexible courage in wresting Kentucky from the grasp of the savages had been

isplayed in deeds of daring, fresh in the memories of men still living. Their sires had borne an honorable part in all the struggles in which their country had engaged, and to be kept at home like women, while their neighbors in other States were winning fame at the cannon's mouth, was a position which they regarded as pusillanimous and unworthy of a Kentuckian.

Fearing that their native State might succeed in maintaining its neutrality, large numbers of young men about this time, instigated by the leaders of the secession movement, left the State under command of Thomas Taylor and Blanton Duncan, and offered their services to the Confederate States. They were, for the most part, sons of slaveholders, whose interest in the institution of slavery prompted in their minds a profound distrust of the party at the north, whose chief design they believed to be to subdue the Southern States, hold them as conquered provinces, and liberate the slaves. In wealth, courtesy of manner, and social standing, they were the peers of any in the land, while in intellectual endowments they ranged from the alumni of Yale and Harvard down to the youngster, whose most noteworthy accomplishments were to read and write and ride a horse. They had many of the attributes of knight-errantry. Brave, even to recklessness, faithful to the cause they espoused, and true to their leaders, they followed the fortunes of the Confederacy, from the opening gun at Fort Donelson to the surrender of Johnston's army, with a steadfastness of purpose never excelled.

Viewed from the standpoint of unconditional loyalty to the national government, it appears incredible that intelligent men should have held the opinion and openly proclaimed it, that a single State could be able to hold 700 miles of border, lying between two immense contending forces, sacred from the tread of hostile feet. Yet facts warrant the belief that some regarded the position tenable. Encouraged by the attitude assumed alike by friends of the Union and of the Confederacy, united upon a platform of neutrality in the approaching

struggle, Gov. Magoffin, on the 20th of May, issued a proclamation forbidding any movement of troops upon Kentucky soil, or the occupation of any part or place therein for any purpose whatever. The Kentucky senate indorsed the position, taken by the governor on the 24th, by resolving that "the State will not sever her connection with the general government, nor take up arms for either belligerent party, but will arm herself for the protection of peace within her borders, and tender her services as a mediator to effect a just and honorable peace." But the advocates of neutrality at the capital "builded wiser than they knew." Time was gained by the Union men to place themselves in a position of defense against any forcible means that might be adopted by the governor and his secession advisers to consummate their designs.

The latter, headed by John C. Breckinridge and other prominent men, were untiring in their efforts to induce the legislature to inaugurate the measures which had proved effectual in other States, confident that if the question could be brought for decision at the polls, the State militia, under command of Gen. S. B. Buckner, would secure favorable action. Meanwhile the people of eastern Kentucky, unlike the masses in the Gulf States, accustomed to think and act for themselves, had ignored the neutral position adopted by the politicians, and had taken sides either with the Union or the Confederacy, and an overwhelming majority were unconditionally in favor of the national government. The eyes of these people had turned with grave apprehension to the position of their neighbors in east Tennessee, whose steadfast loyalty no threats had been able to shake, and, profiting by the experience of that State, determined that Kentucky should not be bound hand and foot before she had had an opportunity to assert herself at the polls.

On the 27th a border State convention, composed of leading men from Kentucky and Missouri, met at Frankfort, Ky., and on the 8th of June issued two addresses: one to the people of the United States, and the other to the people of Kentucky. In the address first



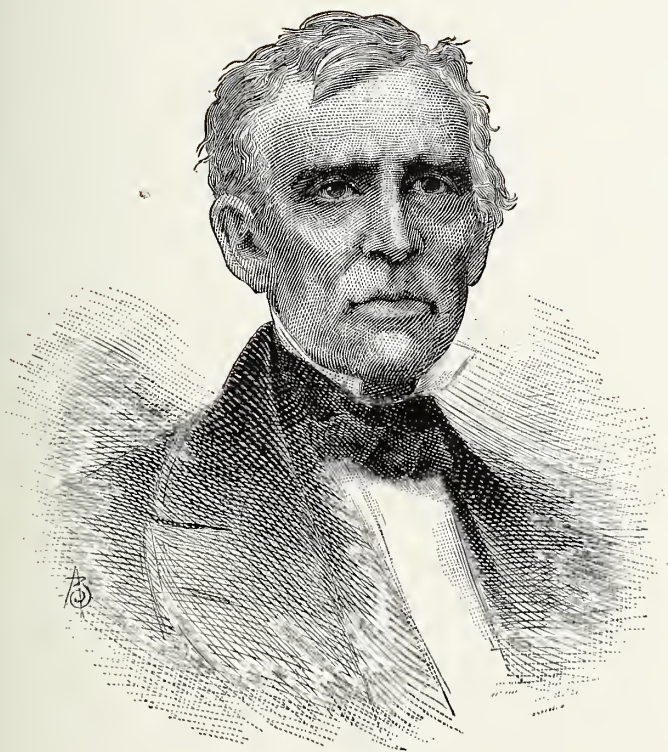
mentioned the convention said: "The obligation exists to maintain the constitution of the United States, and to preserve the Union unimpaired," and suggested that something ought to be done to "quiet apprehension in the slave States that already adhere to the Union." The address was signed by Hon. J. J. Crittenden, president, and James Guthrie, R. K. Williams, Archibald Dixon, F. M. Bristow, Joshua F. Bell, C. A. Wickliffe, G. W. Dunlap, J. F. Robinson, John B. Huston, and Robert Richardson, of Kentucky; H. R. Gamble, W. A. Hall, J. B. Henderson and W. G. Pomeroy, of Missouri; and John Caldwell, of Tennessee.

The Kentucky members then united in an address to the people of their own State. After endorsing the action of the governor and the legislature, and denying that the position of neutrality resulted from timidity, for proof of which they appealed to history, the delegates say: "It is a proud and grand thing for Kentucky to say, as she can truthfully in the face of the world—'we had no hand in this thing, our skirts are clear,' and asks: 'Is this not an attitude worthy of a great people, and do not her position and safety require her to maintain it?'" But the people were fast deciding the question otherwise. Families were divided in sentiment, fathers against sons, brothers against brothers, and ties of friendship, which had existed for a life-time, were powerless to restrain the demon of discord that reigned supreme. Self constituted recruiting officers for each side hoisted the banner of their choice, often in the same town, and the strange and unnatural spectacle was presented of brothers enlisting under opposing flags. In fact, there is scarcely a family of prominence in the State that did not contribute soldiers to both armies. It has been well said that "the outposts of an army mark the lines where the sphere of party politics ends." The time for action had come; the people had chosen sides.

The anomalous position of the neutrality party in Kentucky, in 1861, has made it the subject of much unfavorable comment. As a party it never had an existence. The dis-

cordant elements that composed it in April and May had produced disintegration in June. Its waxen wings, union and secession had melted beneath the penetrating sunlight of a heated political contest for control of the legislature, and, while both thereafter used it as a shield, neither had any confidence in the ability of the State to maintain her neutrality by force of arms. The Union again divided after the election—which resulted in seating a majority of Union men in the legislature—into active and passive Union men. The former were willing to make any sacrifice to support the national government in the struggle for life, while the latter, preferring the Union to the Confederacy were still anxious to preserve the State from the horrors of civil war. Chief among the former were Hon. Garrett Davis, Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, Lieut. William Nelson, James S. Jackson, S. G. Burbridge, Hon. John W. Finnell, Thomas L. Crittenden, Joshua F. Speed, Hon. Joseph Holt, Judge Goodloe, Hon. C. C. Burton, W. T. Ward, J. T. Boyle, John B. Bruner, John M. Harlan, James Speed, Speed S. Fry, L. E. Rousseau, W. C. Whitaker, and many others.

Hon. John J. Crittenden, a life long Whig, the cherished friend of Henry Clay, was the acknowledged leader of the peace party. As a man he was loved and honored, and as statesman he was held in reverence by the people of his State and nation. During long public career his voice had never sounded an uncertain note when the honor of his country had been involved. Untainted by the political atmosphere of the capitol at Washington, he had preserved his integrity and led a blameless life in the midst of a conspiracy that impatiently bided its time to accomplish its ends. The siren songs of the secessionists, that had ensnared many weaker men from the border States, had no charms for this incorruptible patriot; the dogma of "State rights," which precipitated ten States into rebellion against the authority of the national government, formed no part of his political creed. He loved the Union as only a great-hearted statesman can love his country, recognizing no section as paramount in his



JOHN J. CRITTENDEN.





fections, and from the first approach of the light of rebellion, which now enveloped the South, his influence had been exerted toward conciliating the men whom he still regarded as his misguided brethren. Animated solely by the lofty purpose of reuniting the North and South, Mr. Crittenden and his co-workers hoped and believed that a general war could be avoided. That they continued to believe so long after the fact was patent to every one else that the war had actually begun must be attributed to the inflexibility of purpose that had always been a characteristic of the courageous leader. The war was deemed so causeless, so wicked, and without the shadow of provocation, that the masses that followed Mr. Crittenden believed, with him, that something might be done to avert the horrible calamities that all felt must follow a general war; but there was a time when these men hesitated as to the duty of Kentucky and her purpose, when the time for action should come, if come it must. The following extract from a recent letter, written by Gen. John. W. Finnell to the author, conveys an intelligent idea of the estimation in which the followers of Mr. Crittenden are still held:

The love for the Union, which filled the hearts of the old Whig or Union and Douglas democrats of Kentucky, was unspeakably ardent and earnest, and at no period was it more intense and abiding than at this time. The position of the Union men in Kentucky was exceptional, the entire military organization of the State was under the control of the rebel interest; and with the exception of 5,000 muskets, furnished by the government, they were without arms, and totally without organization.

They were strangers to war. While their faith in the good sense and patriotism of the great mass of the people had been realized at the polls, the conviction that the war was a struggle for the existence of the nation came upon them but slowly. Besides, very soon became manifest that, to a vast number of Union men, it meant the sacrifice of nearly every tie of interest and consanguinity. Neutrality, therefore, was an expedient, and deemed of value, in the hope—in the poetic and fervid imagination of that day—that there, “on the bosom of the first born of the Union, unstained by fratricidal blood, the altar might be built upon which the mad passions of both sections might be burned to ashes;” and it is altogether possible that less imaginative patriots regarded it as an exceedingly proper thing, until they could obtain another supply of “Lincoln guns.”

There never was in all history a more heroic spirit of self-sacrifice than that which animated the Union people of Kentucky in that struggle, from the attack upon Fort Sumter to the surrender of Fort Donelson. There never was a wiser statesmanship or more masterly diplomacy than was displayed by the Union leaders during the long season of doubt in the summer of 1861. Nothing was clearer, even then, than that, if the war became general, national success meant the sacrifice of an immense property interest; that the position of the State with the national government involved the sacrifice of friends, the separation of families, possibly to the Union people a surrender of their homes, the work of a lifetime of care and labor, and with that, expatriation from the land they dearly loved.

Stigmatized as Abolitionists and Submissionists, and with every epithet made hateful by their education, history and traditions, the Union men worked steadily on, until by their wisdom and courage they were able at last to encircle the commonwealth within the arms of her loyal people, and thus save her to the nation.

Another formidable class of people, by reason of their wealth and influence, was composed of citizens who, while they had no intention of taking up arms for the secession of the State or for the Southern Confederacy, sympathized with the cause for which the South had rebelled, and were styled Southern-rights people. This class comprised a large portion of the slaveholders in central Kentucky, and became more numerous toward the southwest, until in that portion of the State bordering upon Tennessee, and lying between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers, known as the “Purchase,” almost the entire population were in full sympathy with the rebellion. To this class either government was acceptable, provided their right to hold slaves was guaranteed. The establishment of a southern confederacy, based upon this right, had at first presented the attractive feature of permanent protection to this species of property. The conciliatory measures adopted by State and national legislative assemblies toward the South, followed by the spontaneous uprising of the northern people in response to the call of the president, without regard to the former political alliances, convinced many that, in the event of a general war, self-interest pointed to a passive resistance to the appeals of either party to the contest.



A proclamation of emancipation at that time would have precipitated Kentucky into secession, with no power in the hands of the Union men to avert it. But thus far, the slavery question had been ignored in the measures adopted by Mr. Lincoln for the suppression of the rebellion, and the belief that the ultimate triumph of the national government would leave slavery untouched, at least in those States that had not taken up arms against the government, prompted many slaveholders to remain neutral, and even to discourage enlistments in the Confederate army, while they cordially sympathized with the cause for which the Southern States contended.

This belief, however, was by no means general. The prophetic soul of Mr. Yancey and other southern orators, who from time to time visited Kentucky, aided by native secessionists, scouted the idea that the Republican party of the North, having elected a president by an overwhelming majority, would accept half-way measures in dealing with slavery, if they should in the end find themselves in position to dictate terms of peace to a vanquished enemy. The advocates of secession, appealing to the chivalric impulses of their hearers, urged upon them their duty to stand by their "southern brethren who were engaged in battling for rights that were as dear to Kentuckians as to themselves," and asked if they were indeed degenerated sons of the brave pioneers who had shouldered their trusty rifles and marched through the pathless wilderness northward to the great lakes to avenge the atrocities of the Indians committed upon the infant settlements in Ohio.

It will thus be seen that the people in this portion of the State were divided into discordant factions. The masses, distracted by alternate hopes and fears, doubtful as to their duty, were subjected by the constant harangues of some who pleaded with them to stand by the national government at all hazards, and of others to join the fortunes of the young Confederacy, in whose cause they had an equal interest. They were urged by the secession wing of the neutrality party to

maintain an attitude of armed resistance to national authority, but to remain in the Union wing of the same party, to remain true to the Union and to the government, but to abstain from any act that would involve an invasion of the State from either side.

It now became the fixed purpose of the general government to protect the loyal citizens of Kentucky and Tennessee in their constitutional rights, and to this end, on the 27th of June, an order was issued at the War Department forming the States of Kentucky and Tennessee into a military district, under the command of Brig-Gen. Robert Anderson, who was directed to send an officer to each of these States to muster into the service of the United States 10,000 men. Arms and accoutrements and an ample supply of ammunition were ordered to Cincinnati, for the outfit of that number of men; and to transport their equipments to their destination, he was authorized to muster into the service of the United States four regiments in southern Kentucky. The officer designated for this duty was Lieut. William Nelson, of the United States navy.

After conference with prominent national Union men in the adjoining counties, Nelson determined to locate his camp of instruction in Garrard County, on the farm of Mr. D. Robinson (a firm adherent to the government) at the junction of the Danville turnpike with the pike leading from Nicholasville to Crab Orchard, in the direction of Cumberland Gap. A rich and fertile country under a high state of cultivation surrounded the camp. A fair proportion of the inhabitants were friendly to the enterprise, many of whom were ardent supporters of the national government. Nicholasville, eight miles distant, was the southern terminus of the Kentucky Central Railroad, connecting it with Cincinnati, while only twelve miles farther north, on the line of the same road, is the city of Lexington, located in the center of that beautiful portion of Kentucky known as "the Blue Grass Region."

From Lexington, two railroads were in operation—the one to Louisville and the other to Cincinnati—while broad turnpikes

ads led by various routes to the Ohio River. With these separate routes for the transportation of supplies, communication with the base at Cincinnati was regarded as secure. In case the railroad bridges should be burned by the secessionists, the turnpikes to Maysville and other points afforded access to the north. Between the camp and Nicholasville, on the Kentucky River, the precipitous banks and deep gorges of which afforded many good positions for successful resistance in case an attack from a superior force, advancing from the southeast, made it necessary for the recruits to fall back before they were efficiently well organized to protect themselves in the open country.

Lieut. William Nelson, United States navy, the officer chosen to perform the delicate and difficult task of establishing a camp and organizing a brigade of Union soldiers on Kentucky soil in opposition to the judgment of the disloyal Union men, was a man eminently fitted for the undertaking. The times were turbulent; murder, unwhipt of justice, stalked through the land. The State guard, 10,000 strong, under the leadership of Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner, was under a high state of discipline, thoroughly equipped and ably commanded. Many of the companies comprised in the organization would have responded to the call of the commander to disperse from the newly organized camp, and this order doubtless would have been issued if troops from the northern States had joined the camp.

By virtue of authority vested in him by the war department, Nelson issued commissions, bearing date July 15, 1861, to William Landrum, of Lancaster, Ky., to raise a cavalry regiment, and to Theophilus T. Garrard, Thomas E. Bramlette and Speed S. Polk to raise three regiments of infantry. Messrs. W. A. Hoskins, G. C. Kniffin and George L. Dobbins were subsequently commissioned as staff officers.

Soon after the preliminary meeting at Lancaster, where the above-named gentlemen were empowered to raise regiments for the United States service, Nelson returned to Cincinnati to make arrangements for supplies

for his camp, and active preparations for recruiting were immediately begun by the officers named, and the subordinates selected by them to assist in their work.

Not long after the work was commenced, an effort was made, upon the part of several prominent politicians in different parts of the State, to postpone the whole movement upon the ground of its inexpediency, in view of the fact that it might be construed as a menace by the States then in rebellion, and precipitate an invasion of Kentucky by the forces then known to be assembled near the State line in Tennessee. Col. Landrum was notified that, at a meeting of those having authority to act in the matter, it was agreed to postpone the organization of the troops, and he was requested to notify the other officers accordingly. Lieut. Nelson was notified promptly of this movement, and in a letter dated Cincinnati, Ohio, July 28, 1861, he wrote Col. Landrum as follows: "the expedition is neither postponed nor abandoned. So far from suspending operations, I earnestly desire that they may be urged on with the utmost energy. If the idea of postponement or abandonment has been spread among your people, that idea must be corrected. I shall assemble the brigade and muster it into service as soon as possible."

Immediately on receipt of this letter, Col. Landrum communicated its contents to the other officers, the work of recruiting was resumed, and on the day after the August election the troops began to arrive at camp Dick Robinson. Bramlette, Fry and Garrard were on hand to take command of their respective regiments; while Landrum, preferring the infantry to the cavalry, concluded to turn his regiment over to Lieut.-Col. Wolford, and to raise an infantry regiment at Harrodsburg, Ky., in the meantime acting as adjutant-general for Gen. Nelson for several weeks after his arrival.

The officers named, with the assistance of recruiting officers throughout the country in which the camp was located, prosecuted the business intrusted to them with such energy and success that by the middle of August the required number to fill each regiment



were in camp ready for muster into the service. The difficulty in obtaining clothing and camp and garrison equipage now began. The equipment of the immense armies of the United States, now numbering 500,000 men, had caused such demands upon the manufacturing establishments of the country, that it was impossible to fill the oft-repeated requisitions made by Nelson upon the quartermaster's department. In the absence of tents, the recruits were assigned quarters under the wide-spreading branches of a grove of maples, where exposure to the elements rendered it necessary to erect a hospital at an early date. The light clothing they had worn to camp in the expectation of exchanging it for the blue uniform of the army soon succumbed to the wear and tear of camp life, and flags of truce were displayed by many a doughty warrior, who would have been the last to exhibit it if confronted by the enemy.

Recruiting in the country southward and eastward from the camp was comparatively easy. The country is mountainous, and the inhabitants were on equal terms with reference to wealth and social standing. There were few slaveholders, and the people, accustomed to independence of thought, word, and deed, had exercised the right to form their own conclusions upon the question of secession. The latent loyalty existing in the breast of every true American, being untrammelled by interest in the institution of slavery, or by the influence of secession orators, who early found themselves confronted by Union men possessing greater power with the people, asserted itself. Ready to engage in an enterprise that promised relief to their loyal neighbors across the Tennessee border, whose persecution by the State authorities at this time had awakened a thrill of indignation throughout the country, they enrolled their names under the banner of their country. Owing to this fact, it came about that the regiments of Wolford, Garrard and Bramlette were recruited largely from the counties adjacent to the northern line of Tennessee.

The traditional courage of the mountaineers of all countries was exhibited by these

splendid regiments in their subsequent career. They participated in nearly all the battles fought by the armies of the Cumberland and the Tennessee, and whether with Rosecrans at Stone River and Chickamauga, with Grant at Black River Bridge and Vicksburg, or with Sherman through 100 days of battle to the capture of Atlanta, they were everywhere complimented for courage and endurance.

In Kentucky, the act of the legislature which united the military companies of the State, many of which had been for years under a high state of drill and military discipline, into a homogeneous whole, became law in March, 1860, by the approval of the governor. The act was drafted by Simon Bolivar Buckner, a graduate of West Point, whose military tastes and education eminently qualified him to become the leader of the organization. By the provisions of the act the citizens of the State, capable of bearing arms, were divided into three classes, entitled, respectively, "The Militia of Reserve," "The Enrolled Militia," and "The Active Volunteer Militia." The first named embraced all white male persons under eighteen and over forty-five; the second, all able-bodied white men between those ages; and "The Volunteer Militia or State Guard," were organized into companies, battalions, brigade divisions, and army corps, with uniforms and equipments complete. The organization so embraced all the independent military companies of the State, regardless of the political opinions of the members. The time had not yet come for any interference with the choice of the companies as to their commanders, and in some instances, the opening of hostilities found some of the most efficient companies commanded by strong Union men. In Lexington there were three companies, commanded respectively by Capts. S. W. Price, Sanders Bruce and John H. Morgan. The two former became colonels in the Union army, while the latter became renowned as commander of a division of southern cavalry.

Gen. Buckner, as inspector-general, had power to disband all such companies as failed to conform to his view of military propriety.

us concentrating in him a power of subordinating all officers to his will. Thomas L. Crittenden, a gallant officer in the Mexican war and son of Hon. John J. Crittenden, was elected brigadier-general.

Another military organization, though less imposing in its form, was destined to wield powerful influence in shaping the destiny

Kentucky in the impending struggle. This was "The Home Guard." Loosely organized military companies sprang into existence in nearly every neighborhood and in many of the large towns. The imminence of revolution induced the city authorities of Louisville to take the initiative in the matter, and an ordinance was passed by the city council, approved by Mayor Delph, based upon a vague provision of the city charter, which authorized the organization of the first Home Guard Battalion, in May, 1861.

Abner H. Rousseau was first appointed brigadier-general, but preferring service in the United States army, he was succeeded by James Speed. The ordinance provided for two regiments, with the necessary complement of field and staff officers. The regiments were filled to their maximum strength. The Marion Rifles, a company in the State Guard, joined the Home Guard, and the brigade held the field against all comers.

There was an element of weakness in the State Guard that the Home Guard was not called upon to encounter. In the former there was no settled principal of action. Its ranks were filled with men embracing conflicting opinions upon union and secession. The Home Guard was a unit in favor of the Union, and in its readiness to fight for

In addition to this, Gen. Buckner had much difficulty in supplying his men with arms. Dr. Blackburn, since governor of the State, purchased a quantity in the South, but they proved to be worthless, and notwithstanding his assertion that, "they are good enough for neutrals," the men refused to receive them. Gen. Speed was supplied by Lieut. Nelson, and the array of volunteers on the streets of Louisville, borne by a brigade of men, whose pluck and willingness to use them was well known, had an

exceedingly quieting effect upon the turbulent spirits.

Thus was the position of the Union party in Kentucky strengthened by its adherents to the policy of neutrality, while yet the machinery of the State government was manipulated by men who were inimical to the United States government, and in sympathy with that of the Confederate States. Fallacious and almost ridiculous as that policy was, and as it was admitted to be, even then, by men who only awaited the result of the August elections to declare their allegiance to one flag or the other, it served its purpose in preventing hostilities within the State, and in securing to the Union men time for organization and preparation to resist secession in case the election should result in seating a majority of "southern-rights" men in the legislature.

This view of the situation was plainly stated to President Lincoln, and received his cordial sanction, and, while he made no movement to acquiesce in the views of the timid Union men who urged the removal of the troops in course of enlistment and organization at camp Dick Robinson, he left the management of Kentucky affairs entirely in the hands of the Union men of the State.

On the 4th of June, Gen. Scott telegraphed McClellan that it was "deemed unwise by the government to send to Kentucky a commander of troops, not native or resident of the State," and, probably owing to the physical disability of Gen. Anderson, suggested Col. L. H. Rousseau, commander of the Louisville Home Guard, and to take command of the Kentucky department. To this communication McClellan replied as follows: "In view of the necessity of managing affairs in Kentucky with great delicacy until the election shall have passed and a Union legislature is in power, I would respectfully suggest that for the present, at least, no successor be appointed to Gen. Anderson, and that, as I am in quite close communication with the principal men, the matter be left for a time in my hands."

Gen. McClellan had, as early as the 8th of May, met Gen. S. B. Buckner, inspector-



general and real commander of the Kentucky State Guards, and entered into an agreement with him to respect the neutrality of Kentucky so far as to agree not to occupy any portion of the State except to respond to the call of the governor to assist in expelling the rebels from the State, in case they should attempt to occupy points within its borders.

Whatever may have been the motives that actuated Gen. Buckner in making the treaty, it is evident from the following correspondence that Gen. McClellan fully intended to abide by it.

McClellan to Townsend, June 11:

\* \* \* \* "Gen. Buckner came to see me on Friday last. We sat up all night talking about matters of common interest. Buckner gave me his word that should any Tennessee troops cross the frontier of Kentucky, he would use all the forces at his disposal to drive them out, and, failing in that, would call on me for assistance. He went to Tennessee, after leaving me, to present that view to Gov. Harris." \* \* \* \*

Buckner to Magoffin, June 10:

"On the 8th inst., at Cincinnati, Ohio, I entered into an arrangement with Gen. George B. McClellan, commander of all the United States troops north of the Ohio River, to the following effect: The authorities of the State of Kentucky are to protect the United States property within the limits of the State; to enforce the laws of the United States in accordance with the interpretation of the United States courts, as far as those laws may be applicable to Kentucky, and to enforce, with all the power of the State, our obligations of neutrality as against the southern States, as long as the position we have assumed shall be respected by the United States. Gen. McClellan stipulates that the territory of Kentucky shall be respected on the part of the United States, even if the southern States should occupy it; but, in the latter case, he will call upon the authorities of Kentucky to remove the southern forces. I have stipulated in that case to advise him of the inability of Kentucky to comply with her obligations, and to invite him to dislodge the Southern forces. He stipulates that, if suc-

cessful in so doing, he will withdraw forces from the territory of the State as soon as the southern forces shall be removed. Should the administration hereafter adopt a different policy, he is to give me timely notice of the fact."

McClellan to Lieut. Nelson, United States navy, June 26:

"My interview with Buckner was personal, not official. It was solicited by him more than once. I made no stipulation on the part of the general government, and regard his voluntary promise to drive out the Confederate troops as the only result of the interview. His letter gives his own views, I think."

An opportunity soon occurred to test the sincerity of each of the high contracting parties, as explained in the letters which follow.

McClellan to Buckner, June 11:

"I have information, apparently reliable, that at least two Tennessee regiments have orders to move last night from camp Cheatham to Union City, thence, on being reinforced, to occupy, at once, Island No. 1, six miles below Cairo. I notify you of this in accordance with our understanding that you would not permit Tennessee troops to cross your frontier. Please reply at once whether you consider the island on the Kentucky side of the channel within the jurisdiction of Kentucky."

The same day he wrote Gov. Magoffin as follows:

"I have received information that Tennessee troops are under orders to occupy Island No. 1, six miles below Cairo. In accordance with my understanding with Gen. Buckner, I call upon you to prevent this step."

Magoffin to McClellan, June 11:

"Gen. Buckner has gone to Paducah and Columbus; his orders are to carry out his understanding with you. Am investigating the question of jurisdiction over the island to which you allude."

The following letter indicates that McClellan had determined to respect the neutrality position of Kentucky, even before the interview with Buckner. On the 7th of May he wrote Hon. John J. Crittenden as follows:

"The papers this morning state that Gen. Prentiss, commanding the United States forces at Cairo, Ill., has sent troops across the Ohio River into Kentucky. I have no official notice of such a movement, but I at once telegraphed Gen. Prentiss for the facts, and stated to him that if the report were true I disapproved his course, and ordered him to make no more such movements without my sanction previously obtained."

The establishment of a camp of United States soldiers on the soil of Kentucky naturally provoked a vigorous protest on the part of the governor of the State. In his anxiety to prevent hostilities within the State, which would inevitably bring upon it an army of troops from the northwest, he determined upon a simultaneous appeal to the Presidents of the United States and the Confederate States to aid him in averting the catastrophe. On the 19th of August, therefore, Gov. Magoffin accredited Messrs. W. A. Dudley and F. C. Hunt as commissioners on the part of the State of Kentucky to visit Washington and confer with President Lincoln in regard to the removal of the troops at Camp Dick Robinson. They were the bearers of a lengthy communication from Gov. Magoffin, asking that the troops should be removed beyond the limits of the State. To this President Lincoln replied in the following characteristic letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 24, 1861.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY B. MAGOFFIN, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF KENTUCKY.

*Sir*:—Your letter of the 19th inst., in which you urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military force now organized, and in camp within said State," is received.

I may not possess full and precisely accurate knowledge upon this subject, but I believe it is true that there is a military force in camp within Kentucky, acting by authority of the United States, which force is not very large, and is not now being augmented.

I also believe that some arms have been furnished to this force by the United States.

I also believe that this force consists exclusively of Kentuckians, having their camp in the immediate vicinity of their own homes, and not assailing or menacing any of the good people of Kentucky.

In all I have done in the premises, I have acted upon the urgent solicitation of many Kentuckians, and in accordance with what I believed, and still

believe, to be the wish of a majority of all the Union-loving people of Kentucky.

While I have conversed on this subject with many eminent men of Kentucky, including a large majority of her members of congress, I do not remember that any one of them, or any other person, except your Excellency and the bearers of your Excellency's letter, has urged me to remove the military force from Kentucky, or to disband it. One other very worthy citizen of Kentucky did solicit me to have the augmenting of the force suspended for a time.

Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that this force should be removed beyond her limits, and, with this impression, I must respectfully decline to so remove it.

I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my own native State, Kentucky, but it is with regret I search, and cannot find, in your not very short letter any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union.

Your obedient servant,  
A. LINCOLN.

Mr. George W. Johnson was at the same time accredited to the government of the Confederate States at Richmond, bearing a lengthy epistle from Gov. Magoffin, in answer to which Mr. Davis sent the following exceedingly diplomatic note:

RICHMOND, August 28, 1861.

TO THE HON. B. MAGOFFIN, GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY, ETC.

*Sir*:—I have received your letter informing me that "since the commencement of the unhappy difficulties yet pending in the country, the people of Kentucky have indicated a steadfast desire and purpose to maintain a position of strict neutrality between the belligerent parties." In the same communication you express your desire to elicit "an authoritative assurance that the government of the Confederate States will continue to respect and observe the neutral position of Kentucky."

In reply to this request, I lose no time in assuring you, that the government of the Confederate States of America neither intends nor desires to disturb the neutrality of Kentucky. The assemblage of troops in Tennessee, to which you refer, had no other object than to repel the lawless invasion of that State by the forces of the United States, should their government seek to approach it through Kentucky without respect for its position of neutrality. That such apprehensions were not groundless has been proved by the course of that government in the States of Maryland and Missouri, and more recently in Kentucky itself, in which, as you inform me, "a military force has been enlisted and quartered by the United States authorities."



The government of the Confederate States has not only respected most scrupulously the neutrality of Kentucky, but has continued to maintain the friendly relations of trade and intercourse which it has suspended with the people of the United States generally.

In view of the history of the past, it can scarcely be necessary to assure your Excellency that the government of the Confederate States will continue to respect the neutrality of Kentucky so long as her people will maintain it themselves.

But neutrality, to be entitled to respect, must be strictly maintained between both parties; or if the door be opened on the one side for aggressions of one of the belligerent parties upon the other, it ought not to be shut to the assailed when they seek to enter it for the purpose of self-defense.

I do not, however, for a moment believe that your gallant State will suffer its soil to be used for the purpose of giving an advantage to those who violate its neutrality and disregard its rights, over others who respect them both.

In conclusion, I tender to your Excellency the assurance of my high consideration and regard,

And am, Sir, very respectfully, yours, etc.,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

During the month of August, recruiting in the States of Ohio and Indiana progressed but slowly in comparison with the needs of the hour. While a force, magnified by rumor into colossal proportions, was gathering on her southern border, the Union men of Kentucky beheld with dismay a feeling of apathy taking the place of the early enthusiasm in the people north of the Ohio. This was the condition of affairs when the Union men of Kentucky threw off the mask and avowed their determination to support the United States government in the impending struggle.

The formation of the first Union camp on Kentucky soil was, as has been before remarked, for the purpose of organizing a force to guard munitions of war to the loyal people of east Tennessee, and any account of the operations of the Union forces in Kentucky, in 1861, would be incomplete without a reference to the uprising of the Unionists in that region.

Early in June, a convention of Union citizens met in Greenville, east Tennessee, the home of Andrew Johnson, to devise ways and means to oppose the schemes of the secessionists. A committee of safety was appointed and resolutions of unalterable fealty to the national government adopted. Lieut.

Samuel P. Carter, United States navy, a native of Elizabethtown, in Carter County, east Tennessee, while serving on board the United States ship, "Seminole," on the Brazil station, had, in March preceding, written several letters to prominent citizens of his native State, urging them to stand by the old flag and had thus, by his expressions of devoted loyalty to his country, brought himself in prominence as a Union man, and increased the respect in which he was already held as a United States officer.

The committee of safety named Lieut. Carter for appointment by the president, brigadier-general, and asked that he be assigned to command in east Tennessee: the case United States troops should be organized. In compliance with this request, presented by Hon. Andrew Johnson, Lieut. Carter was immediately, on the arrival of his ship at Philadelphia, in July, ordered by Secretary Wells to report to Secretary Cameron for special duty.

On the 10th of July, orders were issued from the adjutant-general's office, to Lieut. Carter, to proceed to east Tennessee, and organize a camp of instruction of United States volunteers. A sum of money sufficient for temporary expenses was placed to his credit in New York, and on the day following the defeat of the Union army at Bull Run he took his departure from Washington, for his new field of service. On his arrival in Cincinnati, he met his old friend, Lieut. William Nelson, United States navy; the officer designated by the war department, to organize a force in Kentucky, to convey the munitions of war designed for use by Carter's command, through that State to east Tennessee. In the conference that ensued between these two officers, to whose skill and courage the important enterprise had been intrusted, it was agreed that Lieut. Carter should make his way to east Tennessee, *via* Cumberland Gap, or through one of the adjacent gaps in the mountains, organize his force, arm them as best he could with rifles and shot gun, take up a strong position in the mountains and there await the arms and army supplies placed to his order in Cincinnati.

Alike in the requisites of courage and impetuosity, no two men could have been more unlike in other personal characteristics, than Nelson and Carter. While both were distinguished for the possession of that polish and ease of manner, that comes from association with the first society at home and abroad, Nelson was boisterous and impetuous, impatient of restraint and contradiction, and utterly intolerant of the slightest infraction of discipline. He was in the prime of manly beauty. A massive head, covered with a luxuriant growth of black, curly hair, was carried erect, and his herculean frame was firmly knit. Full of tireless energy, he seemed to require neither sleep nor rest. The sentinel, pacing his beat, was often startled long after midnight, by the colossal form of the commander coming up in the darkness, and approaching the camp from a direction whence he was least expected. Always an early riser, he took his bath, followed by a light breakfast, and was ready for the day's duties before the camp was astir.

Toward those of the officers, who displayed a disposition to acquire a knowledge of military tactics and zeal in the performance of their duties, he was the most affable of commanders; but woe betide the careless and inefficient. If there was a good deal of the martinet in his dealing with the embryo colonels and generals who flocked to his standard, it must be confessed that there was ample reason for it. A more patient and forbearing man might have been more popular with the officers, but the efficiency of the command would have suffered in proportion. Always ready to sacrifice his own comfort to the demands of duty, he required a like zealous performance on the part of his subordinates. Many of them were gentlemen of high social standing, and unaccustomed to yield their opinions, or sacrifice their ease at the bidding of another, and the full truth, that they were henceforth to have no will of their own that clashed with that of the commanding general, dawned upon them but slowly. Nelson regarded the drilling and disciplining of the regiments as of paramount importance, and had a sailor's horror of political discussions.

The camp soon filled with visiting statesmen from the adjoining counties, each of whom had his own plan for saving the Union without the effusion of blood. Most of them were Union men, and when the time came for action, enlisted unhesitatingly in the Union army. Speech-making was the order of the day, and Kentuckians are natural orators. If it had been possible to talk down the rebellion it would have met its death at camp Dick Robinson. As might be expected, all this found little favor at the hands of the commander. He had been assigned to the performance of a specific duty, and the idea of discussing the wisdom or practicability of the order never entered his mind. Political discussions exasperated him, and it was not uncommon to see them broken up by the use of language more forcible than polite, and the participants set about their business in a very summary manner. Thus it came about that he conceived a violent antipathy toward the officers who preferred talking politics to drilling their detachments, while he trusted more fully and became more strongly attached to those who devoted all their time to military duties.

Lieut. Carter was, in most regards, the opposite of Nelson. He was a tall, graceful and very affable gentleman of the most winning address, coupled with dignity and self-restraint. His appearance at the camp had a soothing effect upon his comrade of the navy, and it was observed that the expletives in which the latter was wont to indulge on the most trivial occasions were more mild in tone and uttered more rarely than formerly. Long service in the navy had imparted to an otherwise pleasing address an expression of sternness and gravity. The habit of command sat easily upon him, and the control which he speedily acquired over the turbulent spirits who flocked to his standard increased to veneration, as events crowding rapidly upon each other brought into requisition the qualities of patience, courage and discipline with which he was eminently endowed.

It was thought at the time he started from Cincinnati that if he could reach the upper counties of east Tennessee he might arm a



sufficient force of mountaineers with country rifles to enable him to maintain his position until the promised supply of arms and equipments could reach them. On arriving at London, Ky., on the 1st of August, he fortunately met his brother, James P. T. Carter, who was on his way to Washington. He had just effected his escape from east Tennessee, where he had gone at the instance of the president and Secretary Stanton, for the purpose of consulting with the loyal citizens and making arrangements, if he found it practicable, for Unionists who desired to enter the service of the United States to cross into the borders of Kentucky and receive their arms and equipments.

By the advice of his brother, who represented that his appearance in east Tennessee would inevitably lead to his capture and imprisonment by the Confederate authorities, Lieut. Carter established his headquarters at Barbourville, in Knox County, Ky., thirty miles from Cumberland Gap, and determined there to await events and to receive such refugees as might arrive. A company of Col. Garrard's Kentucky regiment was there in course of organization. By the 3d of August nearly 100 refugees arrived at Boston, Ky., and Barbourville, followed in a few days by a considerable body, who appeared bearing the United States flag at the head of the column. Some were armed with hunting rifles, others with rude knives made by country blacksmiths, and many with stout cudgels. All were foot-sore and half famished. Their tattered garments and lacerated limbs bore unmistakable evidence of the hardships they had endured. But hunger and suffering had not dimmed their enthusiasm, and their only demand was to be armed and led against the enemy, that they might deliver their families from the oppression of Confederate rule.

Lieut. Carter's camp was established two miles east of Barbourville, and there, under the temporary shelter of brush and rude huts, the men were cared for as well as possible. Cooking utensils and provisions were collected from the surrounding country, but the men were shoeless and nearly all poorly clad and without blankets. The work of organization

was pushed forward. Companies were formed and mustered into service for three years during the war, by Lieut. Carter, who, having no assistant, performed the duties of commander as well as those belonging to the field and staff. By the middle of August the First Tennessee Infantry, numbering 800 men, was organized under command of C. R. K. Byrd; but was, thus far, without arms, clothing, or camp and garrison equipment. As time passed, the necessity for these things became more pressing, and Lieut. Carter visited camp Dick Robinson and obtained a promise from Lieut. Nelson that, if transportation was furnished, the arms and ammunition should be sent to camp Andy Johnson. Lieut. Carter hastened back to his camp and at once dispatched the necessary number of wagons, guarded by two companies of the First Tennessee. After waiting the necessary length of time for the train to return, Lieut. Carter was surprised by the information that Lieut. Nelson not only declined to send the arms but had kept the men. The hostility of the State authorities to Nelson's camp had deepened to such an extent that military necessity compelled the commandant to retain the two companies and to request Lieut. Carter to bring the remainder of his force to assist in the defense in case it should be attacked. In the last week of August the regiment, then numbered 1,000 strong, broke camp and marched to camp Dick Robinson.

What would have been the effect upon the campaign that followed, if Lieut. Carter had been permitted to carry out his design to move upon Cumberland Gap, capture and fortify it and there establish his camp, within easy distance from the homes of the adherents to the United States government in east Tennessee, cannot be known. It is possible that the removal of Nelson's camp at that point might have resulted in holding that important gateway against the Confederate forces then organized in east Tennessee, who were soon after in possession of the place.

The removal to camp Dick Robinson was a bitter disappointment to the east-Tennesseeans, but they were destined to still greater trials before they were permitted to cross

mountains to the rescue of their families. Refugees from east Tennessee continued to pour into the camp, and in a short time the Second Tennessee Infantry was organized and mustered into service under command of Col. J. P. T. Carter. Cols. Wolford, Bramlette, Fry and Garrard completed the organization of their respective regiments, and an artillery company, under command of Capt. Abram Hewitt, was mustered into service.

Whilst these events were transpiring in eastern and central Kentucky, affairs had culminated in the establishment of military camps on Green River, and at a point in Indiana, opposite Louisville, Ky. Lovell H. Rousseau, whose bold advocacy of the sovereignty of the general government, when a member of the legislature, had attracted public attention, after organizing the Home Guard at Louisville set about the organization of a brigade of United States troops.

Conference with leading Union men in the State led to the establishment of his camp on the Indiana shore, opposite Louisville, although recruiting was openly carried on in Kentucky. Col. Rousseau named his camp in honor of that patriotic citizen of Kentucky, Hon. Joseph Holt, who, while a member of President Buchanan's cabinet, stood faithful to the Union after it had been deserted by nearly every one of his colleagues.

From the one end of the State to the other the work went bravely on, and soon twenty-eight regiments of infantry, six regiments of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery were organized, and as soon as possible mustered into the service of the United States. The regiments were numbered arbitrarily, with no reference to the time when they were filled, and, in several cases, none as to the date of their muster, and several of them were engaged in important actions before they were fully organized. Skirmishes with predatory bands of Confederate cavalry were of frequent occurrence, and those whose rendezvous was south of Louisville were in constant danger of surprise and capture from detachments of cavalry sent out from the military encampments south of Green River for the express

purpose of breaking up Union camps and capturing military stores and equipments.

One of the earliest and most practical of all the unconditional Union men in the State was William T. Ward. Early in August he visited the counties of Metcalfe, Green, Taylor, Hart and Adair, and sent messages into Cumberland, Clinton and Russell Counties, urging the citizens, many of whom had joined home-guard companies, to disband those organizations, on the ground that it placed them under control of the governor, whom he regarded as disloyal to the national government. He succeeded in inducing twenty-eight companies to promise to enlist in the United States service, as soon as the necessary authority to organize a brigade could be obtained. Mr. Ward then went to Washington, where he was commissioned a brigadier-general on the 18th of September.

Returning to Kentucky, he proceeded at once to the organization of his brigade, commissioning the officers by virtue of authority vested in him by the war department. On the 20th of September he reported for duty to Gen. Anderson, giving him the same information that he had given the war department at Washington. Gen. Anderson directed him to select a suitable place to organize his brigade, but was compelled to retain at Louisville 2,500 out of the 4,000 stands of arms furnished Gen. Ward by the general government. Col. E. H. Hobson and Mr. John A. Ward, a son of the general, and afterward a lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-seventh Infantry, had, during the absence of Gen. Ward, collected the men together at Greensburg and Sulphur Well, in Barren County. These men, about 1,000 in number, unarmed and unorganized, were dispersed by Buckner when he advanced to Green River bridge, but were reunited at Lebanon, where they remained until arms could be procured.

The proposal of Gov. Morton to send troops to Kentucky, as expressed in his telegram of September 2d, to the assistant secretary of war, seconded by Messrs. Boyle and Speed, of Kentucky, was endorsed by the Union people, but they strenuously opposed any ad-



vance into Kentucky by their friends from the north, until after some portion of Kentucky soil had been occupied by southern troops.

Threats had already been made by the latter to occupy Columbus, Ky. This town, located on the Mississippi River, about equal distance from Cairo, Ill., and the northern boundary of Tennessee, was recognized as a point of great strategic importance by both the United States and Confederate States commanders. The former had been deterred from occupying it with troops from other States by the strenuous appeals of the Union men of Kentucky, who felt that an overt act on the part of the national government, in violation of the promise of Gen. McClellan to respect the neutrality of Kentucky, would be construed by the people into a termination of that agreement. The city was practically in the hands of the Confederate authorities, most of the population of the town and the adjacent country being in full sympathy with the rebellion, and its formal occupation was only deferred until a pretext could be found in the movements of the United States forces at Cairo. This was afforded on the 23d of August, by the capture of a little steamer named "W. B. Terry," running in the Confederate service, by the United States gunboat Lexington, at Paducah, Ky., fifty miles above Cairo, on the Ohio River, at the mouth of the Tennessee. Accordingly, Columbus and Hickman, Ky., were occupied on the 3d of September by order of Gen. Leonidas Polk, commanding the Confederate military department No. 2; and on the 6th Brig.-Gen. U. S. Grant, commanding the district of Southwestern Missouri, occupied Paducah with United States troops from Cairo, Gen. Grant commanding the expedition in person.

The occupation of Paducah and Smithland, at the mouth of the Cumberland, gave the national government control of the two important rivers of the State of Tennessee, and effectually closed water communication with the South. The occupation of Columbus gave rise to a spirited correspondence between Gen. Polk and President Jeff. Davis, Gov. Harris and Gov. Magoffin, in which Polk,

writing to Magoffin, claimed that he had reliable information that the Federal forces intended to occupy Columbus, referred to the danger of west Tennessee from such a movement, and offered to withdraw from Kentucky if the Federal troops were simultaneously withdrawn. On September 1st he had written that he "regarded it of essential importance that he should be ahead of the 'enemy' in occupying Columbus." Gov. Harris, on hearing that Gen. Pillow had occupied Hickman, had written to Polk, requesting the instant withdrawal of his command, on the ground that he and Mr. Davis were pledged to respect the neutrality of Kentucky. Polk, in reply, regretted the necessity of the movement, but claimed that under plenary powers delegated to him by the Confederate government, he was authorized to move from his late position at Madison to Columbus. On the 4th, Secretary Walker of the Confederate States army, ordered the prompt withdrawal of Pillow from Hickman. In reply to this, Polk appealed to President Davis, who responded that "the necessity justified the action."

Mr. George C. Taylor, and a number of other citizens of Columbus, welcomed Polk in a long address, in which, after referring to "the tyranny of the general government in ignoring the neutrality of Kentucky," levying a tax for the purpose of carrying a cruel war against the South, to which Kentucky would be called upon to contribute, he assured him that the entire community welcomed his army with "the liveliest delight." But the Confederate army was not destined to receive the same cordial welcome at the hands of the State government. On the 9th of September, Hon. John M. Johnston, chairman of the committee, transmitted to Gen. Polk resolutions of the senate, introduced by Hon. Walter C. Whitaker, a member of the body, requesting the prompt withdrawal of his troops from Kentucky soil. Replying to Mr. Johnston, Gen. Polk claimed that cause for the seizure of Columbus had been given by the capture of the "W. B. Terry;" by the vote of members of congress from Kentucky for supplies of men and money to carry on the

ar, and by the establishment of a United States camp in Garrard County, and concluded by an offer to withdraw his troops when the United States resumed its former attitude toward Kentucky. On the 13th, the Senate concurred in the house resolution requiring the governor of Kentucky to issue a proclamation ordering the Confederate troops to withdraw from the State.

On September 7th, Brig.-Gen. R. C. Foster and Messrs. Brown, Bailey and Harding, at Nashville, in the absence of Gov. Harris, telegraphed Mr. Davis that troops from Paducah could reach Bowling Green, Ky., in less than twenty-four hours, and asked what should be done. To which Adjt.-Gen. Cooper intimated that, as the Confederate forces would, in view of the Federal occupation of Paducah, be required for duty at that point, Bowling Green should be occupied by Tennessee troops.

On September 10th, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston superseded Gen. Polk in command of Department No. 2, the latter retaining command at Columbus, besides being charged with the defenses on the Mississippi River below Cairo.

Three regiments of Kentucky infantry, which had gone south and were stationed at Camp Boone, together with 2,500 men at Camp Trousdale and a Tennessee regiment, were organized into a force for the occupation of Bowling Green, under command of Brig.-Gen. Simon B. Buckner. With this force, numbering 5,000 men and a battery of artillery, he was ordered, September 15th, to proceed to Bowling Green and secure and hold that "important line of defense." The importance of Bowling Green as a strategic position had occurred to the Union men, who were engaged in recruiting in that section of Kentucky. Col. S. G. Burbridge, who was at Russellville raising a regiment under authority from Nelson, at once proceeded to Louisville to induce Col. Rousseau to move his camp from Jeffersonville to Bowling Green, representing that, with the nucleus thus formed, a brigade of not less than 5,000 men could be organized in a few weeks. Rousseau accepted the invitation at once, and

a night was fixed when the telegraph wires were to be cut, and his entire command embarked upon trains on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad for Bowling Green. Unfortunately for the success of the expedition, Col. Burbridge visited Frankfort to obtain the sanction of Mr. Crittenden, who considered the movement premature. There is no doubt that had the movement been promptly made the region of country south of Green River and east of the Cumberland, which for the next five months was given over to the control of the Confederates, would have remained inside of the Federal lines.

The two leading papers of Louisville, the *Journal* and *Democrat*, both of which had hitherto advocated neutrality from a Union standpoint, now came out strongly in favor of the national government.

The occupation of Bowling Green, although intended by Gen. Johnston as the northern line of his defense, had the appearance to Gen. Anderson of an advance on Louisville. He immediately dispatched a messenger to Gov. Morton, asking if he could depend upon him for assistance, and on September 18th, Rousseau's brigade and the Sixth Indiana Infantry, Col. T. T. Crittenden; the Thirty-eighth Indiana, Col. Scribner; the Forty-ninth Ohio, Col. Gibson; with the Home Guard companies—the expedition commanded by Gen. W. T. Sherman—advanced and occupied Muldrow's Hill on the line of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, in the direction of Elizabethtown, at which place Buckner's advance was reported to be. On reaching the Rolling Fork of Salt River, a deep stream, Gen. Sherman found the railroad bridge burned, which stopped the progress of the trains, and the men were disembarked. Col. Rousseau, in command of a picket of 400 men, was sent forward, but was soon afterward recalled. On Sunday morning, the 22d, Gen. Sherman regarding the position at Muldrow's Hill of great importance, determined to advance. Col. Rousseau, with his brigade, took the lead, followed by the Thirty-eighth Indiana, the Forty-ninth Ohio, and a detachment of regulars, under Capt. Swain, which had



joined the expedition. The command moved through Elizabethtown, and out on the Lebanon Road, whence it proceeded to Muldrow's Hill, where it was soon after re-enforced by the Thirty-ninth Indiana, under Col. Harrison. The Sixth Indiana was stationed at Elizabethtown, and Col. Hecker's Twenty-fourth Illinois at Colesburg, to guard the railroad.

Muldrow's Hill is a range of hills separating the waters of Rolling Fork from Green River, but, in a country abounding in turnpike roads, was not a strong position, and of little importance as a defense to Louisville. Gen. Sherman reported to Gen. Anderson that Buckner's force was variously estimated from 7,000 to 20,000 men, and did not doubt that he had 15,000, all actuated by a common purpose to destroy him. In concluding his report, he says:

I am fully alive to the danger of our position and to all its disadvantages especially that of supplies. Our provisions have been hauled up the rugged valley of Cedar Creek by hired wagons and by some which were brought along by the Thirty-ninth Indiana. We can barely supply our wants and are liable at any moment to have those wagons seized. The reason I came to Muldrow's Hill was for effect. Had it fallen into the hands of our enemies, the cause would have been lost, and even with it in our possession a week, nobody has rallied to our support. I expected, as we had reason to, that the people of Kentucky would rally to our support; but on the contrary, none have joined us, while hundreds, we are told, are going to Bowling Green. The railroad from Bowling Green toward us is broken at Nolin, ten miles miles off, and at another trestle beyond, some seven miles. I doubt if this was done by Buckner's orders, but rather by the small parties of guards left to protect them, and who were scared at our approach. I have from time to time given you telegraphic notice of these events, and must now await the development. We should have here at least 20,000 men; but that has been an impossibility. Truly yours,

W. T. SHERMAN, *Brigadier-General*.

If the general could have captured the following dispatch on its way to Gen. Johnston's headquarters soon after, it might have allayed his anxiety:

BOWLING GREEN, October 4, 1861.

W. W. MACKALL, A. A. G.:

I have not been able to obtain accurate returns of the strength of the regiments here since my return. My effective strength at all points does not exceed 6,000. The enemy, with their last re-enforcements number not less than 13,000 or 14,000. It is

stated that they will advance in a few days on Gre River. I need re-enforcements at this place very much. When can I receive them? Please reply.

S. B. BUCKNER, *Brigadier-General*.

It may as well be stated here, as elsewhere, that Buckner's effective strength, at Bowling Green, Hopkinsville, and including all the cavalry that rendered to him a nominal recognition, as commander of the Central Kentucky Division, including Hardee's division, up to the arrival of Floyd's brigade from West Virginia on Christmas eve, never exceeded 13,000 men. Polk's forces numbered, on September 30th, 20,000 present for duty.

President Lincoln appears to have placed a high estimate upon the ability of the inspector-general of the Kentucky State Guard, as will be seen by the following tender of a commission:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 17, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR:

*My Dear Sir:*—Unless there be reason to the contrary not known to me, make out a commission for Simon (B) Buckner, of Kentucky, as a brigadier-general of volunteers. It is to be put into the hands of Gen. Anderson, and delivered to Gen. Buckner or not, at the discretion of Gen. Anderson. Of course it is to remain a secret unless and until the commission is delivered. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

When we reflect upon the sublime audacity of this plucky rebel who, for five months with his force numbering less than one-half of that opposed to him at Nolin, Elizabethtown and Calhoun, poorly armed and afflicted with measles, not only maintained his line 100 miles in extent, between Polk on his left and Zollicoffer on his right, but rendered efficient aid to the latter in his operations in east Tennessee, it cannot but be regretted that the brigadier-general's commission (which, however, was never offered him) had not saved him to the Union cause.

On the 8th of October Gen. Anderson, finding that continued ill health unfitted him for active duty, in obedience to orders from Gen. Scott, relinquished the command of the "Department of the Cumberland" to Gen. Sherman, who at once assumed its duties. His first act was to direct Brig.-Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, who had recently been com-

ssioned, by the president, to proceed to Owensboro, in the vicinity of which Cols. Jackson, Burbridge, McHenry, Hawkins, Rider, Shackelford and Hobson were recruiting regiments for the United States service. He subsequently established his camp at Elkhorn and organized what was afterward known as the Fifth Division. During the time in which the regiments were perfecting their organization, they had several severe skirmishes with the enemy, the first of which took place at Woodbury, in Butler County. Col. S. G. Burbridge, who had obtained repeating rifles for the use of his men, and Col. Jackson, with his cavalry, were fearless and vigilant in guarding the country lying immediately north of Green River against incursions from the opposite shore.

Col. J. H. McHenry, whose camp was located at Hartford, hearing that a force of Confederate cavalry at Woodbury, twenty-five miles above, on the south side of Green River, meditated an attack upon his camp, notified Col. Burbridge, who, with his force, was encamped thirty miles distant. Col. Burbridge, with 125 of his regiment, 100 of the Third Kentucky Cavalry under Capt. Heathitt, and a section of artillery under Capt. Somebry, proceeded at once to McHenry's camp, and, on Monday, the 28th of October, encamped near Cromwell, thinking to attack next morning. Col. McHenry, with his force and a part of the cavalry, crossed the river and attacked a small picket of the enemy at Morgantown, wounding several and losing one of his own men. Capt. Netter, of Burbridge's regiment, followed McHenry with twenty men, and passed through Morgantown, coming up with the Confederates one mile distant from the town. In the meantime, Col. Burbridge passed up the river twenty miles, and there found the main body of the Confederates occupying an eminence upon the opposite side. The latter immediately formed in line, but were thrown into consternation by a few well directed shots from a six-pound cannon, and the ferry flat upon the opposite side being brought over, Col. Burbridge crossed with Lieut. Ashley, Capts. Belt, Shacklett and

Porter, with 135 men and one piece of artillery. Capt. Belt immediately occupied the position from which the Confederates were driven. Their second position, being their encampment, was first shelled, then charged, whereupon they fell back, leaving their dead upon the field. Knowing that a camp of Confederate cavalry was located a few miles above, Col. Burbridge destroyed the abandoned camp and joined Col. McHenry at Morgantown.

On the 31st, Capt. Whittinghill, with one company of the Seventeenth Infantry, and Capt. Porter, commanding a company of 30 Home Guards at Cromwell, repulsed an assault of 200 Confederate cavalry, inflicting heavy loss upon them. Cols. Jackson and Burbridge went to the relief of McHenry from Owensboro, but no further molestation was offered. On the 26th of September, Gen. Buckner destroyed the locks on Green River at the mouth of Muddy River, and on the 29th occupied Hopkinsville, after a skirmish with the Union Home Guard, resulting in a loss to him of one killed and one wounded, and to the Home Guard of several wounded and two taken prisoners.

Brig.-Gen. Alcorn, with his Mississippi brigade was placed in command at Hopkinsville. He soon after became disgusted with the lack of respect exhibited toward him by the Union people of the town, arrested several, and asked permission of Buckner to make examples of them. He was relieved in the course of a few weeks by Brig.-Gen. Tilghman, and with that event his name disappears from these annals. Gen. Tilghman was obliged to spend a greater portion of his time and use a large portion of his force in moving the sick, the measles having done that which the Union forces never did—attacked his camp.

On the 9th of October, Brig.-Gen. Rousseau, who had in the meantime received his commission, pursuant to orders from department-headquarters, removed his camp to the vicinity of Nolin Creek and named it camp Nevin, in compliment to an old friend in Louisville. Brig.-Gen. Alexander McDowell



McCook, having reported at department headquarters, in compliance with a request previously made for him by Gen. Anderson, was assigned by Gen. Sherman to command of all the forces at Nolin Creek. Here he was soon after joined by Brig.-Gens. Thomas J. Wood and R. W. Johnson. Dividing his command into brigades, he assigned these officers to command, which, with the brigade of Pennsylvanians under command of Brig.-Gen. Negley, which arrived on October 22, increased his force to 13,195 effectives.

While these events were transpiring in southern Kentucky, Lieut. Nelson was using his utmost exertions to organize his brigade at camp Dick Robinson. The men were still without sufficient clothing, and, but for the fertility of the country in which the camp was located, would have been equally destitute of subsistence. He even found difficulty in obtaining the arms designated for his use at Cincinnati. The town of Cynthiana, sixty miles from Covington, on the line of the Kentucky Central Railroad, was in possession of a company of Confederate recruits, who were preparing to join their companions at camp Boone, and the Confederate States flag floated from the spire of the court house. Hon. Garrett Davis, whose experience in the distribution of arms to the Union men of central Kentucky encouraged him to anticipate success, undertook to deliver the arms at camp Dick Robinson. Proceeding to Cincinnati, he obtained possession of them, packed in boxes, and loaded them upon a train which he accompanied. On the arrival of the train at Cynthiana, the rebel company before mentioned, who had been notified by telegraph, was seen stationed beyond the depot to stop the train. The engineer, seeing the danger, immediately reversed his engine and returned to Covington.

Col. John M. Harlan, now associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, and Gen. James Speed, of Louisville, hearing of the occurrence, wrote Mr. Davis to send the arms on the mail boat to that city, and they would forward them to that point. Knowing that the boat would arrive at midnight, they at once called upon Mr. Sam

Gill, superintendent of the Louisville, Frankfort & Lexington Railroad, a Union man, and made known their plan, which was that they should have an engine and car ready at the depot to which the arms could be transferred immediately upon their arrival at the wharf. Mr. Gill entered heartily into the arrangement. The boxes filled with arms were loaded in wagons, and in the dead of night conveyed to the waiting train, which at once sped with its precious freight into the darkness on its way to Lexington, where it arrived at 5 o'clock in the morning. The arrival of a railroad train at that unusual hour aroused the suspicion of a loafer about the station, who peered into the car and discovered the boxes. He ran at once to the fire engine room, and rang the bell for the assembly of Capt. John Morgan's company of State Guards.

On the same day in which Messrs. Harlan and Speed had written Mr. Davis, they had dispatched a messenger to Col. Dudley, who was recruiting his regiment, the Twenty-first Kentucky, at Lexington, and to Lieut. Nelson at camp Dick Robinson, to inform them that the train containing the arms would reach Lexington early on this morning. Immediately on the reception of this welcome intelligence, Gen. Nelson dispatched Col. Brattle to Lexington, and ordered Lieut. Col. Letcher, with 300 of Wolford's cavalry to follow him. Col. Dudley, hearing the alarm sounded from Morgan's arsenal, immediately called out his men and marched to the depot, where Morgan's men had already assembled. No attempt was made on the part of either party to gain possession of the arms, but Morgan, acting under the instructions of Hon. John C. Breckinridge, was determined to prevent the transportation of the arms through Lexington to camp Dick Robinson, while Dudley was equally determined to defend them. They were both brave men and their forces, well armed, were about equal in numbers, and eager for the fray. Suddenly the head of Letcher's battalion appeared upon the hill approaching the city. They were armed with Sharpe's repeating rifles, and, for effect, had affixed the frightful

pling sword bayonets, which, as the column descended the hill, glittered in the rays of the rising sun. Col. Bramlette in the meantime had met Mr. Breckinridge, and had vainly endeavored to convince him of the folly of opposing the removal of the arms to camp Dick Robinson. At the moment the cavalry appeared in view, Col. Bramlette remarked: "Very well, Mr. Breckinridge, the responsibility of a battle rests with you, and it is my opinion that the guns will go to camp Dick Robinson." From this argument there was no appeal. Morgan and his men disappeared from the scene, and the arms were quietly transported to their destination.

On the 15th of September, Brig.-Gen. George H. Thomas reported for duty at Louisville, and was ordered to relieve Lieut. Nelson, in command of the troops at that point. Lieut. Nelson was directed to report to department-headquarters, when he soon received orders to repair to Maysville, Ky., on the Ohio, fifty miles above Cincinnati, and organize a force to meet the enemy, who were advancing under command of Col. John S. Williams, from Virginia into eastern Kentucky.

In the order relieving Nelson, the general commanding commended the "zeal and untiring energy he had displayed in providing and distributing arms to the Union men of Kentucky, and in collecting and organizing troops at camp Dick Robinson." It was, no doubt, owing to the possession of these qualities, as well as his success in organizing a camp in spite of the opposition of the State authorities, that he was deemed expedient to again employ him with the same capacity. Maysville was the scene of his boyhood and the residence of a host of his warmest friends, and no officer could have been selected to whom this duty could have been entrusted with greater chances of success. He expressed no word of dissent to an order that separated him from an army whose organization owed its existence to his courage and energy. To a nature as noble as his, jealousy was impossible. Congratulating his men upon the acquisition of an experienced army officer who could perfect the work which he had begun,

he bade adieu to his trusty followers, and left the scene of his triumphant vindication of the power of the national government.

Gen. Thomas found, on assuming command at camp Dick Robinson, on the 15th of September, 1861, very little that enters into the formation of a military camp, except men. A few boxes of clothing had arrived and had been distributed promiscuously where the articles were the most needed. A pair of pants here and a blouse there; a hat here, and there a pair of shoes; and, to add to the grotesque appearance of the command, an occasional army overcoat might be seen, whose accommodating skirts, concealed, to some extent, the total absence of pantaloons. Gen. Thomas found ample need of the patience and fortitude with which he was endowed, in forming an army from the crude material at his command. Accustomed to the methods of the regular army, and to the discipline of its soldiery, he had never, until now, had command of a brigade composed exclusively of volunteer troops. The buff-colored shoulder-straps of a colonel of cavalry had not been replaced by the star of the brigadier, to which he was entitled when he arrived at camp Dick Robinson. He was accompanied by Capt. George E. Flynt, the accomplished and efficient adjutant-general, who remained until the close of the war his trusted confidential adviser and friend.

For twenty-five years Gen. Thomas had been accustomed to martial scenes. He had fought the Seminoles in the everglades, and the fierce Comanches on the plains. He had won distinction in the war with Mexico, and at the breaking out of the civil war found himself major of a regiment of cavalry, of which Albert Sidney Johnston was colonel, Robert E. Lee lieutenant-colonel, and W. J. Hardee major. Promoted to a colonelcy on the 3d of May, 1861, he served a few months in the eastern army before being commissioned a brigadier-general in the volunteer army, and sent to report to Gen. Anderson at Louisville. In every position in which he had been placed, throughout his military career, he had borne himself as a man, modest, brave, and incorruptible; and now, at the age



of forty-five, the real drama of his life was to begin.

The hitherto insurmountable difficulty in equipping this command, for its expedition in east Tennessee, had been to obtain the necessary supplies. Week after week the impetuous Nelson had been compelled to wait, until hope and patience were alike exhausted. Gen. Thomas lost no time in introducing military system into the camp, and in imparting to it the character of a camp of instruction. Company and battalion drill became a part of the daily duties, and a laudable desire to excel in the discipline of their regiments animated the officers.

The patience, dignity and self-control, which never forsook him in the most trying emergencies, and which afterward gave him the unbounded control of the army, were at no period of his life more manifest than now. Fully alive to the importance of the expedition into east Tennessee, which contemplated the permanent occupation of Knoxville and control of the Virginia & East Tennessee Railroad, he was powerless to obtain even the clothing necessary to preserve the lives of his men. He had no wagons and could not obtain them, while hundreds were being shipped to Rosecrans in western Virginia. The orders of Fremont were on file in all the manufactories at Cincinnati and were being filled as rapidly as possible.

Finding that no assistance could be rendered by the quartermaster's department at Louisville or Cincinnati, and that Gen. Thomas, by the very fact of his military education, was committed to regular army methods for obtaining supplies through the regular channels, the writer, then a member of his staff, conceived the idea of procuring them by the same means that had proved successful in the hands of Gen. Fremont. Making out a requisition upon Capt. Dickerson, assistant-quartermaster at Cincinnati, for a large quantity of clothing, tents and other camp equipage, and having it approved by Gen. Thomas, he proceeded to Cincinnati and presented it to Capt. Dickerson. He was informed that the quartermaster's department was powerless to furnish the articles enumer-

ated, and that, being indebted to the clothing manufacturers over \$1,000,000, his credit with them was exhausted. He then applied to Col. Swords, assistant quartermaster-general at Louisville, to know at what time he might expect to receive funds for the equipment of camp Dick Robinson, to which Col. Swords responded, designating the middle of October as the probable date. Knowing that the uncertainty as to the time fixed would debar him from competing in open market for goods with the agents of Gen. Fremont, who were able to pay cash on delivery, and feeling deeply the necessities of the men whom he had left shivering in their rags in camp, he determined to purchase the goods, if possible, and agree to pay, the 15th of October, on delivery at Nicholasville.

He visited several of the largest establishments and found large quantities of clothing. Tempting piles of warm flannel shirts, blankets, blouses and overcoats, pantaloons and woolen hosiery greeted his eyes, while accommodating clerks stood ready to sell them—cheap for cash. Exhibiting the requisition as his credentials, he left copies of it at several places, requesting the proprietors to mark opposite each article the price at which they would sell it for cash on delivery and hand it to him the next day as a sealed proposal.

The plan worked admirably. The clothing was purchased in accordance with the bids, and the officer returned highly elated with his success. But his triumph was of short duration. The next evening a stranger alighted from the stage at the camp, and, inquiring for the acting quartermaster, was shown to his quarters. "I have never visited a camp," he said, "and I came to see one." The officer welcomed him and expressed his willingness to render his stay as agreeable as possible. "When our house heard that I wished to visit your camp," said the stranger, "the proprietors made me supercargo of a little invoice of clothing that comprises a part of the goods you purchased yesterday." The officer glanced at the bill and found that it was from one of the houses with whom he had contracted; he compared

it item by item with the proposal and found no variation in prices; he added it and found it correct; he examined the checks of the receiving clerk at Nicholasville and found that the packages had all arrived at the depot. There was no reason why he should not pay the bill, except that he had no money.

He knew, as well as he knew his name, that a draft had been sent with a small quantity of goods to test his ability to meet his engagements. Taking down a check-book on a banking house at Lexington (where he had no account), he deliberately wrote a check for the amount, and, handing it to the stranger, took his receipted bill, excused himself and mounted his horse for a ride to Lexington. It may well be imagined that the emotions of the officer were not of the most pleasurable description during that lonely night ride of twenty miles. For the first time in his life, he had been guilty of a flagrant crime, and one which he feared Gen. Thomas would not condone. Arriving at Lexington, he sought rest at a hotel, but could not sleep. Rising early in the morning, he rang the bell at the residence of the late D. A. Sayre, for it was necessary to arrange if possible for the payment of the check without being seen by the bearer. The banker came down and the officer at once introduced himself. He stated the condition of the camp, and that the half-clad troops stationed there constituted the only defense of Lexington against the enemy, who was reported to be advancing into Kentucky from east Tennessee. He then exhibited the telegram from Col. Swords, and asked him if he (the banker) would advance money upon it, provided Col. Swords verified the dispatch. "Yes," said the old man, "to the extent of my ability." "I am glad to hear it," said the overjoyed officer; "for I have already drawn a check upon your bank." "The check shall be paid," said the banker.

The homeward ride, through the crisp September morning air, was a pleasanter trip than the one of the previous night. The troops were soon better clad and in more comfortable quarters, and the loan was promptly paid by Col. Swords. It is, per-

haps, a trivial incident, but it will serve to explain the delay in carrying out the design of the national government to occupy east Tennessee. Having ordered the expedition in July, the war department seemed to have forgotten it, and no means were provided to carry it into execution. On the 20th of September Captain Dickerson telegraphed Gen. Thomas that he had commenced the shipment of wagons to him, but before he had fairly gotten under way he had orders from western Virginia for 400, which took precedence. In fact every army movement seemed to take precedence of that which Gen. Nelson had inaugurated, which Gen. Thomas was straining every means to carry forward, and which the stout hearts and willing hands of 1,500 loyal east Tennesseans were pledged to assist in accomplishing.

Yet it is difficult to conceive of a more important movement than that of the early occupation of east Tennessee by a strong force. The effect would have been to cut off all railroad communications between the eastern and western portions of the Confederacy, except by the long and devious routes south of the Appalachian chain of mountains, and to add to the army of the United States fully 10,000 hardy mountaineers inured to toil and hardship, besides performing a solemn duty in protecting a loyal people against persecution by the enemies of the Union. A tithe of the troops, arms and camp equipage lying idle upon the banks of the Potomac, transferred to Gen. Thomas in September, would have enabled him to puncture the shell which the Confederates managed by a show of strength to maintain, far outside of the real bounds of their territory, for nearly two years longer.

East Tennessee is separated from Kentucky by the Cumberland Mountains and from western Virginia by the Iron and Alleghany Mountains. The country is watered by the Holston and Clinch Rivers, which, flowing from the north and east, unite at Kingston and form the Tennessee River. The east Tennessee & Georgia Railroad, 130 miles long, connects Chattanooga at the southern end of the valley with Knoxville on the



north, from which place the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad runs to Lynchburg, Va. The population, similar in character to that in eastern Kentucky and western Virginia, earnestly protested against the secession of the State, casting 30,903 votes against it to 5,507 votes in favor thereof. A subsequent election resulted in a vote of 32,923 votes against, to 14,780 in favor of the measure. Encouraged by the prospect of aid from the general government the Union men were actively engaged in organizing themselves into companies and regiments, with which to reinforce the troops that were expected from Kentucky, and were so largely in the majority in most of the counties as to render concealment of their designs unnecessary.

The Knoxville *Whig*, published by W. G. Brownlow, breathed out threatening and slaughter against the southern Confederacy, and the lack of arms only prevented an open resistance to its measures. Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer, an ex-member of congress and editor of a Nashville paper, a man of high personal character and an ardent secessionist, was, in accordance with the recommendation of Gen. Polk, selected, July 26th, to command the Confederate forces in east Tennessee—the Tennessee troops having been transferred to the Confederacy.

It is generally conceded that Gen. Zollicoffer, upon assuming command of the district of east Tennessee, really desired to overlook the past offenses of the Union men, and to prevent, by a wise administration of the power with which he had been clothed, the atrocities which were being perpetrated upon them. He granted a ready audience to the persecuted citizens and issued orders against interference with the rights of property, and thus, but for his taking the field against the expected advance of the forces at camp Dick Robinson, and leaving the work of reconciliation that he had commenced to other hands, the annals of this period would not be stained by tales of rapine and murder.

The approach to east Tennessee from the north is guarded by a high range of mountains, through which there are three prin-

cipal gaps or depressions, viz.: Pound Gap, 100 miles northeast from Knoxville; Jintown Gap, eighty miles northwest, and Cumberland Gap, sixty-five miles northward. A turn-pike extends from Nicholasville, Ky., southeast to Crab Orchard, sixty-five miles from Cumberland Gap, and from that point through the gap there is a dirt road, practicable until late in the fall for heavy wagons, but almost impassable in the winter. Along this road, for many years previous to the building of the Virginia & Tennessee, and the Kentucky Central Railroads, merchandise to supply the people of east Tennessee had been transported from Maysville, Ky., on the Ohio River. Fully alive to the importance of defending these gaps against the approach of the Union forces, Gen. Zollicoffer, early in August, disposed his available force, thirty-three infantry companies, along the base of the mountains at the various gaps and bridle paths, to intercept communication between Kentucky and Tennessee Union men.

Using six cavalry companies as scouts between the different posts, he placed a section of light artillery in position at Cumberland Gap, and held a battery in reserve at Knoxville. Besides the infantry above referred to, he had one regiment and sixteen companies stationed along the line of the East Tennessee & Georgia Railroad, guarding bridges which had been threatened by the Union men. Notwithstanding the large amount of arms and ammunition which the seceded States had seized in the United States forts and arsenals, and which had been surrendered to them in almost every engagement since the beginning of the war, these important equipments for an army were, even so early as this, deplorably lacking and continued to be the "long-felt want" of the Confederacy until the close of the war. The search for arms ordered by Gov. Harris in Tennessee had resulted in bringing together a vast quantity of firearms, consisting of a heterogeneous mass of squirrel rifles, shot-guns and pistols, useless at long range, and these were supplemented with huge knives, intended to be used in carving the backs of the retreating enemy; for the pleasing illusion that "the Yankees would

not fight" was not yet dispelled. August 29, Zollicoffer wrote to Adjt.-Gen. Cooper: "Reliable news just in from Hoskins' Cross Roads (Nelson's camp). Four thousand well-armed men there, and coming in 400 or 500 per day. Plenty arms. One thousand men at Barbourville; 700 at Williamsburg, without arms. East Tennesseans going on to Hoskins' for arms." The next week he received the unwelcome information from the war department at Richmond that no arms could be furnished him.

Early in September, he took military control of the railroads in east Tennessee to facilitate the transportation of supplies to the army in Virginia, and on the 9th announced a forward movement into Kentucky *via* Cumberland Gap. On the 21st he had taken position at the Gap, and finding himself unable to hold it with the means at his command if he should be attacked, made requisition for more artillery. He complained of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information, owing to the hostility of the country, and was unable to push his scouts but a short distance from camp.

Receiving orders from Gen. Johnston to await further orders, and time his movements by the advance of Buckner on the south, he turned his attention to strengthening his position. He soon found that the subsistence of a large force in a mountainous and hostile region was even a greater obstacle to his advance than the lack of artillery. On the 24th, he was out of bread. At this time his command at Cumberland Ford consisted of the Eleventh, Seventeenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Tennessee, and the Fifteenth Mississippi Infantry regiments, and the First, Second and Third Tennessee Cavalry regiments, which, with Rutledge's battery of light artillery, numbered 3,549 present for duty—aggregate present 4,578; besides 3,600 other troops, armed and unarmed, left behind in east Tennessee. On the following day, receiving supplies from his rear, he moved the Eleventh Tennessee Infantry, Col. Raines, and the First Tennessee Cavalry, Col. McNairy, forward, with six days' rations, to dislodge the Union force at Laurel

Bridge to cover an expedition to the salt works in Clay County, Ky. This movement was entirely successful. The Union force, a picket of Wolford's cavalry, fell back, and the salt, about 200 barrels, found at the works, was captured and conveyed to the camp.

On the 20th of September, Gen. Thomas directed Col. T. T. Garrard to proceed with his regiment, the Seventh Kentucky Infantry, to Rockcastle Hills, beyond Crab Orchard, on the Cumberland Gap road, and take a strong position, fortifying it so as to enable him to defend himself against any force that might be sent against him. He had orders to build huts for his men, keep out intruders, to obtain all the information possible of the enemy's movements, and report the same to headquarters every day; to keep up communication with Col. Sidney M. Barnes at Irvine, whose regiment, the Eighth Kentucky Infantry, had been placed in position to intercept communication with the south *via* Pound Gap, and to capture any parties trying to escape into the Confederate lines.

Col. Bramlette, with his regiment (Third Kentucky Infantry), was stationed at Lexington, and on the 23d, by request of Mr. Fisk, of the senate, he took 300 of his men to Frankfort to guard the capital against an attack which seemed impending, leaving 350 men, under command of Lieut.-Col. Scott, at Lexington. The movements of the State Guard companies at this time were exceedingly mysterious, and gave rise to startling rumors of intended attack upon State or municipal property.

The event proved, however, that they were only desirous to get away to the Confederate lines with their arms, which necessitated stealthy movements. On the 26th Brig.-Gen. O. M. Mitchell, who had, on the 19th, assumed command of the "Department of the Ohio," which embraced Ohio, Indiana, and fifteen miles into Kentucky opposite Cincinnati, by invitation of Gen. Anderson and the Kentucky legislature took possession of the Kentucky Central Railroad as far south as Lexington. He directed Col. Vandever to station the companies of his regiment (the



Thirty fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry) at the various bridges along the line of the road, and sent Col. J. B. Steedman, with the Fourteenth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, to take his position on the Louisville, Frankfort and Lexington Railroad.

Gen. Thomas, having been informed by his outpost that the Confederates in heavy force had occupied London, felt that he could no longer risk the safety of his command, which, depleted by the absence of two regiments and Wolford's cavalry, left only the Fourth Kentucky Infantry and the Tennessee regiments at camp Dick Robinson. Col. W. A. Hoskins at Somerset, on the Cumberland River; Col. Barnes at Irvine, and Col. W. J. Landrum at Big Hill, on the road leading from London into Central Kentucky, *via* Richmond, were all actively engaged in recruiting and at the same time performing services as outposts.

On the 22d of September, he wrote Gen. Anderson, strongly urging that, to enable him to advance upon the enemy with any show of success, he should be supplied with 4,000 well drilled troops, consisting of four infantry regiments and a battery of artillery. He was constantly beset with importunities from citizens on both sides of the border to advance to their relief; but he was far too wise a commander to heed their appeals, no matter how much his heart might have been stirred by the recital of their wrongs. To this requisition, Gen. Anderson replied that Louisville was strongly threatened, and for the present no troops could be spared for the purpose for which they were required. Gen. Anderson wrote, however, to the president, and to the governors of Ohio and Indiana, stating the immediate necessity for compliance with the request of Gen. Thomas. Failing to receive the required re-enforcements from his department commander, Gen. Thomas dispatched the writer to confer with Gen. Mitchell, at Cincinnati, who at once ordered the Thirty-third Indiana, Col. John Coburn; the Thirty-first Ohio, Col. M. B. Walker; the Seventeenth Ohio, Col. Connel; the Thirty-eighth Ohio, Col. Bradley; the Twenty-first Ohio, Col. Norton, and two batter-

ies of artillery, under Maj. Lawrence, to report for duty to Gen. Thomas.

Although greatly hampered in field operations by the lack of wagons, Gen. Thomas now determined upon an active campaign against Gen. Zollicoffer. On the 1st of October, he wrote Gen. Mitchell, thanking him for his prompt response to the call for troops, stating, at the same time, the pressing need for means of transportation, and closed as follows: "If you could send a column of about four regiments up the Big Sandy and move it south through the counties of Floyd, Letcher and Harlan, in co-operation with my advance by Barboursville, I believe that we might easily seize the railroad, and cut off all communication between Virginia and the south through Tennessee, before the enemy will have time to re-enforce Zollicoffer sufficiently to prevent it."

This was practically the scheme contemplated in the order directing the organization of troops at camp Dick Robinson in July, and toward the consummation of which both Nelson and Thomas had bent their most strenuous efforts. But the government was yet to learn the ability of Gen. Thomas to conduct great enterprises. His army training rendered him incapable of resorting to the means used by many other commanders to bring himself into prominence. He had no political friend at the national capital to sound his praises in the ear of the president, and he would have regarded it as a breach of discipline to open correspondence with the war department, except through the regular channels. He was almost unknown to the press of the country. With the present knowledge of the weakness of the Confederate lines, and the great administrative ability of Gen. Thomas, there is no doubt, had the departments of the Ohio, and of the Cumberland, been united under his command, that the 15th of October would have found him at the head of a strong force at Knoxville, while the Confederate lines in Kentucky would have been compelled to resume their old position south of the Cumberland River.

Of all the regiments that had been sent to Kentucky, but one, the Thirty-third Indiana, was supplied with wagons, and this regiment

was immediately sent to the front. The forward movement was retarded by the lack of transportation for the great quantity of camp equipage necessary for the proper care of men not yet inured to exposure, and for the organization of supply trains to transport subsistence stores from Nicholasville to the front, and to transport arms and army supplies to the unorganized regiments awaiting them in east Tennessee. Five hundred wagons (he had plenty of mules) would have enabled him to move forward at once, *via* Richmond and Crab Orchard, to London, where the two roads unite, and thence to Knoxville, with an army twice as large as that with which he afterward defeated Zollicoffer at Mill Springs, augmented by the organization of at least ten regiments of troops in east Tennessee. But the golden opportunity was allowed to pass. His repeated requests for means of transportation were unheeded until the winter rains had converted the clay roads into mud, so stiff and sticky that the strength of six mules was required to pull an empty wagon.

The records of the outbreak of the rebellion in Kentucky, as presented in the correspondence between the commanding officers of the Union and Confederate forces and their respective governments, exhibits the unprepared state of both sections of the country to enter upon a civil war of such magnitude as that of 1861. Both armies were in need of everything, except provisions, which, owing to the fertility of the soil, were plentiful. Each was able to keep up a line of defense against the encroachment of the other, but were powerless for offensive operations.

In compliance with the urgent requisitions of Gen. Sherman, a large number of regiments from the northwest arrived in October and November, and took position along the line extending from Nelson's Camp, at Maysville, around the borders of the Blue Grass region at camp Dick Robinson, Lebanon, and camp Nevin, where McCook was stationed with four brigades.

Nearly all these regiments came without camp and garrison equipage or baggage

wagons, and the necessity for these increased as the season advanced. The impossibility of making any forward movement in the direction of Cumberland Gap without adequate transportation was again and again urged upon the authorities at Washington, but no heed was paid to the repeated requests. The condition of the Unionists in east Tennessee was growing more unbearable, and the urgent appeals of Johnson, Maynard, Carter and others for an advance, made to the president, induced him to attach blame to the commander of the troops designated from the first for this special movement. The war had not progressed far enough to show the utter helplessness of an army of men when moved from its base with no means of transportation for supplies. This knowledge came later and was gained at frightful cost.

Gen. Thomas had no sooner completed his plans for a forward movement from camp Dick Robinson in the direction of east Tennessee than he found himself superseded by Gen. Mitchell. Even at this early period of the war he was doomed to suffer the penalty that attached to every movement which from any cause was delayed beyond the expectation of the war department—the same penalty paid by McClellan, Buell, Grant, Rosecrans, and nearly every commander of prominence from the beginning to the end of the war, and which, four years later, came near causing him to be relieved on the eve of his last great battle.

Andrew Johnson, of east Tennessee, eager for an advance, and knowing nothing of the imperative needs of the army, before a forward movement could be undertaken with any prospect of success, growing impatient of delay, secured the following order for Gen. Mitchell to command the expedition in person:

CINCINNATI, OHIO, Oct. 10, 1861.

BRIG.-GEN. O. M. MITCHELL,

Commanding Department of the Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio.

*General:*—By the direction of the secretary of war you are hereby assigned to duty in the Department of the Cumberland, and will repair to camp Dick Robinson, and there prepare the troops for an



outward movement, the object being to take possession of Cumberland Ford and Cumberland Gap, and ultimately seize the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, and attack and drive the rebels from that region of the country. You will report your instructions to Brig.-Gen. Sherman, in command of this department, and be governed by such further orders as he may give.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

L. THOMAS,  
*Adjutant-General.*

On the reception of this order, Gen. Mitchell wrote Gen. Thomas as follows:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, }  
CINCINNATI, OHIO, Oct. 10, 1861. }

BRIG.-GEN. THOMAS,  
Camp Dick Robinson.

*General:*—Under orders from the secretary of war of this date, I am directed to repair to camp Dick Robinson, and there prepare the troops for an outward movement, the object being to take possession of Cumberland Ford and Cumberland Gap, and ultimately seize the East Tennessee & Virginia Railroad.

In compliance with these orders, I desire you to move the three Ohio regiments now in camp Dick Robinson to some convenient point beyond your camp, in the hope that they may thus escape the epidemic now prevailing among your men. You will order the regiments at Nicholasville to remain there until their transportation shall arrive.

I beg you, General, to make every preparation in your power for this expedition in which we are about to be united.

It is my purpose to leave for the camp as soon as I am assured that supplies, transportation, ammunition and other necessities are certain to be sent forward.

In the hope of soon greeting you in camp, I have the honor to be, very truly, your obedient servant,

O. M. MITCHELL,  
*Brigadier-General, Commanding.*

Gen. Thomas replied:

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP DICK ROBINSON, }  
GARRARD COUNTY, KY., October 11, 1861. }

BRIG.-GEN. O. M. MITCHELL,  
Commanding Department of the Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio.

*General:*—Your communication of the 10th inst. was received to-day at the hands of Gov. Johnson, of Tennessee.

I have been doing all in my power to prepare the troops for a move on Cumberland Ford and to seize the Tennessee & Virginia Railroad, and shall continue to do all I can to assist you until your arrival here; but justice to myself requires that I ask to be relieved from duty with these troops, since the secretary has thought it necessary to supersede me in the command, without, as I conceive, any just cause for so doing.

I have already sent one regiment forward, and shall send the others as soon as I can get the transportation. It was my desire to have advanced two regiments and a battery about six miles beyond London, to secure the road to Barbourville and to protect a large tract of country abounding in forage, but up to this time have not been able to get the transportation.

I have also been very much embarrassed in my operations from the want of funds, not having received any since my arrival here, nearly a month ago. I hope the government will be more liberal with you.

I am, General, respectfully, etc.,  
your obedient servant,

GEO. H. THOMAS,  
*Brigadier-General U. S. Vols., Commanding.*

The order to supersede Gen. Thomas, however, was never carried out, owing to the protest of Gen. Sherman, whose confidence in the ability and patriotism of Gen. Thomas was unshaken during this trying period, and remained so during the eventful years that were to follow. Gen. Thomas, having written him with reference to the proposed action of Gen. Mitchell, received the following letter:

LOUISVILLE, KY., October 13, 1861.

BRIG.-GEN. GEORGE H. THOMAS,  
Commanding Camp Dick Robinson.

*Sir:*—Your letters of the 11th and 12th of October were received last night. I would start for your camp at once, but am notified by the secretary of war that he will be here to meet me. The paymaster is here with funds. Col. Swords, quartermaster, has just reported, and I am assured that ample funds will be provided for all necessities. I myself was compelled to endorse a draft to get money in bank. The fact is, the arrangement for the supply of money promised us before leaving Washington has not been promptly kept, but I am certain that very soon we will be supplied, and your loan of the bank shall be paid, if my order will accomplish it. In like manner I authorize you to go and prepare your command for active service.

Gen. Mitchell is subject to my orders, and I will, if possible, give you the opportunity of completing what you have begun. Of course I would do anything in my power to carry out your wishes, but feel that the affairs of Kentucky will call for the united action of all engaged in the cause of preserving our government.

I am, with great respect,  
your obedient servant,

W. T. SHERMAN,  
*Brigadier-General, Commanding.*

On the 21st of October Gen. Zollicoffer appeared before Garrard's position which was

fortified well toward the front, but it was so located as to be easily turned by a force moving from the valley in its front, out the Winding Blades road, and thence upon its rear. Round Hill, standing between his works and this road, had been occupied by a small squad of Home Guards. The country is rugged and covered with dense underbrush. Col. Garrard's regiment, the Seventh Kentucky Infantry, was 600 strong; Col. John Coburn's regiment, the Thirty-third Indiana, was posted on Round Hill, with 250 of Wolford's cavalry as a support. Brig.-Gen. Schoepf, who had reported a few days previously to Gen. Thomas, commanded the brigade. In obedience to Gen. Schoepf's order, Col. Coburn deployed 350 of his men around the hill as skirmishers. Col. Coburn says in his report of the battle:

In less than twenty minutes the rebels, who were concealed in the woods, commenced firing, when at almost the first fire Private McFarren, of Company D, was killed. In ten minutes more the enemy appeared in front of our position at the south, at a distance of half a mile, in the valley. They were in large numbers, and were over half an hour in passing by an open space in the woods, when they formed again in line. They soon came near us under cover of a wood, which entirely concealed their approach until we were apprised of their presence by the firing of musketry. At this time we were re-enforced by a portion of the Kentucky cavalry, dismounted, under Col. Wolford, about 250 strong, who immediately formed and took part in the engagement. The firing at this time was very severe, which caused the cavalry to waver and retreat. They were soon, however, rallied, and formed again in order, and fought with good spirit. The enemy engaged was composed of a portion of Gen. Zollicoffer's command, and consisted of two regiments of Tennesseans, under the command of Cols. Newman and Cummings. They charged up the hill upon us, and were met by a galling and deadly fire, which wounded and killed many of them. The front of their column approached within a few rods of us with their bayonets fixed, declaring themselves "Union men" and "all right," at the next moment leveling their guns at us and firing. After being engaged nearly an hour the enemy retreated, bearing off a portion of their dead and wounded in their arms. Our men have buried their dead left on the field and taken the wounded to the hospitals. Thirty corpses have been found up to this time. A large number of their wounded and dead were carried off in their wagons. It is safe to estimate the loss of the enemy at least 100 killed.

While the regiments above mentioned were engaged in the assault upon Round Hill, the remainder of Zollicoffer's force made a furious attack upon Garrard's position, but were repulsed after a brief engagement. In the following report of Gen. Zollicoffer, it will be observed that he set the example, which was closely followed by commanding officers of both sides during the war, of calling an unsuccessful attack a "reconnaissance:"

CAMP AT FLAT LICK, KNOX CO.,  
Ky., *via* KNOXVILLE, October 26, 1861. }

On the 21st I reached the enemy's entrenched camp on Rockcastle Hills, a natural fortification almost inaccessible. Having reconnoitered it in force under heavy fire for several hours from heights on the right, left and in front, I became satisfied that it could not be carried otherwise than by an immense exposure, if at all. The enemy received large re-enforcements.

Our loss was forty-two wounded and eleven killed and missing. We captured twenty-one prisoners, about one hundred guns and four horses. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded unknown.

The country is so poor we have exhausted the forage along the road for fifteen miles back in twenty-four hours. Our subsistence nearly exhausted. Under these circumstances I deemed it proper the next day to fall back. Enemy's camp said to be 7,000 strong, with large reserves near at hand.

F. K. ZOLLICOFFER.

Adjt.-Gen. Cooper.

The Union loss in the engagement was four killed and eighteen wounded, but Col. Coburn claims to have buried thirty of the enemy.

The Seventeenth and Fourteenth Ohio now appeared, accompanied by Capt. Standart's battery. Four companies of the Seventeenth, under Maj. Durbin Ward, advancing rapidly, arrived in time to deliver a parting shot at the retreating foe.

Gen. Schoepf was anxious to pursue the Confederates, and asked that depots of supplies be established for the use of his command at Crab Orchard and Wild Cat, expressing the opinion that he could scatter Zollicoffer's force and occupy Cumberland Gap. In compliance with this request, Gen. Thomas immediately forwarded to the front supplies of provisions and ammunition; ordered the Tennessee regiments to report to



Gen. Schoepf, and directed him to clear the road of obstructions preparatory to a forward movement. He at the same time moved his headquarters to Crab Orchard, leaving the Thirty-first Ohio to guard stores at camp Dick Robinson. Everything now looked favorable for a forward movement. The troops, elated by an easy victory, were jubilant at the prospect of another engagement, while the time, which had hung heavily upon the hands of the Tennesseans, separated by only a few days' march from their homes, seemed to fly on golden wings.

Although still embarrassed from the lack of transportation, Gen. Thomas had determined if possible to carry forward the campaign, depending upon hiring wagons from the farmers, when, on the 25th of October, he received the following letter from Gen. Sherman, who had succeeded Gen. Anderson in command of the department:

HEADQUARTERS DEPT. OF THE CUMBERLAND, }  
LOUISVILLE, KY., October 25, 1861. }  
GEN. GEORGE H. THOMAS,  
Camp Dick Robinson.

*Sir:*—Don't push too far. Your line is already long and weak. I cannot now re-enforce you. Nelson has got into difficulty with the militia, and I have no person to send there. An interruption of the railroad, by an incursion from Prestonburg, would cut you off from that source of supply. Call to your assistance the regiment from Irvine. The State board is impressed with the necessity of engaging in the organization of the volunteers, but we are still embarrassed for the want of clothing and arms. Promises are a poor substitute for them, but are all we have.

I will again urge on the department the pressing necessity for more good officers and large reinforcements of men.

Yours, etc.,

W. T. SHERMAN,  
*Brigadier-General, Commanding.*

The bugbear of Buckner at Bowling Green, ever present to the vision of the commander of the department, was sufficient to keep twenty-four regiments on duty to prevent him from suddenly pouncing down upon the fair city of Louisville. On the 28th Gen. Thomas, on his return to headquarters from the front, wrote Gen. Sherman that he had moved his advance to the point of junction with the Richmond road, and would make arrangements to supply it from Lexington. He asked for four more regiments as a re-

serve in case of disaster, and proposed to take two months' supply of sugar and coffee, and other small stores, and thought he could get along without serious difficulty. At the same time, he, with the instinctive obedience of a true soldier, expressed a willingness to fall back if his superior thought he had advanced too far.

On the 9th of November, Sherman wrote Thomas as follows:

I wish I could make your communications perfectly safe, and the cost would be nothing. There should be at least ten good regiments to your rear, capable of sustaining the head of your column at London, but I am unable to provide; and hereabouts the army should be such as to prevent all idea of attack; but Buckner and Hardee have across Green River a very large force, and may advance at their pleasure. In this state of the case I can only repeat my former orders, for you to hold in check the force of Zollicoffer, and await events. The road by Richmond, depending on the ferry, appears to be less safe to you than the one crossing Kentucky River by the bridge.

And again on the 11th:

I have daily and constantly increased evidence of a vast force in our front, and that they are assembling wagons preparing for a move; and it is probable an advance on their part from Cumberland Gap along the line will be concentric and simultaneous. It was my judgment of the case when Secretary Cameron was here, and I begged him to prepare for it, but they never have attached the importance to Kentucky in this struggle that it merits.

My expression of dissatisfaction at the publication of Adjt.-Gen. Thomas' report, and request to be relieved from this charge, has led to the assignment of Gen. Buell, of whom I have not yet heard.

You should have at least 10,000 more men, and could I give them they should be there, but I cannot get them.

The new regiments arrive without notice, and perfectly raw.

All that I can do now is to say that I will approve of your course, let the result be what it may.

If you can hold in check the enemy in that direction, it is all that can be attempted; or if you must fall back, your line is toward Lexington; or if outnumbered, you are not bound to sacrifice the lives of your command.

Zollicoffer's withdrawal from Cumberland Ford seemed to have reference to a movement along the whole of Johnston's line. Gen. Sherman's idea was that Johnston had concentrated a force of 45,000 men at Bowling Green for a forward movement; that Zollicoffer was to act in concert with him by

placing his army between Thomas and McCook; and, by gaining Thomas' rear, compel him to fall back from Crab Orchard to protect his base at Nicholasville and Lexington. He believed, with Thomas, that the force of the latter was far too small for offensive operations in eastern Tennessee, and had no confidence in his receiving any considerable acquisition to his force from enlistment in that region. On the 22d of November, Col. Hoskins, at Somerset, informed Gen. Thomas that Zollicoffer, with a force estimated at 20,000, was at Monticello, advancing upon him. On the 3d Gen. Schoepf, in command at London, wrote that his forage was nearly exhausted, and that the Rockcastle River, between his camp and the rear, was liable at any moment to rise and cut him off from supplies. The limited transportation with which the army was supplied had rendered it impossible to accumulate a surplus. He corroborated the report that the enemy had withdrawn from the front. Previous to the reception of this intelligence, Gen. Sherman wrote Thomas, but subsequently determined to withdraw the forces under Thomas back to a point within striking distance of either route, through the mountains, that Zollicoffer might select. This retrograde movement met with indignant protests from the east Tennessee regiments, and Andrew Johnson lost no time in informing the authorities at Washington. Mr. Maynard visited Louisville and endeavored to get the order countermanded, but in vain. Gen. Sherman positively refused to advance into east Tennessee until he could supply Thomas with transportation and a reserve of at least 10,000 men. Gen. Thomas still desired to carry out the object of the expedition, and replied that he would give orders for a retrograde move, but was sure that the enemy was not moving between them; all his information indicated that the forces under Johnston were moving south.

Thomas accordingly sent the following order from Crab Orchard to Gen. Schoepf: "Gen. Sherman has just dispatched me that Gen. McCook sends him word that the enemy have disappeared from Green River, and

there is a rumor that Buckner is moving in force toward Lexington, between us, and ordered me, if not engaged in front, to withdraw my force back to the Kentucky River, and act according to the state of facts then.

"As soon as you receive this, break up camp at London and join me here or at Nicholasville with all your troops. Hire transportation enough to bring your ammunition, and bring your camp equipage and three days' rations."

The November rains had commenced falling, and the clay roads, kneaded by passing trains of wagons into the consistency suitable for the potter's use, were knee-deep with mud. The Tennesseans, disappointed and chagrined at the failure of the enterprise in which they had staked their lives, mutinied, and refused to return. In vain their officers implored them to obey an order that they had been the first to denounce. They threw themselves upon the ground, and in their rage cursed everybody who had any connection with their misfortunes, from the president down to Gen. Schoepf. At last, yielding to the advice of their beloved commander, Lieut. Samuel P. Carter, they sullenly followed. It was a scene never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Strong and brave men cried like children, and with good reason. They were in sight of the mountains that separated them from their dear ones, whose very lives were in jeopardy from the lawless bands of freebooters, whose deeds of violence were rehearsed to them upon the arrival of every refugee; they had nursed their wrath while held like hounds in the leash, planning sweet revenge upon their ruthless enemies, and now, after months of weary waiting, the cup of vengeance was dashed from their lips.

Could the Union commanders have known the facts, as the records now show them to have been, that the Confederate forces under Buckner and Hardee did not exceed 12,500 men, and that Johnston could not, in the face of Grant's force operating on the Mississippi, re-enforce Bowling Green beyond 5,000 additional; that Zollicoffer's brigade did not exceed 6,000 for offensive purposes, and that Humphrey Marshall was so weak as to con-



stitute no factor in the calculation of the Confederate strength, they would have had less reason to expect Johnston to assume the offensive. Nothing indeed was further from his intention. While Sherman was calling for more troops, ammunition and supplies, every day's mail carried to Richmond the same importunities from Johnston, Polk, Harris, and Zollicoffer. Through the innumerable spies that infested the Union camps, Johnston was kept accurately informed of Sherman's strength, while it is more than probable that the same spies, in the guise of Union men, acting in the Confederate interest vastly over-estimated the force of the enemy to Gen. Sherman, who was not alone in overstating the strength of the enemy. Gen. C. F. Smith, in command at Paducah, writing to Adj't.-Gen. Townsend, on the 6th of November, says: "At Columbus and vicinity Gen. Pillow has 10,000 men; on the opposite shore, 2,000; near Mayfield, 2,500; at Memphis, 3,000, and at Bowling Green 40,000. The enemy can concentrate at Columbus at any time 30,000 men." He had received this information from a "northern gentleman who had recently left there."

Thus ended the Tennessee expedition. Projected in wisdom, prosecuted against almost insurmountable obstacles with vigor and courage until success was in view, and then abandoned. Had it succeeded, as it might have done if the hands of Gen. Nelson or Gen. Thomas had been strengthened, the subsequent campaigns of the Army of the Cumberland would have had far different objective points. There would have been no invasion of Kentucky in 1862, with its retreat from Cumberland Gap and more disastrous battle at Perryville, and a mighty wall of partition would have been erected in east Tennessee, separating the Confederate armies and offering protection to the people of a vast territory whose loyalty, by its failure, was subjected to the severest test.

Gen. Sherman never regarded the movement in any other light than as a humanitarian idea which had been urged upon Mr. Lincoln, as both just and feasible, by Andrew Johnson, Horace Maynard, and other loyal

men from Tennessee. When he feared that Thomas might be superseded unless a forward movement was made, he immediately ordered it, but after the repulse of Zollicoffer at Wild Cat demonstrated that the object of the expedition could be carried out, he threw obstacles in its way. In justice to Sherman it is but right to take into consideration the vast responsibility resting upon him as a commander of all the United States forces between the Confederate lines and the rich cities of Louisville, Cincinnati, Frankfort and Lexington. To allow Thomas to march into east Tennessee beyond his reach, would seem to invite Buckner to advance, by way of Lebanon, into the "Blue Grass Region" and take possession of the capital; and there was good reason to believe that the same force would, if driven out by Mitchell—for Sherman could not uncover Louisville—take the route pursued by Gen. Thomas, thus cutting him off from his base of supplies.

The Confederate forces assembled near Bowling Green, called the "Central Army of Kentucky," under command of Buckner and Hardee, numbered, on November 15, according to the statement made by Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston to the war department, at Richmond, 12,500 effective men. The First Division, Western Department, under command of Gen. Polk, as reported in his returns for November 16, was as follows: Present for duty, 10,235 infantry, 579 artillery, 659 cavalry, total 13,422; aggregate present, 13,866. In addition to these forces, Col. Stanton had a cavalry command consisting of his own regiment and various battalions operating between Buckner and Zollicoffer, about Jamestown, estimated at about 2,000, and an equal force under Humphrey Marshall held possession of the counties of western Virginia, with a base of supplies at Wytheville, on the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad.

Against the latter force an expedition was planned by Gen. Anderson in September, and its execution entrusted to Gen. Nelson. Col. Harris, with the Second Ohio Infantry stationed at Olympian Springs, was ordered by Gen. Anderson to report to Nelson for duty. He had been joined at that place by Col.

Grigsby with 300 men of the Twenty-fourth Kentucky Infantry, whose rendezvous, camp Gill, was near by. In the absence of arms for the Kentucky regiments, it became necessary for Gen. Thomas to detach two more Ohio regiments to re-enforce Nelson, who, on the 18th of October, moved Harris and Grigsby forward, *via* Hazel Green, to take possession of McCormick's Gap. He had heard that the enemy, 1,500 strong, were at Hazel Green, and that 500 more were at West Liberty, five miles distant. Col. Sill, with the Thirty-third Ohio, pushed forward by forced marches to reach Harris in time to re-enforce him if necessary.

Gen. Nelson marched on the 23d with the Twenty-first Ohio, Col. Norton; the Fifty-ninth Ohio, Col. Fyffe, and Marshall's battalion. The same day Maj. Robinson, with two companies of the Thirty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry, by a rapid march reached Hazel Green at 4 o'clock in the morning of the 23d. The march of Col. Harris on West Liberty was resisted by Capt. May with a few hundred men, who were easily driven off. Awaiting the arrival of his artillery and baggage train at Hazel Green, Nelson moved forward to Prestonburg, arriving November 5.

The following extract from Gen. Nelson's report gives an account of the engagement at Ivy Mountain:

At 1 P. M. the column had advanced along the narrow defile of the mountain that ends at Ivy Creek. The mountain is highest along the river and very precipitous and thickly covered with timber and undergrowth, and the road, which is but seven feet wide, is cut along the side of it about twenty-five feet above the river, which is close over the road. The ridge descends in a rapid curve, and very sharp, to the creek, or rather gorge, where it makes a complete elbow. Behind this ridge and all along the mountain side, the enemy, 700 strong, lay in ambush, and did not fire until the head of Col. Marshall's battalion, himself leading, was up to the elbow. The skirmish was very sharp. The mountain side was blue with puffs of smoke, and not an enemy to be seen. The first discharge killed four and wounded thirteen of Marshall's men. I ordered the Kentuckians to charge. Col. Harris, whose regiment was immediately behind me, led his men up the mountain side most gallantly, and deployed them along the face of it.

Col. Norton, whose regiment had just reached the defile, anticipating an order from me, led his

men up the northern ridge of the mountain and deployed them along the face of it and along the crest, and went at them. Two pieces of artillery were got in position in the road and opened upon them. Owing to the steepness of the mountain all this required time. On the opposite side of the river, which here is narrow, deep and swift, there were also rebels who annoyed us. In an hour and twenty minutes the rebels were beaten and fled, leaving a number of killed and wounded on the ground, and six prisoners unhurt. As I marched immediately in pursuit, I do not report what their loss was. I am told to-day that thirty-two dead were found. Among the wounded in our hands is H. M. Rust, late State senator from Greenup County, Ky. Our loss is six killed and twenty-four wounded. If I had here any cavalry I would have taken or slain the whole of them; as it was, the enemy retreated, cutting down trees across the narrow road, and burning or cutting all the bridges, which are numerous. I bivouacked four miles beyond Ivy Creek. It rained, and the men waded through mud and in a heavy rain all day of the 9th, the march being heavy and slow on account of the trees across the roads, and the necessity of repairing the bridges. Last night we again bivouacked in the November rain, and entered this place this morning at 9 A. M., where I found Col. Sill, who had arrived the night previously, and fired on the enemy as they were retreating.

Meantime Gen. Sherman had exhausted the language in petitioning the war department to equip his army. Gen. Fremont had signalized his advent to the army by the purchase, in Europe, of a large quantity of Belgian rifles, which, with an ingenuity in fraud that would have caused the maker of the original wooden nutmeg to blush for shame, had been altered from flint-locks to percussion by the simple device of driving in a tube. Like Hodges' razors, they were good enough to sell, but in practice, the tubes not being screwed in, had the unpleasant habit of blowing out into the faces of the men who pulled the triggers. Spurned with contempt from one army to another, 10,000 of these hermaphrodite arms found their way to Sherman; the authorities probably considering that the guns were as pronounced in character as the people were in their loyalty.

Of all people in the Union there were none more competent to judge of the value of firearms than Kentuckians. Accustomed to field sports, their skill in the use of rifles was proverbial, and they no sooner saw the wea-



pons designed for their use than they indignantly refused to accept them. Gen. Sherman was totally unsupplied with money, and on one occasion was obliged to indorse a note in bank to obtain a small amount to meet minor expenses. He had neither chief quartermaster nor chief commissary, and in point of quartermaster and subsistence stores he would have been as deficient as in ordnance stores but for the richness of the country in which his army was located, and the willingness of the inhabitants to accept government vouchers in exchange for their produce. In a recent interview with Gen. Sherman, he related to the writer the following incident:

"Some time after I had superseded Gen. Anderson in command of the department, I one day confided to Hon. Joshua F. Speed, a true-hearted Union man of Louisville, the embarrassments under which I labored, soundly berating the war department, which had placed me in command, while it withheld the means necessary to make my force effective. 'What do you want?' said Mr. Speed. 'Everything,' said I; 'arms, wagons, tents, bread and meat, money and a competent staff.' 'Name what you want on paper, and give it to me,' said Mr. Speed. I did as requested, and handed it over. Nothing more was seen of Mr. Speed for several days, when he entered my room and handed me copies of orders directing Col. Thomas Swords, assistant quartermaster-general, and Capt. H. C. Symonds, commissary of subsistence, to report to me for duty. The order directed Col. Swords to draw for present needs \$100,000. He had also a copy of an order, drawn by President Lincoln himself, upon the ordnance department for 10,000 Springfield rifles of the latest design. 'How is this,' I exclaimed, 'that more attention is paid to the requests of you, a citizen, than of me, a general in the army? You had better take command here.' 'I can explain it,'

said Mr. Speed. 'Many years ago I was engaged in business in Springfield, Illinois. I had a little store where I kept a miscellaneous stock of calico, horse-collars, molasses, nails, hair-brushes, quinine, and other articles of daily use in the community. I had a clerk, and had fitted up for our joint occupancy, a room over the store, to be used as a bed-room. Having a stove in the back part of the store, the space around it naturally became a snug lounging place for the young men of the village. Among these were two young lawyers, who were eking out a precarious livelihood at the bar, and who I remember usually chose their position in proximity to the sugar barrel. The names of these two young men were Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. One day Mr. Lincoln, sitting with his feet on the stove, asked me the price of a bedstead, mattress, pillow and bed clothing, saying in reply to my inquiry that he thought of fixing up a bed in his office, thereby economizing in his expenses. I figured up the cost, but told him that I had a better plan, that my clerk had lost his health, and gone back to Kentucky to regain it, and that I would be glad to have him for a roommate. He at once went up stairs on a prospecting tour, came down, went over to his office, and returning with a pair of saddlebags he carried them up stairs. Presently he came down and resumed his seat, saying, 'Well, Speed, I've moved.' He lived with me a long time, long enough for me to love and admire him, and to watch his upward course with certainty that it would not stop short of the White House, and I was not surprised when he reached it. I took your memoranda, and went to Washington. I immediately called upon the president and made known our wants in Kentucky. He complied readily with every request I made, and the only mistake you made, General, was in not asking for more.'"

## CHAPTER XVI.

## MILITARY OPERATIONS IN KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE AND MISSISSIPPI.

THE visit of Secretary Cameron and Adjt.-Gen. Thomas to Louisville, on October 16, 1861, resulted in the removal of Gen. Sherman from the command of the Department of the Cumberland. Of this interview, Gen. Sherman says, in his "Memoirs": "I remember taking a large map of the United States, and, assuming the whole South to be in rebellion, and that our task was to subdue them, showed that McClellan was on the left, having a frontage of less than 100 miles, and Fremont on the right about the same, whereas I, the center, had, from Big Sandy to Paducah, over 300 miles of frontier; that McClellan had 100,000 men, Fremont 60,000, while to me had been allotted only 18,000. I argued that for purpose of defense we should have 60,000 men at once, and for offense would need 200,000 before we were done. Mr. Cameron, who lay on the bed, threw up his hands and exclaimed: 'Great God! where are they to come from.' I asserted that there were plenty of men at the north ready and willing to come if he would only accept their services, for it was notorious that regiments had been formed in all the north-western States whose services had been refused by the war department, on the ground that they would not be needed. We discussed all these matters fully, in the most friendly spirit, and I thought I had aroused Mr. Cameron to a realization of the great war that was before us, and was, in fact, upon us. I heard him tell Gen. Thomas to make a note of our conversation, that he might attend to my requests on reaching Washington."

After the war was over Gen. Thomas J. Wood, who was present, prepared a state-

ment, addressed to the public, describing this remarkable interview, in which he refers as follows to Gen. Sherman's demand for a sufficient force to enable him to assume the offensive: "Ascending from the consideration of the narrow question of the political and military situation in Kentucky, and the extent of force necessary to redeem the State from rebel thralldom, forecasting in his sagacious intellect the grand and daring operations which three years afterward he realized in a campaign, taken in its entirety, without a parallel in modern times, Gen. Sherman expressed the opinion that, to carry the war to the Gulf of Mexico, and destroy all armed opposition to the government in the entire Mississippi Valley, at least 200,000 troops were absolutely required."

Although, in the light of the records now attainable, it is true that both Gens. Sherman and Smith overestimated the forces under Johnston, it does not follow that the immense re-enforcements demanded by Sherman in his interview with Adjt.-Gen. Thomas were required merely for operations against the enemy in his immediate front. The clamor of the people in the north for our immediate advance along the entire line could not remain long unheeded. They had contributed their best blood to the army of the Union. They had sent their sons, brothers, fathers and husbands to fight the enemy, and had received them back to their homes, or found them in hospitals, not suffering from wounds received in glorious war, but wasted by disease contracted in camp.

Hitherto victory had perched upon the Confederate banners. Gen. Sherman knew that the people were ready with laurels to deck the brow of the first victorious general,



and he also knew that the prize of victory could not be gained over Johnston, for whose military character he had the most profound respect, without the sacrifice of many lives in a general engagement. To place a force in east Tennessee sufficient for offensive purposes upon his left, to leave an army of occupation in Kentucky to guard his lines of transportation back to his base of supplies, and still leave him a sufficient force to follow up his victory over Johnston by a bold advance into the heart of the Confederacy, he asked for 200,000 men.

This astounding proposition was met only by ridicule. Transmitted by the adjutant-general to the war department, whence it found its way into the newspapers, it was everywhere received with jeers of contempt, until one, more witty than his fellows, suggested that a man who could be guilty of such stupendous folly must be insane. Instantly the cry was taken up by hundreds, and evidence sufficient to convince a jury was published to the world. He had ordered a newspaper reporter to go back to Louisville as fast as his legs could carry him when he made the advance to Muldrow's Hill in September, and threatened to have him shot; then, suddenly relenting, had invited him to dinner. He had sworn vociferously at the war department for paying no heed to his requisitions, and had displayed unjustifiable temper on many occasions. He had granted leaves of absence to officers, and before the term was half expired had ordered them back to camp.

These and a thousand other charges were gravely repeated; and, gathering strength as they went, reached the ears of Gen. McClellan, who relieved him of his command and ordered him to report to Gen. Halleck, at St. Louis, where he could do no further harm. The forces asked for by Gen. Sherman, when stripped of its sick after three months' drilling in camp, would probably have diminished one-fourth. Three additional months' exposure to battle, marching and disease would have left him with not more than 100,000 men present for duty. But the people were not yet ready for their Sher-

man and Thomas and Grant. They had to learn their needs in the school of experience before they were ready to intrust the same officer whom they had ignorantly rejected with the command of an army of equal strength for the performance of the same service.

Gen. Johnston had experienced equal difficulty with Gen. Sherman in obtaining means to take the offensive. His army east of the Mississippi, in round numbers 50,000 strong had been reduced by sickness and death incident to the formation of an army from a citizen populace to 36,500, occupying a line stretching from western Virginia around the eastern and southern borders of Kentucky to the western borders of Missouri and Arkansas. Relying upon the augmentation of his forces by recruiting from the States in his military department, he had, in compliance with the unwise advice of leading men, issued calls upon the governors for 50,000 men, to serve for only one year. While this force was in process of formation it was arrested by an order from the war department, the authorities at Richmond wisely declining to arm and equip men whose term of service would probably expire at a time when their service would be most needed. Failing to obtain a sufficient number of three years' men, or even arms and equipments for those already recruited, he was compelled to withdraw Hardee's division, 4,000 strong, from Arkansas to re-enforce Buckner at Bowling Green.

Precisely as the authorities at Washington in 1861 turned a deaf ear to the repeated requisitions of Sherman for men and army supplies, using the vast resources of the government for the equipment of an army for the defense of the capital, so the Confederate authorities regarded the operations in the west as of secondary importance as compared with the defense of their capital, which, with Quixotic zeal, to recompense Virginia for joining the fortunes of the Confederacy, they had located at Richmond. In the game of war at which each were playing, the "kings" were placed at the front, and all the smaller pieces were used to defend them.

The vain-glorious boasting of southern newspapers and orators, which had aided in procuring the secession of the States and the early enlistment of volunteers in the Confederate armies, now, coupled with a few Confederate victories, served the unexpected purpose of discouraging enlistments. Ignorant of the requirements of the hour, and lulled by the constant reports of success to their arms, the people of the south allowed the period, that was being utilized by the North in active preparation for war, to pass without offering a hand to re-enforce the armies in the front. On the 29th of November, Gen. Johnston wrote to the secretary of war, after having called upon the governors for the State militia: "We are making every effort to meet the forces the enemy will soon array against us. Had the exigency for my call of 50,000 men in September been better comprehended and responded to, our preparations for this great emergency would now be complete."

Both Gen. Johnston and Gen. Buckner were disappointed in the number of recruits who joined their standard from Kentucky. A force double that of Buckner had by this time been enrolled in Kentucky under the banner of the Union, and were utilizing every moment in perfecting themselves in drill at the various encampments. Most of the Kentuckians who had accepted service in the southern army, up to this date, were comprised in one brigade at Bowling Green, commanded by Col. Roger Hanson, a brother of Lieut.-Col. Charles S. Hanson, of the Twentieth Kentucky Infantry United States Volunteers. They were the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Kentucky Infantry, commanded by Cols. Hanson, Thompson, Trabue, Hunt and Lewis, and the regiment of cavalry, commanded by Col. Helm. Brig.-Gen. John C. Breckinridge was on the 14th of November assigned to the command of this brigade. The First Kentucky, under Col. Thomas Taylor, served in Virginia.

Brig.-Gen. Don Carlos Buell assumed command of the Department of the Ohio, which was made by consolidation of the Departments of the Ohio, Cumberland and the West, on the 15th of November, 1861. The States

comprised in the new department were Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and that portion of Kentucky lying east of the Cumberland River and Tennessee. The southwest corner, in which the towns of Paducah, Mayfield, Columbus and Hickman were located, known as the Jackson Purchase, belonged to the Department of the Missouri, commanded by Maj.-Gen. Halleck. Gen. Buell graduated at West Point in the class of 1841. Assigned to the Third Infantry, he bore his part in the Mexican war with honor, and, remaining in the army, rose by regular promotion to the rank of major and assistant adjutant-general in 1861. At the breaking out of the war he was on the staff of Brevet Brig.-Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, commanding the Department of the Pacific. Appointed brigadier-general of volunteers May 17, 1861, he spent the summer on the heights of Arlington in command of a division in the Army of the Potomac.

Twenty years' constant service in the army, much of which had been spent in the adjutant-general's department, peculiarly fitted him for the duty of organizing an army. His mind, clear and comprehensive in its grasp of the minute details incident to such a task, as well as of planning great campaigns, enabled him to quickly arrive at a just conception of the magnitude of the operations before him, and to note the deficiencies that had plagued his predecessor. In the letter of instructions appointing Buell to the command of the department, written by Gen. McClellan, two points were emphasized, viz.: 1st—the people of Kentucky and Tennessee were to be assured that the institution of slavery was as secure in the Union as it could be in the Confederacy; and, 2d—the objective point of Buell's first campaign was to be Knoxville, in east Tennessee.

Operations in West Virginia having reached a point where a part of the troops could be spared from that department, several well-disciplined regiments were now ordered to report to Gen. Buell for duty. Among these troops were the First and Second Kentucky Infantry. Capt. Simmon's company had been detached from the First Infantry and con-



verted into an artillery company, soon after the arrival of these regiments in West Virginia in July, and still remained there, assigned to the division of Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, and stationed at Gauley Bridge. The Kentucky regiments had participated in several engagements under Gen. Cox, in one of which Col. Woodruff and Lieut.-Col. Neff, of the Second, riding in advance of their regiments, were captured. The two regiments, commanded by Cols. Sedgwick and Enyart, were, on their arrival, stationed at Bardstown, Ky.

On relinquishing command, Gen. Sherman, on the 16th, telegraphed the fact to Gen. Thomas, and directed him to remain at Crab Orchard. In withdrawing the troops of his command from London, Gen. Thomas had left the Tennessee regiments and Seventh Kentucky Infantry under command of Gen. Carter, at that point, and he now telegraphed Gen. Buell, asking if the order to fall back contemplated the withdrawal of that brigade, as it would be difficult to subsist. On the 19th Buell directed him to withdraw his entire force to a point where they could be supplied from Louisville. Carter, therefore, removed to Somerset, and Thomas, with the main force, to Lebanon.

The consolidation of the Departments of the Ohio and Cumberland gave Gen. Buell an advantage which had never been enjoyed by either Gens. Anderson or Sherman. It gave him the control of the new levies being raised in the States north of the Ohio as well as the vast quantity of military stores in that region. Gen. Buell had formed a plan of campaign that he confided to McClellan, which involved the movement upon east Tennessee, *via* Somerset, near which place Zollicoffer was encamped, to be made simultaneously with an advance upon Nashville, *via* Gallatin, passing Bowling Green on the east, while, at the same time, a demonstration was to be made against Columbus, and a heavy force ascending the Cumberland was to unite with the land force at Nashville. He proposed that while those active movements were in progress, to hold Buckner in check by a heavy force in his front. This

was substantially the same as that carried out three months later by Halleck, in which Buell was allowed only the subordinate part of contributing troops.

His practical eye saw so many deficiencies in the organization of his army, which time alone could remedy; he was so anxious that his movements should bear the stamp of military genius, and that defeat should not mar his fortunes, that he delayed his movement until the plan of a campaign, the success of which would have stamped him as the hero of 1861, was imparted to Gen. Halleck, a rival department commander, whose only title to military renown rests upon carrying it out by the successful ascent of the Cumberland and the capture of Nashville. Buell and Halleck were in command of separate departments, and could neither give nor receive orders from each other; they could only act in concert, and to produce concert of action, orders must be given from the general-in-chief of the United States army, Gen. McClellan, or the war department. Gen. Buell endeavored to procure orders to that effect, and so far succeeded as to divert attention from the east Tennessee campaign, which, although persistently urged, was not positively ordered.

On the 5th of December he received the following dispatch from army headquarters:

WASHINGTON, December 5, 1861.

GEN. BUELL, Louisville:

I have again telegraphed Maj.-Gen. Halleck for information as to his gun-boats and disposable troops. As soon as I receive reply I will arrange details with you. Send me draft of water in Cumberland River to Nashville, and in Tennessee River.

Your letter of the 30th received.

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

Gen. Buell now proceeded to dispose his forces with reference to an advance in conjunction with Halleck. One column was placed at Munfordsville, on Green River, in Buckner's immediate front; one column at Green River on the turnpike leading from Bardstown to Glasgow; one at Columbia and one at Lebanon, and one, guarding the lower Green River, was stationed at Owensboro. He had been promised re-enforcements from Missouri, and everything looked promising

for an early advance, when operations were suspended by the illness of Gen. McClellan.

Gen. Halleck had in his command two restless spirits, whose ambition to strike a blow which should redound to their advantage, rendered them impatient of restraint. One was Brig.-Gen. U. S. Grant, in command of the district in which the proposed expedition was to be fitted out, and the other Brig.-Gen. W. T. Sherman, but recently in command of the Department of the Cumberland, and, it may be supposed, not over zealous for the honor and glory of his successor. He had a vivid recollection of the contumely with which he had been treated when he tried to collect a force to break the long truce that had existed along his southern line, and now that there was a prospect for an advance he naturally urged his new department commander to make the most of his opportunities. Gen. Sherman, however, had no command, and could only urge the Tennessee River as the point of attack, leaving the laurels to be gathered by Gen. Grant, who, having tested the fighting qualities of his men at Belmont, was eager to advance. Buell, on the other hand, knew Johnston well. He had had ample opportunity to judge of his prudence and forethought, and doubtless credited the reports made to him of the strength of Johnston's army the more readily because of this. Knowing the general with whom he had to contend, he utilized the delay caused by the sudden illness of Gen. McClellan in brigading his troops and placing them under command of the most efficient officers at his disposal. The time thus occupied was by no means wasted, as the future record of his army amply testifies.

On the 9th of November Gen. Johnston directed Gen. Hardee to send a force of 1,200 men, with a squadron from Terry's command, to Jamestown, Ky., and Tompkinsville, Ky., to attack and destroy Union camps, and to look out for any demonstration on the part of the enemy toward cutting the railroad in the rear of Bowling Green. Col. Pat Cleburne was entrusted with the command of this expedition. The command reached Jamestown on the 11th, from which place

Cleburne reported that they "found the inhabitants bitterly hostile; nearly every house has some friend in the Lincoln army." He was informed that there were "3,000 troops at Campbellsville, and an equal number at Columbia and Lebanon." The expedition reached Tompkinsville on the 12th, where an old lady met him with an open Bible in her hand, saying she was prepared and ready to die. Ordering his band to the front, colors open, bayonets fixed, the march at attention was resumed, for the purpose of making as fine a display as possible. But his play was to empty benches; even the streets of Coventry were not more deserted when the good lady Godiva rode through them clothed only in her shining hair. The inhabitants had probably entertained these Confederate strangers before. After searching the houses of Col. Frame and other Union men for arms, and hearing that Rousseau with 10,000 or 15,000 men was advancing, he returned by the same route he had advanced.

On the 17th Gen. Hindman, in command of 1,100 infantry, 250 cavalry, and four pieces of artillery, was sent to dislodge Col. Willich, with the Thirty-second Indiana Infantry, from Woodsonville (or Rowlett's Station), on the south side of Green River. Advancing through a dense forest Hindman was able to approach unseen to within three-quarters of a mile of the river.

Four companies of the regiment, under Lieut.-Col. Van Trebra, were on duty on the south side of the river, and received the first charge of the cavalry, under Col. Terry. They defended themselves gallantly until reinforced by the remaining companies from the north side. Hindman's infantry now advanced with loud yells, and were received with such a deadly volley of musketry as to cause them to waver and fall back. Terry's cavalry charged again and again, only to be driven back in confusion. At length Terry rallied seventy-five men, and fell upon a body of the Thirty-second, deployed as skirmishers, under command of Capt. Welschbilling. The veteran coolness of the skirmish line enraged him, and, charging too far, followed by only six of his men, he was killed. The enemy



now opened with his artillery, but with little effect, and the sudden appearance on his flank of a company of the Thirty-second, hitherto held in reserve, caused the belief that re-enforcements had arrived for the Union forces, when he hastily retired. Col. Willich arrived upon the field during the progress of the engagement, and took charge of the right wing. His entire force present upon the field numbered only 414 officers and men, of which he lost ten killed, twenty-two wounded and five missing. Hindman acknowledged a loss of only four killed and ten wounded, but his estimate of Willich's loss—"seventy-five killed, and wounded unknown"—entitles his report to be received with considerable allowance. Gen. Buell's official report claims the Confederate loss to have been thirty-three killed and about fifty wounded, which sounds better for the courage of Hindman's men.

Col. N. B. Forrest, a citizen of Memphis, who early in the summer had undertaken to organize a cavalry regiment, rendezvoused at Fort Donelson, in October, with eight companies—650 men. At his own request he was assigned to Tilghman's command at Hopkinsville. A remarkable prediction in regard to Forrest appears in a letter from Mr. Sam. Tate to Gen. Johnston, dated November 4th: "Give Forrest a chance, and he will distinguish himself." How well the prophecy of Samuel was verified is prominently set forth in both Union and Confederate histories, and four years later received the sanction of one of the greatest of American generals, George H. Thomas.

Forrest's cavalry was actively employed on picket duty during the month of December. The debatable ground, lying between the front of Tilghman at Hopkinsville and Crittenden at Calhoon, was the scene of almost daily skirmishes between small bodies of cavalry from adjacent camps. Villages were occupied alternately by Union and Confederate troopers, and the inhabitants kept constantly on the alert to change their politics in time to welcome the intruders. On the 26th of December, Gen. Johnston ordered a cavalry reconnaissance toward Crittenden's

camp, and Forrest, at the head of 300 men, reached Greenville on the 28th.

Col. James S. Jackson had by this time completed the organization of his regiment (the Third Kentucky Cavalry) at Calhoon, and a young major in command of a battalion, Eli H. Murray, now governor of Utah, burning with patriotic ardor and fearful that the war would end before he could have an opportunity to dint his bright new sword in conflict with the enemy, hearing of Forrest's advance, craved permission to meet him with his battalion, numbering 168 men. The engagement took place at Sacramento, near which place Forrest was met by a young lady equally filled with Confederate enthusiasm, and whose beauty, Forrest reported, caused him to burn with knightly zeal, who galloped down the road to point out Murray's position. Forrest charged immediately with 150 men, but was met by Murray with forty-five of his men with so much spirit that he was compelled to retire. Maj. Murray behaved with great gallantry and would have repulsed the second charge made by Forrest with his entire force had not a dastard of his command shouted, "Retreat to Sacramento!" Most of the men fled at once in defiance of the orders of their commander, and Forrest, seeing the retreat, now charged down upon the fugitives, converting the retreat into a rout. Murray's loss was six killed, among whom was Capt. Albert Bacon, of Frankfort, Ky., whose courage and soldierly conduct was noticed by Forrest in his report, and seven privates wounded and captured. Capt. Davis, whose conspicuous courage led him too far within the Confederate lines, was captured by Forrest in person. Forrest's loss, as stated by himself, was two killed, one of whom was Capt. Meriwether, and three were wounded. Forrest returned at once to Hopkinsville, where he remained until February 7, when he covered the retreat of the Confederate brigade to Clarksville. Jackson, on hearing of the skirmish at Sacramento, immediately started with 500 of his regiment in pursuit of Forrest, but did not overtake him.

The battle of Mill Springs, or Fishing

Creek, as it is termed by Confederate writers, carried a gleam of sunshine into the war department at Washington, and created corresponding gloom in the Confederate camp. It was the first movement against the enemy that had succeeded. Intended merely as a diversion, it demolished an army. The Union army, east and west, had hitherto been engaged in fruitless skirmishes or in inglorious repulses, such as those of Stone, on the Potomac, or Grant, at Belmont. The president, sick at heart by reason of the masterly inactivity displayed by his generals all along the line, from the Mississippi to tide water, held firmly to the helm of the ship of state, hoping, sometimes possibly with the facts against him, that he would outstride the storm.

Gen. Thomas had removed his headquarters to Lebanon, Ky., in December, and at once set about the formation of his division, numbering 10,000 men. Gen. Schoepf's brigade, stationed at Somerset, was joined early in January, 1862, by acting Brig.-Gen. S. P. Carter's brigade, consisting of the First and Second Tennessee Regiments, the Seventh Kentucky having been left at camp Calvert, near London, to guard that avenue of approach from Cumberland Gap. The effective strength of these regiments was 1,041. Gen. Buell, full of his plan of operations against the main force of the enemy in his front, which involved the active co-operation of Gen. Halleck, by an attack upon the left flank of the enemy at Forts Henry and Donelson, while he should, by a rapid movement, flank the force at Bowling Green, was still obliged to give attention to the menace upon his rear offered by Humphrey Marshall, and upon his left by Zollicoffer. Against the first he dispatched Garfield; and Gen. Thomas, on the 29th of December, was directed to strike a vigorous and decided blow upon the latter. In his instructions to Thomas, Gen. Buell directed that he should move upon Zollicoffer's left and endeavor to cut him off from his line of retreat across the river, while Schoepf attacked him in front. The result, he said, ought to be at least a severe blow to the enemy or a hasty flight across the river. Having accomplished

this object, Thomas was to be ready to move in any direction; but unless circumstances required him to act without delay, he was to await further orders. The command of Gen. Thomas constituted an important portion of the flanking column before referred to, and it was to be kept in condition to move promptly when ordered.

One condition existing at this season of the year, constituted an insurmountable obstacle to celerity of movement. The clay subsoil of Kentucky—an invaluable factor in the fertility of the agricultural regions—when soaked with rains, which drench the ground during the winter months, is of about the consistency of thick mortar. The roads, when not turnpiked and much traveled, become almost impassable. The depth of mud is measured by the length of the horses legs or the spokes in the wheels of passing vehicles. It was over a road of this character that the course of Gen. Thomas' army lay from Columbia to Logan's Cross-Roads. There was a turnpike from Lebanon to Columbia, to which point a supply of subsistence stores was sent a few days previous to the march.

The movements of Gen. Thomas are best given in his own language:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION, DEPARTMENT  
OF THE OHIO, CAMP NEAR WEBB'S CROSS-  
ROADS, KY., January 13, 1862. }  
BRIG.-GEN. SCHOEPP, Commanding at Somerset:

I received yours of the 11th to-day, by Capt. Hale. When I last wrote to you I was in the hopes of being near Somerset by this time, but the heavy rains have injured the roads so much that it will be impossible to say now when I can be in your vicinity. We have already been three days in making sixteen miles, and our ammunition and provisions are far behind now—probably will not be up by to-morrow night. Should I ever succeed in getting near you, I will send a messenger to let you know. I wrote to Gen. Buell five days since, submitting your proposition of crossing the river, and attacking from the bluffs of Meadow Creek, but have received no reply from him up to this time. As soon as I hear I will write you the result.

I have not had time to converse fully with the men you sent me, but if it be possible to approach the enemy by the way of White Oak Creek I should like to have them as guides.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE H. THOMAS.

*Brigadier-General, United States Army, commanding.*



Gen. Zollicoffer, having fortified the gaps in the Cumberland range, had, as has been stated, moved southward, and, by direction of Gen. Johnston, taken position at Mill Springs, on the south bank of the Cumberland, five miles below the mouth of Fishing Creek. This stream, flowing southward in a deep ravine, crosses the roads leading from Somerset to the ferry at Mill Springs. On the 9th of December, Zollicoffer crossed the river and erected fortifications on the north bank at a place called Beech Grove, an eminence protected on its rear and flanks by the river, and with only about 1,200 yards of fighting front to defend. The slope ascending from the valley to the intrenchments he covered with an abatis of fallen trees, and communication was kept up with Mill Springs by means of a small steamboat and two flats.

Gen. George B. Crittenden arrived at Mill Springs and assumed command about the 1st of January. Although he did not like Zollicoffer's position, "with an enemy in front and a river behind," he took no measures to recall him to the south bank, and, regardless of the instructions of Gen. Johnston to remain strictly on the defensive, he removed his entire force to Beech Grove. Crittenden's weekly report of the strength of his command, on the 7th of January, shows an aggregate present and absent of 9,417 men; present for duty, 6,444. This force was organized as follows: Four battalions (seven companies) of cavalry, two batteries of artillery, and eight regiments of infantry, amply sufficient to guard the front of the entrenched position, provided the infantry were well armed and well disciplined, and the guns of sufficiently heavy caliber to keep the light artillery of an assaulting force at a distance.

But in these requisites for successful defense, his army was almost as deficient as that of Humphrey Marshall, while his facilities for escape, if hard pressed, were totally inadequate. With the knowledge that he possessed of the forces concentrating in his front, there is no doubt that Crittenden would have lost no time in removing his command to the south bank of the Cumberland, but for the unwise decision of a council of war,

held at his headquarters, that the forces of Gen. Thomas should be attacked and defeated in detail before they could concentrate for an assault upon his position. The eloquence of Zollicoffer had imbued his men with some degree of his own impetuous bravery, and had created an ardor to meet the Union forces in the open field, where they were led to believe that a bold and rapid charge would carry everything before it. Gen. Crittenden, who was an utter stranger to the men, found himself in a position where, to obey the dictates of his judgment, he must antagonize the warlike spirit that had been instilled into the minds of his troops, who demanded to be led against the enemy, and, fearing to withdraw without offering battle would jeopardize his standing in the command and demoralize his men, he consented to hazard everything upon the issue of a battle.

He had the following troops at his disposal:

Weekly return of the command of Gen Zollicoffer, Camp Beech Grove, Ky., for the week ending January 7, 1862. Present for duty:

Troops.	Officers.	Men.
Col. W. B. Wood, 16th Alabama.....	23	356
Col. W. B. Statham, 15th Mississippi.....	34	820
Col. T. W. Newman, 17th Tennessee.....	31	307
Col. D. H. Cummings, 19th Tennessee.....	31	645
Col. J. A. Battle, 20th Tennessee.....	32	662
Col. S. S. Stanton, 25th Tennessee.....	30	653
Col. S. Powell, 29th Tennessee.....	31	462
Col. J. P. Murray, 28th Tennessee.....	44	704
Lieut.-Col. McNairy, 1st Battalion, Tennessee.....	15	197
Lieut.-Col. Brazelton, two companies of the 3d Battalion, Tennessee.....	6	133
Lieut.-Col. Branner, 4th Battalion, Tennessee.....	22	314
Lieut.-Col. McClellan, five companies of 5th Tennessee.....	18	297
Capt. T. C. Sanders' Independent Cavalry Company.....	4	67
Capt. W. S. Bledsoe's Independent Cavalry Company.....	4	80
Capt. H. M. Rutledge's Artillery Company.	5	135
Capt. H. L. W. McClung's Artillery Company.....	4	79
Total.....	333	6,111

The force with which Gen. Thomas met the attack, and drove the Confederate forces from the field, consisted of the following:

Second Battalion, 1st Kentucky Cavalry, Col. Wolford.....	250
First Ohio Artillery, Capt. Kenny.....	110
First Ohio Artillery, Capt. Standart.....	122
First Artillery, Capt. Wetmore.....	104
Twelfth Brigade, Gen. Carter (not seriously engaged):	
First Tennessee, Col. Byrd.....	610
Second Tennessee, Col. Carter.....	442
Twelfth Kentucky, Col. Hoskins.....	478
Second Brigade, Col. Manson:	
Tenth Indiana, Lieut.-Col. Kise.....	710
Fourth Kentucky, Col. S. S. Fry.....	400
Third Brigade, Col. McCook:	
Ninth Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Kammering.....	628
Second Minnesota, Col. Van Cleve.....	600
Effective strength present for duty.....	4,454
Battalion of Michigan Engineers and one company Thirty-eighth Ohio, detached to guard the camp.....	375
Total.....	4,829

The following report of the battle by Gen. Thomas is so complete in details that we give it entire:

HDQRS. FIRST DIVISION, DEPT. OF THE OHIO, }  
SOMERSET, KY., January 31, 1862. }

*Captain.*—I have the honor to report that in carrying out the instructions of the general commanding the department, contained in his communication of the 29th of December, I reached Logan's Cross-Roads, about ten miles north of the intrenched camp of the enemy on the Cumberland River, on the 17th inst., with a portion of the Second and Third Brigades, Kenny's battery of artillery, and a battalion of Wolford's cavalry. The Fourth and Tenth Kentucky, Fourteenth Ohio, and the Eighteenth United States Infantry being still in the rear, detained by the almost impassable condition of the roads, I determined to halt at this point to await their arrival and to communicate with Gen. Schoepf.

The Tenth Indiana, Wolford's cavalry, and Kenny's battery took position on the road leading to the enemy's camp. The Ninth Ohio and Second Minnesota (part of Col. McCook's brigade) encamped three-fourths of a mile to the right, on the Robert's post-road. Strong pickets were thrown out in the direction of the enemy beyond where the Somerset and Mill Springs Road comes into the main road from my camp to Mill Springs, and a picket of cavalry some distance in advance of the infantry. Gen. Schoepf visited me on the day of my arrival, and, after consultation, I directed him to send to my camp Standart's battery, the Twentieth Kentucky, and the First and Second Tennessee regiments, to remain until the regiments in the rear should come up.

Having received information, on the evening of the 17th, that a large train of wagons with its

escort were encamped on the Robert's post and Danville Road, about six miles from Col. Steedman's camp, I sent an order to him to send his wagons forward under a strong guard, and to march with his regiment (the Fourteenth Ohio) and the Tenth Kentucky (Col. Harlan), with one day's rations in their haversacks, to the point where the enemy were said to be encamped, and either capture or disperse them.

Nothing of importance occurred from the time of our arrival until the morning of the 19th, except a picket skirmish on the night of the 17th. The Fourth Kentucky, the battalion of Michigan engineers, and Wetmore's battery joined us on the 18th.

About 6.30 o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the pickets from Wolford's cavalry encountered the enemy advancing on our camp, retired slowly, and reported their advance to Col. M. D. Manson, commanding the Second Brigade. He immediately formed his regiment (the Tenth Indiana) and took a position on the road to await the attack, ordering the Fourth Kentucky (Col. S. S. Fry) to support him, and then informed me in person that the enemy were advancing in force and what disposition he had made to resist them. I directed him to rejoin his brigade immediately and hold the enemy in check until I could order up the other troops, which were directed to form immediately and were marching to the field in ten minutes afterward. The battalion of Michigan engineers and Company A, Thirty-eighth Ohio (Capt. Greenwood), were ordered to remain as a guard to the camp.

Upon my arrival on the field soon afterward I found the Tenth Indiana formed in front of their encampment, apparently awaiting orders, and ordered them forward to the support of the Fourth Kentucky, which was the only entire regiment then engaged. I then rode forward myself to see the enemy's position, so that I could determine what disposition to make with my troops as they arrived. On reaching the position held by the Fourth Kentucky, Tenth Indiana and Wolford's cavalry, at a point where the roads fork, leading to Somerset, I found the enemy advancing through a corn field and evidently endeavoring to gain the left of the Fourth Kentucky regiment, which was maintaining its position in a most determined manner. I directed one of my aids to ride back and order up a section of artillery and the Tennessee brigade to advance on the enemy's right, and sent orders for Col. McCook to advance with his two regiments (the Ninth Ohio and Second Minnesota) to the support of the Fourth Kentucky and Tenth Indiana.

A section of Capt. Kenny's battery took a position on the edge of the field to the left of the Fourth Kentucky and opened an effective fire on a regiment of Alabamians, which were advancing on the Fourth Kentucky. Soon afterward the Second Minnesota (Col. H. P. Van Cleve) arrived, the Colonel reporting to me for instructions. I directed him to take the position of the Fourth Kentucky



and Tenth Indiana, whose regiments were nearly out of ammunition. The Ninth Ohio, under the immediate command of Maj. Kammerling, came into position on the right of the road at the same time.

Immediately after these regiments had gained their position the enemy opened a most determined and galling fire, which was returned by our troops in the same spirit; and for nearly half an hour the contest was maintained on both sides in the most obstinate manner. At this time the Twelfth Kentucky (Col. W. A. Hoskins) and the Tennessee brigade reached the field to the left of the Minnesota regiments, and opened fire on the right flank of the enemy, who then began to fall back. The Second Minnesota kept up a most galling fire in the front, and the Ninth Ohio charged the enemy on the right with bayonets fixed, turned their flank, and drove them from the field, the whole line giving way and retreating in the utmost disorder and confusion.

As soon as the regiments could be formed and refill their cartridge boxes I ordered the whole force to advance. A few miles in the rear of the battle-field a small force of cavalry was drawn up near the road, but a few shots from our artillery (a section of Standart's battery) dispersed them, and none of the enemy were seen again until we arrived in front of their intrenchments. As we approached, the division was deployed in line of battle and steadily advanced to the summit of the hill at Moulden's. From this point I directed their intrenchments to be cannonaded, which was done until dark by Standart's and Wetmore's batteries. Kenny's battery was placed in position on the extreme left at Russell's house, from which point he was directed to fire on their ferry, to deter them from attempting to cross.

On the following morning Capt. Wetmore's battery was ordered to Russell's house and assisted with his Parrott guns in firing upon the ferry. Col. Manson's brigade took possession on the left near Kenny's battery, and every preparation was made to assault their intrenchments on the following morning. The Fourteenth Ohio (Col. Steedman) and the Tenth Kentucky (Col. Harlan), having joined from detached service soon after the repulse of the enemy, continued with their brigade in the pursuit, although they could not get up in time to join in the fight. These two regiments were placed in front in my advance on the intrenchments the next morning and entered first. Gen. Schoepf also joined me the evening of the 19th with the Seventeenth, Thirty-first and Thirty-eighth Ohio. His entire brigade entered with the other troops.

On reaching the intrenchments we found the enemy had abandoned everything and retired during the night. Twelve pieces of artillery, with their caissons packed with ammunition; one battery wagon and two forges; a large amount of ammunition; a large number of small arms, mostly the

old flint-lock muskets; 150 or 160 wagons, and upward of 1,000 horses and mules; a large amount of commissary stores, intrenching tools, and camp and garrison equipage, fell into our hands. A correct list of all the captured property will be forwarded as soon as it can be made up and property secured.

The steam and ferry boats having been burned by the enemy in their retreat, it was found impossible to cross the river and pursue them; besides, their command was completely demoralized, and retreated with great haste and in all directions, making their capture in any numbers quite doubtful, if pursued. There is no doubt but what the moral effect produced by their complete dispersion will have a more decided effect in re-establishing Union sentiments than though they had been captured.

It affords me much pleasure to be able to testify to the uniform steadiness and good conduct of both officers and men during the battle, and I respectfully refer to the accompanying reports of the different commanders for the names of those officers and men, whose good conduct was particularly noticed by them.

The enemy's loss, as far as known, is as follows: Brig.-Gen. Zollicoffer, Lieut. Bailie Peyton, and 190 officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; Lieut.-Col. M. B. Carter, Twentieth Tennessee; Lieut. J. W. Allen, Fifteenth Mississippi; Lieut. Allen Morse, Sixteenth Alabama and five officers of the medical staff, and eighty-one non-commission officers and privates taken prisoners; Lieut. J. E. Patterson, Twentieth Tennessee; and A. J. Knapp, Fifteenth Mississippi, and sixty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates wounded; making 192 killed, eighty-nine prisoners not wounded, and sixty-eight wounded; a total of killed, wounded and prisoners of 349. Our loss was as follows:

	KILLED.		WOUNDED.	
	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.
Tenth Indiana.....	—	10	3	72
First Kentucky (Cav) 1		2	—	19
Fourth Kentucky...		8	4	48
Second Minnesota..	—	12	2	31
Ninth Ohio.....	—	6	4	24
—	—	—	—	—
Total.....	1	38	13	194

A complete list of the names of our killed and wounded and of the prisoners is herewith attached.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
GEORGE H. THOMAS,

*Brig.-Gen. United States Volunteers, Commanding.*  
CAPT. J. B. FRY, A. A. G., chief of staff, headquarters Department Ohio, Louisville, Ky.

The following extract from Gen. Crittenden's official report furnishes, if any were needed, evidence of the disaster to the Confederate troops:

On the evening of the 18th I called in council Brig.-Gens. Zollicoffer and Carroll, and the com-

manding officers of regiments, and of cavalry and artillery, and there it was determined, without dissent, to march out and attack the enemy under Gen. Thomas on the next morning. Accordingly, Gens. Zollicoffer and Carroll were ordered to remove their brigades at midnight in the following order:

First—The brigade of Gen. Zollicoffer, in the following order: In front, the independent cavalry companies of Capts. Saunders and Bledsoe; then the Fifteenth Mississippi Regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Walthall; then the Nineteenth Tennessee, commanded by Col. D. H. Cummings; then the Twentieth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Battle; then the Twenty-fifth Tennessee, commanded by Col. S. S. Stanton; then four guns of Rutledge's battery, commanded by Capt. Rutledge.

Second—The brigade of Gen. Carroll in this order: In front, the Seventeenth Tennessee, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Miller; then the Twenty-eighth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Murray; then the Twenty-ninth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Powell; then two guns of McClung's battery, commanded by Capt. McClung.

In the rear were the Sixteenth Alabama, as a reserve, commanded by Col. W. B. Wood and the cavalry battalions of Lieut.-Col. Branner and Lieut.-Col. McClellan.

Soon after daylight, on the morning of January 19th, the cavalry advance came in contact with the pickets of the enemy, after a march of near nine miles over a deep and muddy road. With a few shots the enemy's pickets were driven in, retiring about a quarter of a mile to a house on the left of the road. From this house, and woods in the rear of it, quite a brisk firing was opened upon the head of the column. Skirmishers had been thrown forward, Gen. Zollicoffer's brigade was formed in line of battle, and ordered to advance upon the enemy, who, I supposed, would come out from their camp, which we were now approaching, to take position. The road here extended straight in front for near a mile toward the north.

A company of skirmishers from the Mississippi regiment, advancing on the left of the road after sharp firing, drove a body of the enemy from the house and the woods next to it, and then, under orders, crossing the road, fell in with their regiment. Following this company of skirmishers on the left of the road to the point where it crossed to the right, the regiment of Col. Cummings (Nineteenth Tennessee) kept straight on, and, crossing a field about 250 yards wide at a double-quick, charged into the woods where the enemy was sheltered, driving back the Tenth Indiana Regiment until it was re-enforced.

At this time Gen. Zollicoffer rode up to the Nineteenth Tennessee and ordered Col. Cummings to cease firing, under the impression that the fire was upon another regiment of his own brigade. Then the general advanced, as if to give an order to the lines of the enemy within bayonet reach, and

was killed just as he discovered his fatal mistake.\* Thereupon a conflict ensued, when the Nineteenth Tennessee broke its lines and gave back. Rather in the rear and near to this regiment was the Twenty-fifth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Stanton, which engaged the enemy, when the colonel was wounded at the head of his men; but this regiment, impressed with the same idea which had proved fatal to Gen. Zollicoffer—that it was engaged with friends—soon broke its lines and fell into some disorder.

At this time, the fall of Gen. Zollicoffer having been announced to me, I went forward in the road to the regiments of Col. Cummings and Stanton, and announced to Col. Cummings the death of Gen. Zollicoffer, and that the command of the brigade devolved upon him.

There was a cessation of firing for a few moments, and I ascertained that the regiment of Col. Battle was on the right and the Mississippi regiment in the center, neither as yet having been actively engaged, and the enemy in front of the entire line. I had ordered Gen. Carroll to bring up his brigade, and it was now, in supporting distance, displayed in line of battle.

I now repeated my orders for a general advance, and soon the battle raged from right to left. When I sent my aid to order the Fifteenth Mississippi to charge, I sent by him an order to Gen. Carroll to advance a regiment to sustain it. He ordered up for that purpose Col. Murray's (Twenty-eighth Ten-

\*Col. Fry in a letter to the writer gives the following account of the death of Gen. Zollicoffer:

"In order to ascertain more certainly the exact state of affairs, the firing having nearly ceased, I rode from the right of my regiment some fifteen or twenty paces down to the fence behind which we had been fighting, and, discovering no enemy in that direction, I turned my horse and rode slowly back to the place I had just left. As I neared the road I saw an officer riding slowly down the road on a white horse and within twenty paces of the right of my regiment. His uniform was concealed, except the extremities of his pantaloons, which I observed were of the color worn by Federal officers, by a long green overcoat. His near approach to my regiment, his calm manner, my close proximity to him, indeed everything I saw led me to believe he was a Federal officer belonging to one of the regiments just arriving. So thoroughly was I convinced that he was one of our men, I did not hesitate to ride up to his side so closely that our knees touched. He was calm, self-possessed and dignified in manner. He said to me "We must not shoot our own men," to which I responded, "Of course not; I would not do so intentionally," then turning his eyes to his left and pointing in the same direction he said, "those are our men." I could not see the men from my position, but I now suppose they were there. I immediately moved off to the right of my regiment, perhaps some fifteen or twenty paces from the spot on which I met him. His language convinced me more than ever that he was a Federal officer. How it is that he did not discover that I was one I cannot tell, as my uniform was entirely exposed to view, having on nothing to conceal it. As soon as I reached my regiment, I paused, turning my horse a little to the left, and across the road, looked back to see what was going on, when, to my great surprise, another officer whom I had not seen rode out from behind a large tree near the place of my meeting with the first officer, and, with pistol in hand, leveled it directly at me, fired, and paused for a moment, doubtless to observe the effect of his shot. Instead of striking the object at which it was aimed, the ball struck my horse just above the hip bone making a flesh wound. I immediately drew my Colt's revolver from the holster, and was about to fire, when he retreated behind a tree. Not until this time was I aware that I had been in conversation with an officer of the opposing army. In an instant the thought flashed across my mind that the officer with whom I had met and conversed had attempted to draw me into the snare of death or secure my capture by a false representation of his position, and, feeling thus, I aimed at him and fired."

Gen. Zollicoffer fell pierced by three bullets, for at the same moment several men of the Fourth Kentucky fired upon him.



nessee) regiment, which engaged the enemy on the left of the Mississippi regiment and on the right of Stanton's (Tennessee) regiment. I ordered Capt. Rutledge, with two of his guns, forward in the road to an advanced and hazardous position, ordering Col. Stanton to support him, where I hoped he might bring them to play effectively upon the enemy; but the position did not permit this, and he soon retired, under my order. At this point the horse of Capt. Rutledge was killed under him.

Very soon the enemy began to gain ground on our left and to use their superior force for flanking in that quarter. I was in person at the right of the line of Stanton's regiment; the battle was still raging, and I did not observe this so soon as it was observed by Gen. Carroll, who moved the regiment of Col. Cummings, then commanded by Lieut.-Col. Walker, to the left, to meet this movement of the enemy, and formed the Seventeenth Tennessee, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Miller, to support the regiments on the left. The regiments of Murray, Stanton and Cummings were driven back by the enemy, and, while reforming in the rear of the Seventeenth Tennessee, that well-disciplined regiment met and held in check for some time the entire right wing of the northern army. These regiments on my left and on the left of the road retired across the field a distance of about 250 yards, and there, for a time, repulsed the advancing enemy. Especially the regiment of Col. Stanton, partially rallied by its gallant field officers, formed behind a fence, and, pouring volleys into the ranks of the enemy coming across the field, repulsed and drove them back for a time with heavy loss.

For an hour now the Fifteenth Mississippi under Lieut.-Col. Walthall, and the Twentieth Tennessee, under Col. Joel A. Battle, of my center and right, had been struggling with the superior force of the enemy.

I cannot omit to mention the heroic valor of these two regiments, officers and men. When the left retired they were flanked and compelled to leave their position. In their rear, on the right of the road, was the regiment of Col. Powell (Twenty-ninth Tennessee) which had been formed in the rear and ordered forward by me some time before. Gen. Carroll ordered this regiment to face the flanking force of the enemy, which was crossing the road from the left side; this it did, checking it with a raking fire at thirty paces. In this conflict Col. Powell, commanding, was badly wounded.

The Sixteenth Alabama, which was the reserve corps of my division, commanded by Col. Wood, did at this critical juncture most eminent service. Having rushed behind the right and center it came to a close engagement with the pursuing enemy, to protect the flanks and rear of the Fifteenth Mississippi and Twentieth Tennessee when they were the last, after long fighting, to leave the front line of the battle, and, well led by its commanding officer, in conjunction with portions of other regiments, it

effectually prevented pursuit and protected our return to camp.

Owing to the formation and character of the field of battle I was unable to use my artillery and cavalry to advantage in the action. During much of the time the engagement lasted, rain was falling. Many of the men were armed with flint-lock muskets and they became soon unserviceable.

On the field and during the retreat to camp some of the regiments became confused and broken and great disorder prevailed. This was owing, in some measure, to a want of proper drill and discipline on which the army had been much deprived by reason of the nature of its constant service and of the country in which it had encamped.

During the engagement, or just prior to it, the force under Gen. Thomas was increased by the arrival, on a forced march, of a brigade from his rear which I had hoped would not arrive until the engagement was over. This made the force of the enemy about 12,000 men. My effective force was 4,000. The engagement lasted three hours.

My loss was 125 killed, 309 wounded, and 95 missing, as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded	Missing
15th Mississippi Regiment....	44	153	29
20th Tennessee (Battle).....	33	59	18
19th Tennessee (Cummings)...	10	22	2
25th Tennessee (Stanton).....	10	28	17
17th Tennessee (Newman)....	11	25	2
28th Tennessee (Murray).....	3	4	5
29th Tennessee (Powell).....	5	12	10
16th Alabama.....	9	5	12
Capt. Saunderson's cavalry.....	—	1	—
Total.....	125	309	95

The loss of the enemy, from the best information I have and statements made by themselves, may be estimated at 700 killed and wounded. It was larger than mine from the fact that my regiments on the left, after first being driven back, fired from the cover of woods and fences upon the large numbers advancing upon them through the open field, inflicting heavy loss and sustaining but little.

Crittenden's position at Beech Grove was extremely perilous, and as soon as possible he prepared to cross the river with his remaining troops, now reduced to a disorganized mass of panic-stricken men, whose only desire was to secure personal safety. He got them all across to the south bank under cover of darkness, except some who attempted to swim the river on their horses and were drowned. The condition of these fugitives was indeed pitiful. They had marched nine miles on the night of the 18th through rain and mud; had fought a battle and been beaten, and fallen back in utter rout to their

position only to leave it, and, without rest or food, take up the line of march to a more secure retreat. Through Monticello and Livingston to Gainesboro they plodded their weary way, subsisting upon the scanty supplies of a wasted country, until starvation caused the wholesale desertion of several regiments and the disintegration of almost the entire command. They had fought well; many had displayed the highest personal courage, and deserved better treatment at the hands of their commanders than to be branded as deserters. Their loss upon the field had been great, but it was not one-tenth of that by desertion on the retreat to Gainesboro.

The loss of Gen. Zollicoffer was a severe blow to the Confederates. Although, owing to his lack of military experience, his repeated attempts to enter Kentucky had cost them an army, they cherished his memory with tenderness for many years after his death. His body was embalmed and sent through the lines under a flag of truce. Crittenden's lot was even worse than that of his dead comrade; he was charged with being a traitor, with drunkenness upon the field, and with incapacity to command. Although the first, he was not the only, Kentuckian destined to feel the serpent tooth of ingratitude from a people from whom he had sacrificed home and country to espouse the cause of the southern people. He was a gentleman, simple, true and brave, whose proper place was with his noble father and heroic brother, fighting for the honor of his State and nation.

Gen. Thomas dispatched Schoepf with his brigade to pursue Crittenden's broken column. They followed him through the deep mud as far as Monticello, but finding that his brigade, cumbered with knapsacks, guns and blankets, were no match for the fleet-footed Tennesseans, who had thrown away everything that would impede their flight, he returned to Gainesville. Col. Manson's brigade took charge of the deserted camp and its abandoned property, buried the dead, and nursed the wounded of both armies.

Thus the first battle fought by the troops of the Army of the Cumberland, like the last one in which that army was engaged in the

west, was equally crushing in its effect upon the enemy, and the same calm, wise, courageous commander presided upon both occasions. The Fourth and Twelfth Kentucky participated in both engagements.

The region of country known as eastern Kentucky, bordering upon Virginia and separated from it by the Big Sandy River, is rough and sparsely populated. At the outbreak of the rebellion the inhabitants, like their neighbors in western Virginia and east Tennessee, clung instinctively to the Union. Frugal and industrious, brave and independent, they possessed many of the characteristics of the pioneers of Kentucky, whose deeds of valor in the wilderness have for generations formed the traditionary lore about the firesides of their descendants. Taking little interest in national affairs, they were slow to comprehend the cause of difference between the northern and southern States of the Union. When at last the truth was forced upon them by the presence of the armed troops, that the theater of war was at their very doors, the occasion of hostilities was expounded to them by two men whose exploits in the field had been more than equaled by their eloquence upon the stump. These were Hon. Humphrey Marshall and John S. Williams, familiarly known as "Cerro Gordo," for his courageous conduct exhibited on the occasion of that battle in Mexico. It is not surprising that two orators of this character, backed by the persuasive logic of troops of armed men, should have lured a considerable number of the mountaineers away from their allegiance to the national flag. But the number who joined their standard was ridiculously small in proportion to those who joined Union regiments.

For many months the ark of safety of these people lay in the Confederate camp, and that so few availed themselves of the security of person and property offered by enlisting in the southern army is the strongest possible evidence of the inherent loyalty of the Kentucky mountaineers to the government at Washington. Not one of them had voted for Abraham Lincoln. They still held to the creed of the Whig and Democratic parties as



taught by Clay and Jefferson, and represented by John Bell, of Tennessee, on the one side, and Stephen A. Douglas or John C. Breckinridge on the other. They cared little for the institution of slavery, for few of them were slaveholders. By far the greater number were poor and dependent upon their own labor for means with which to support their families; but all were landholders, and, unlike the poor whites in the cotton States, tilled their own soil, and were masters of their own time and opinions. School-houses were scarce, and many could neither read nor write; but if unlearned in the sophistry of politics, they were well grounded in the belief that the United States was the greatest and grandest country on the earth, and every attempt to destroy it met with their unalterable opposition. Such was the country in which Brig.-Gen. Marshall had established his camp in the winter of 1861-62.

Brig.-Gen. William Nelson, having driven the Confederate forces out of eastern Kentucky in October, 1861, returned to Louisville in November, sending the Sixteenth Kentucky back to Maysville and the Twenty-fourth to Lexington, to complete their organization. The Ohio regiments were embarked on transports at Louisa on the Big Sandy River, and taken to Louisville, where they were incorporated into the main army of the Ohio. The abandoned territory was speedily occupied by Gen. Humphrey Marshall, whose base was at Wytheville, Va., on the line of the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad, within easy supporting distance from Knoxville, or the Army of Northern Virginia.

The same troubles that all army commanders both north and south had to encounter assailed Gen. Marshall. He found the troops under Williams half clad and mostly unarmed, and several regiments that had joined him in western Virginia were in the same condition. The undisciplined and destitute condition of his command rendered it better qualified to be sent to a camp of instruction than for active operations against an organized force, but its zealous commander determined to advance into his native State, even if he was only per-

mitted to remain long enough to issue proclamation to the inhabitants.

On December 14th, Col. James A. Garfield commanding the Forty-second Ohio Infantry, stationed at camp Chase, Ohio, received orders from Gen. Buell to proceed with all possible dispatch to Prestonburg, which was reported to be occupied by Gen. Marshall. Sending his regiment by steamer from Cincinnati to Catlettsburg, at the mouth of Big Sandy River, in obedience to orders, he reported at department headquarters for further instructions. Gen. Buell probably desired a personal interview with an inspection of the man whom he was about to intrust with the command of a brigade, as deficiency in the number of brigadier-generals assigned him (in which regard the war department had treated him with marked clemency), rendered it necessary for him to place his brigades under command of the ranking colonels. Care had to be used in brigading regiments to see that the colonel whose commission antedated all the others in the brigade was fit to command it. It was owing to this necessity that nearly all the general officers who afterward distinguished themselves in the Army of the Cumberland won their promotion by meritorious service in the field, and it is no slight evidence of Gen. Buell's insight into the character and ability of men, that most of them were started in the line of promotion by their appointments as brigade commanders at this period.

By Special Order, No. 35, issued December 17th, the Eighteenth Brigade was organized, consisting of the Forty-second Ohio Infantry, Col. J. A. Garfield; Fortieth Ohio Infantry, Col. J. Cranor; Fourteenth Kentucky Infantry, Col. L. T. Moore; Twenty-second Kentucky Infantry, Col. D. W. Lindsey; two companies of Ohio Cavalry, Maj. McLaughlin, and six companies of the First Kentucky Cavalry, Lieut.-Col. Letcher. This brigade was placed under command of Col. J. A. Garfield, who was ordered to proceed at once by steamers to Catlettsburg, thence up the Big Sandy with three regiments, and drive the enemy back, leaving the Fortieth

Ohio at Lexington and Paris to give moral support to his movements in eastern Kentucky. As artillery would be of little use in the rugged country through which his course lay, it was believed it would only embarrass his operations.

As Piketon, on the Big Sandy, was the objective point of his campaign, supplies for his brigade could be transported by steamer, thus saving the necessity of cumbersome wagon trains. It will be observed that times had changed vastly for the better, since Thomas had only a few weeks before asked in vain for a reserve of only four regiments to enable him to move forward from London to the occupation of Knoxville. Now a thoroughly organized brigade could be put in motion for a distant expedition at the will of the department commander. In addition to his brigade, as organized, the Sixteenth Ohio Infantry at Lexington was, in case of necessity, ordered to co-operate. Col. Garfield ordered the Fortieth Ohio and Letcher's cavalry to move eastward *via* Mount Sterling and McCormick's Gap to Prestonburg.

Col. Garfield arrived at Catlettsburg December 21st, and found the Forty-second Ohio, Fourteenth Kentucky and McLaughlin's squadron of Ohio Cavalry awaiting his arrival, with which he moved at once up the river to Louisa. The Twenty-second Kentucky, not being fully equipped, was ordered to join the column on the march. Leaving two companies to guard his supplies and hospital at Louisa, he continued up the river, and on the 25th reached George's Creek, where he remained two days, receiving supplies from below, when he continued his march over Tom's Mountain to the forks of Tom's Creek. Here he learned that Gen. Humphrey Marshall had fortified himself two miles south of Paint Creek, occupying Paintsville and a line extending along Paint Creek for two miles from its junction with the Big Sandy, and that his outposts were established two miles in front.

From Garfield's camp there were three routes leading to Paintsville, one leading along the left bank of the Sandy to the mouth of Paint Creek, thence up the creek to

Paintsville; another directly southward, thence by a very rugged road over the hills, and the third southward along a branch of Tom's Creek, and over a heavy ridge, striking Paint Creek at the mouth of Jennie's Creek, a mile above Paintsville. On the morning of January 5th Col. Garfield sent a small force of infantry and cavalry to advance along the first of these routes to reconnoiter the enemy's position. Two hours later he sent another force with similar orders along the middle route, and two hours later still another with the same directions along the third route. The second and third of these detachments were ordered to return and join the main force, with which Garfield moved rapidly along the first-named route. As he had calculated, Marshall considered the first and second advances as feints, and withdrawing the forces near the mouth, concentrated them higher up the stream against a force that he supposed to be advancing *via* Jennie's Creek. This left the way clear for the Union troops to secure possession of the mouth of Paint Creek, where they were joined by Lieut.-Col. Bolles with 300 of the Second Virginia Cavalry, which had been sent to Garfield by Gen. Cox in West Virginia. On the afternoon of the 6th of January Paintsville was occupied by the Union forces. Col. Garfield now sent Bolles with his cavalry to attack the enemy's cavalry at the mouth of Jennie's Creek, and, throwing a temporary bridge across Paint Creek at Paintsville, Garfield crossed with 1,000 men, and at 9 o'clock at night entered the entrenched camp of Marshall, which he had just deserted. In the meantime Bolles had driven the cavalry from the mouth of Jennie's Creek and pursued them five miles, killing and wounding a considerable number.

Gen. Marshall moved eastward to Prestonburg, and Col. Cranor, who, with the Fortieth Ohio and Letcher's detachment of the First Kentucky Cavalry, was moving on that place, hearing that he was there, turned their course northward and joined Garfield at Paintsville on the 7th.

On the 9th Garfield advanced with 1,500 of his command toward Prestonburg, leaving orders for the remainder to follow immedi-



ately upon the arrival of supplies from the depot at Louisa. He reached the mouth of Abbott's Creek, near Prestonburg, at 8 o'clock the same evening, and found Marshall encamped on the same creek three miles above him. He immediately ordered all his available force at Paintsville to join him as soon as possible. The rain and sleet poured down on the advancing column struggling through the mud in the pitchy darkness, while their comrades on the banks of Abbott's Creek bivouacked upon the soaked earth, awaiting their arrival. At 4 o'clock on the morning of the 10th the command moved forward, crossing Abbott's Creek a mile from its mouth, and soon after attacked and drove the Confederate rear guard. At 8 o'clock Garfield had crossed the ridge that separated Abbott's Creek from Middle Creek, when his advance again encountered Marshall's rear.

Advancing about two miles up the stream, the tired troops reached the forks about noon, where they found Marshall's men occupying a strong position on a steep wooded hill between the forks of the stream. Meanwhile, Gen. Marshall had intercepted a letter from Garfield to Cranor, and, in hope of cutting off the Fortieth at Prestonburg, had fallen back to Abbott's Creek. Finding that Cranor had effected a junction with the main force, he then sought and found a secure position in which to await the attack. Sending his wagon train ahead, he halted at the summit of the wooded hill before mentioned. His brigade consisted of the following organizations: Col. Trigg's Fifty-fourth Virginia regiment, effectives, 578; Col. Williams' Kentucky regiment, 594; Col. Moore's Twenty-ninth Virginia regiment, 317; Col. Simm's mounted battalion, 360; Capt. Jeffries' battery of light artillery, 58; Capt. Worsham's company of cavalry, 50; total, 1,967. Beside the above, Marshall doubtless had a militia force, as he claimed after his defeat by Garfield that the prisoners taken from his force were "not soldiers, but citizens, who have been running like frightened hares ever since the war began, and if pressed to it would submit to have

their ears cropped to show they had master."

The regiments of Cols. Williams and Moore and a part of the mounted battalion occupied the spurs and heights upon the right. Trigg's regiment occupied a height covering his battery, behind which were stationed Witcher's and Holliday's companies as support. Capts. Thomas' and Clay's companies, dismounted and armed with Belgian rifles, were thrown forward to the heights commanding the plain of Middle Creek. A day or two previous Garfield had received from Gen. Buell an intercepted letter from Marshall to Gen. Johnston, stating his effective strength as between 4,000 and 5,000 men.

Col. Garfield drew up his force of 900 infantry on the sloping point of a semi-circular hill, and at 12 o'clock sent forward twenty mounted men to make a dash across the plain. This drew Marshall's fire, and in part disclosed his position. Trigg's Virginia regiment was placed behind the further point of the same ridge which Garfield occupied. Capt. Williams, with four companies of Ohio and Kentucky troops, crossed the creek nearly waist deep, and took position on the high, rocky ridge in front and to the left of the main force.

The enemy now opened fire with two guns of six and twelve-pound caliber; a shell from one of them fell among Garfield's skirmishers, but did not explode. Capt. Williams' detachment engaged Trigg's regiment, and Maj. Burke, of the Fourteenth Kentucky, with two companies, and Maj. Pardee, of the Forty-second Ohio, with ninety men, were sent to re-enforce him, which caused Marshall to withdraw the Virginians across the creek, and to send strong re-enforcements to the hills on the left. About 2 o'clock Col. Cranor, with 150 men from the Fortieth and Forty-second Ohio and Twenty-second Kentucky, was sent to re-enforce Maj. Pardee. Meanwhile Marshall had occupied the ridge to a point nearly opposite to Garfield's right, and opened a heavy fire on his reserve. Lieut.-Col. Monroe, at the head of 120 of the Twenty-second and Fourteenth Kentucky,

now crossed the creek, and gallantly drove the Confederates from their position; the latter, resisting stubbornly, lost several of their number killed at this point, whom they left upon the field. Retiring slowly, and contesting every foot of ground, the Confederate troops were driven up the steep ridge, nearest the creek, by the troops under Cranor and Pardee. At 4 o'clock, Lieut.-Col. Sheldon, with his re-enforcements, arrived upon the field, increasing Garfield's force to 2,300, enabling him to send forward the remainder of his reserve under Lieut.-Col. Brown.

During the fight, the Confederate gunners had worked their pieces industriously, firing over thirty rounds, but they were utterly useless. But one of their shells exploded, and none of their shots, not even canister, took effect. Their small arms were equally ineffectual at long range. Brown, with his reserves, passed around to the right, and endeavored to capture the artillery, but Marshall ordered a retreat, and by 5 o'clock had completely evacuated his position, and fallen back to his camp in the rear. Soon afterward a brilliant light streamed upward from the valley. He was burning his stores preparatory to retreat. Twenty-five of his dead left upon the field told how bravely his men had contended with shot-guns and squirrel rifles against the inevitable logic of "Lincoln's muskets." In the entire action they had killed only one, and wounded twenty of their assailants.

Letcher with his cavalry, having been detached on special service, did not reach the field in time to participate in the action, but he started next morning in pursuit. They followed the trail six miles and took a few prisoners, but were obliged to return through lack of provisions. The total number of prisoners taken was twenty-five, among whom was one officer. The Union troops bivouacked upon the field, and the next day crossed the river and occupied Prestonburg. Garfield found the place almost deserted and stripped of everything like supplies for an army. He was obliged to send his cavalry at once to Paintsville for forage, to which place he returned soon after with his entire force, find-

ing that he could not take proper care of his command in the region about Prestonburg. In less than twenty days he had driven Marshall with his command from two chosen positions, and returned to his depot of supplies with a loss of only three killed and twenty-eight wounded, for which he was rewarded by the government with a brigadier-general's commission, and by the legislature of Kentucky with a vote of thanks.

The wretched condition of the roads compelled Garfield to establish his camp at Paintsville, and Marshall's exhausted supplies made it necessary for him to continue his retreat toward Pound Gap, whence measles, mumps and starvation soon drove him to Virginia. The events of the campaign had taught him that his undisciplined, and almost unfed and unarmed troops, however well endowed with the quality of courage, were no match for Garfield's brigade of well-equipped soldiers, and a further stay in Kentucky could, as he asserted, only result in the disintegration and demoralization of his command.

On the 22d of February, Gen. Garfield moved his brigade twenty-five miles further up the Big Sandy to Piketon. Col. Marshall's Sixteenth Kentucky Infantry had been assigned to Garfield's command on the 20th of January, and Gen. Cox had sent two of his companies of the Fourth Virginia to Louisa to protect the stores at that point. On the 15th of March, Gen. Garfield left Piketon with 600 infantry and 100 cavalry, for Pound Gap, reaching the foot of the mountains late at night. Sending his cavalry by the plain road into the gap to attract attention, he led his infantry by an unfrequented route to the crest of the mountain, whence he surprised the camp, which was occupied by a regiment commanded by Maj. J. B. Thompson, which, after a few minutes' resistance, retreated down the Virginia slope with the cavalry in hot pursuit. They lost seven in killed and wounded, and abandoned everything that would impede their flight. After destroying the camp and burning the buildings that had been erected for the storage of military supplies, the command



returned to Piketon without the loss of a man.

In the meantime, the Tennessee campaign, which Buell had so persistently urged on assuming command of the Department of the Ohio, had been opened. Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, had been captured by the gun-boats on the 6th of February, 1862, and the week following was devoted to reconnoitering the approaches and moving the land forces to the next point of attack.

The army concentrated by Gen. Grant on the ground in front of Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, was permitted, on the morning of the 13th of February, to move into position without hindrance from the Confederates, who, confident of their strength, did not venture from behind the cover of their intrenchments. The garrison allowed its position to be invested by a force but little larger than itself, but on the arrival of re-enforcements from Cumberland City, the innocent-looking log piles became a line of artillery fire. Gen. C. F. Smith made an attempt to carry the works in his front, but was repulsed by Hanson's Confederate Kentucky regiment and the Thirteenth Tennessee with considerable loss. McClelland moved against Heiman's elevated position, but after two bold attempts to carry it was compelled to fall back, while the batteries upon the crest of the hills blazed away at each other with noisy zeal. Gen. McClelland's division took position on the right of the line of investment, and Gen. Smith's brigades as they came occupied the left, in front of Buckner's line. The division of Gen. Lew Wallace was assigned to the center of the line only 500 yards in front of the Confederate works.

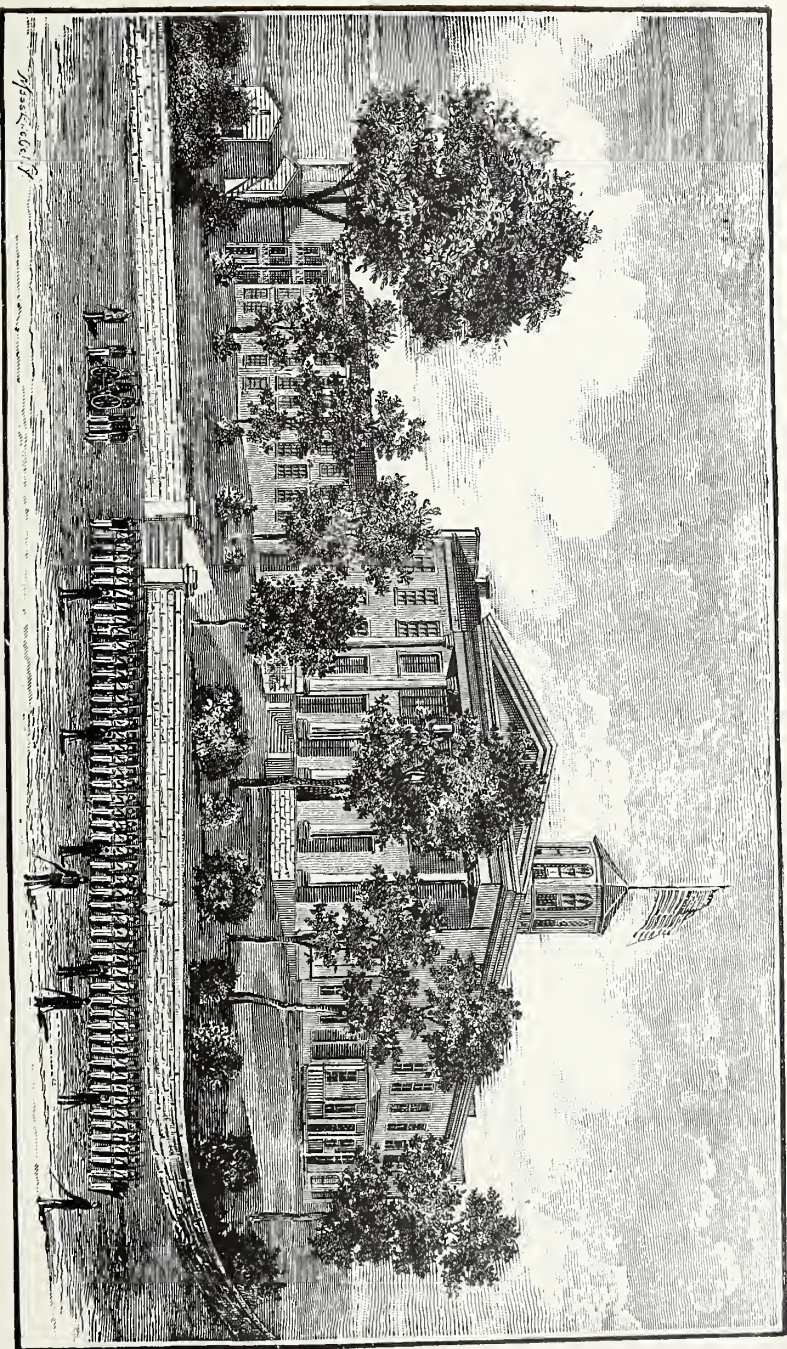
The Confederate forces, under command of Maj.-Gen. John B. Floyd, consisted of Gen. Pillow's division, 1,000 cavalry under Col. Forrest, Buckner's division, and two water batteries on the hillside, commanding the river. The strength of the contending forces was: Grant's, 24,400; Floyd's, 16,970. The Seventeenth and Twenty-fifth Kentucky Infantry, commanded by Cols. John H. Mc-

Henry and James M. Shackelford, and the Thirty-first and Forty-fourth Indiana formed the first brigade of Wallace's division, which under command of Col. Charles Cruikshank, Thirty-first Indiana, was detached from Crutten's division of the Army of the Ohio by order of Gen. Buell, and sent by boat to re-enforce Grant in his operations against Fort Donelson.

The day following the battle of the Trenches, so called by Gen. Floyd, the gunboats which had proved effective in the reduction of Fort Henry, appeared in front of Fort Donelson, but their stay was brief. The elevation of the batteries overcame the advantage of the gunboats in weight of guns, and sent their bolts crushing through the fleet with resistless force, carrying destruction in their course. But a few moments sufficed to send the disabled boats drifting down the stream, while inside the works not a gun was disabled nor a man hurt. Thus the first two days of the siege ended in repulses by land and water, while the unsheltered troops of both armies lay down upon the ground, in the midst of a storm of rain and sleet that raged with unwonted fury.

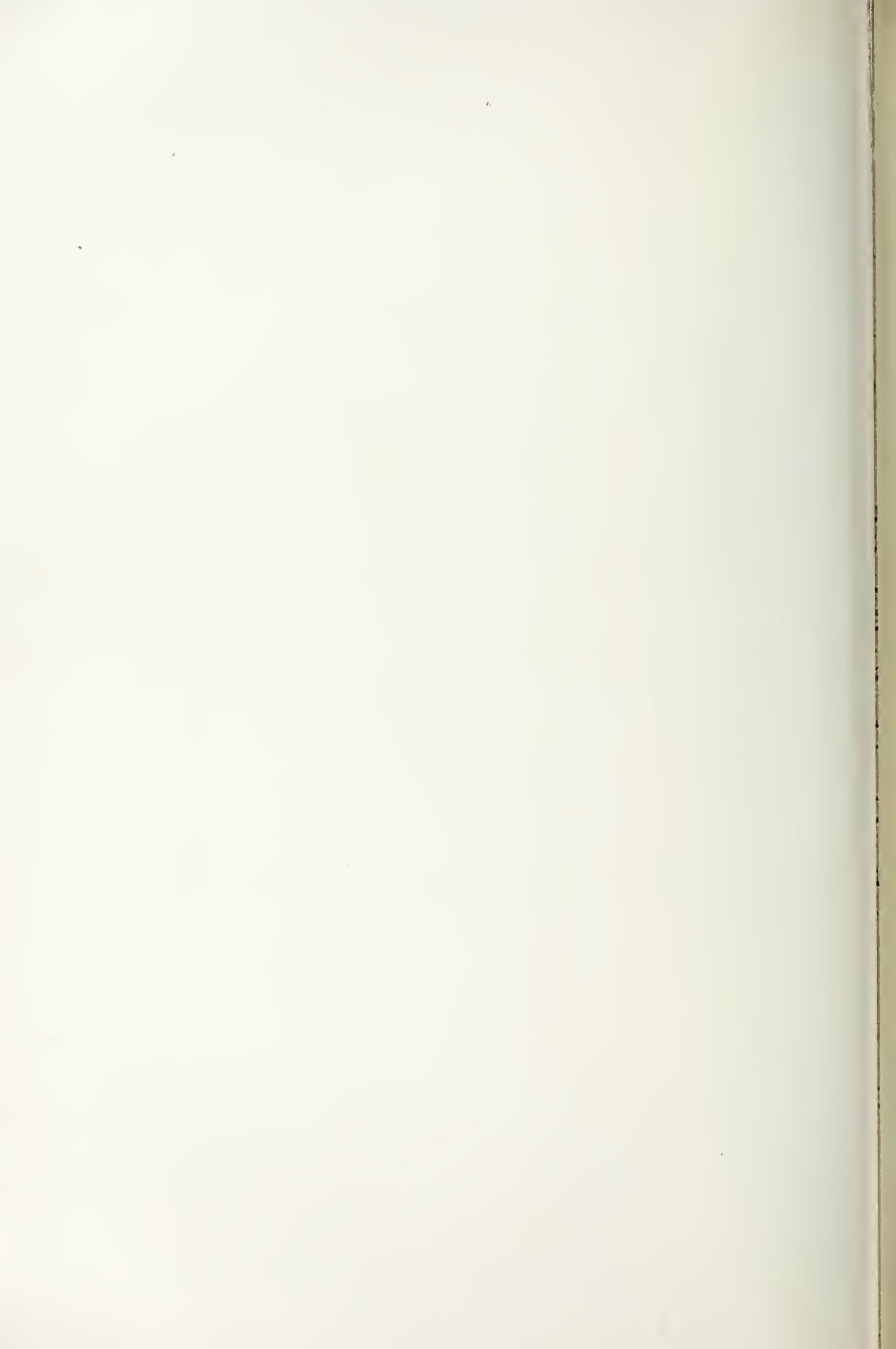
Notwithstanding the success of the Confederates in maintaining their position, a feeling of insecurity pervaded the minds of both Pillow and Floyd. Gen. Buckner, more practical than either, devised a plan of escape by the Winn's Ferry road, in the direction of Nashville, which, provided he could have had the execution of it, would doubtless have succeeded. This was to make a vigorous assault upon McClelland, drive him back upon the center, and hold him there while the main portion of the Confederates marched out of the trenches and pursued their way toward Nashville. The first part of the programme was carried out, but in the nick of time when everything should have been in readiness to move promptly to the rear, Floyd grew irresolute and concluded to wait. Delays are proverbially dangerous, and in this instance proved fatal to the Confederates.

McClelland was not driven back without a stubborn fight, and withdrew only after hav-



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ing exhausted his ammunition. Even then pursuit by the Confederates was checked by the prompt action of Gen. Wallace, who threw his division in front of McClernand and took up the battle where it had fallen from his hands. In this emergency Col. Cruft was ordered to the front. The brigade moved at double quick over the rugged road, the Twenty-fifth Kentucky in advance, pressing onward to engage the Confederates. A staff officer of Gen. McClernand led the head of the column too far to the right, when suddenly, before a line of battle could be formed, the Twenty-fifth found itself confronted by a superior force of the Confederates, which formed a flanking column, moving around by a ravine to capture Taylor's battery. Shackelford immediately formed his line under a murderous fire, supported on the left by the Thirty-first Indiana. The Seventeenth Kentucky and Forty-fourth Indiana hurriedly formed a line against which the Confederates again and again hurled heavy masses of troops in a vain attempt to break it. Not a man left the ranks. Knowing the terrible responsibilities resting upon them, animated by a common impulse to stem the tide of disaster, they poured volley after volley into the ranks of the Confederates.

At this juncture one of those blunders which sometimes neutralize the effect of the most heroic courage was committed by an unknown officer, who, approaching the right of Shackelford's regiment, ordered it to take position further to the right. The order was immediately obeyed under heavy fire. The first volley from the new position took effect in the ranks of the Eighth and Twenty-ninth Illinois in their front, but concealed from view by the thick underbrush. The latter, supposing themselves attacked from the rear, immediately fell back through Cruft's ranks, threatening for a moment the integrity of his command. In the meantime Shackelford and Osborne, of the Thirty-first Indiana, at the right of the line, were cut off with a small portion of the Twenty-fifth Kentucky and Thirty-first Indiana, and were compelled to carry on an unequal combat

against great odds before they finally succeeded in rejoining the command.

The retreat of McClernand's entire division now left Cruft's brigade "in the air," without support on the right or left, with the exception of the Eleventh Illinois, which occupied a position in support of Taylor's battery vacated by Logan's regiment. The Forty-fourth Indiana, on the left, could not fire without imperiling this regiment, and was obliged to remain in line and receive the Confederates' fire without responding. The brigade was in good fighting trim, and by order of its intrepid commander fell back in good order to the top of the next ridge. A heavy fire was poured into it by the advancing foe, who, pushing forward, made a determined attack upon the whole line. This was no sooner repulsed than it was repeated with the same result. Following the second repulse, Cruft ordered his brigade to charge, which it did with such effect as to drive the Confederates back some distance. In this charge the Seventeenth Kentucky, led by its gallant officers, Col. McHenry and Lieut. Col. A. M. Stout, greatly distinguished itself. At this juncture a flank movement was detected upon his right, beyond which he had no support. Directing a company of the Thirty-first Indiana to be deployed as skirmishers in that direction, Col. Cruft was obliged to give his attention to the movements upon his left, where heavy columns of the Confederates could be seen moving in pursuit of McClernand.

The Eleventh Illinois, out of ammunition, was slowly falling back, exposing his left flank to a constant fire from the Confederates, advancing in force against him. The position of the plucky little brigade was now indeed perilous, but being new to the business of war the men were not aware of the full extent of their danger. It was soon attacked by a superior force of cavalry and infantry on its left, menaced by a flank movement against its right, the object of which was evidently to compel its surrender, but the brigade remained intact, turning its fire upon the nearest enemy, at the same time moving slowly to the right and rear, when



it soon came upon a commanding ridge fronting the Confederates, where it planted its colors and prepared for the final assault, which came at once.

The advancing troops, flushed with success, rushed up the hill with the light of victory upon their faces to meet a force of equal courage and determination. Out of reach of support, with none to witness their heroic defense, they prepared to meet their assailants. The front of their line speedily became a sheet of flame from which the leaden missiles flew into the ranks of the Confederates, who wavered before the shock, and at length fell back, leaving their dead upon the hillside. The brigade, now greatly reduced by losses in killed and wounded, drew off toward the right of Thayer's brigade, with which communication was soon opened through the medium of a line of skirmishers. After a three hours' engagement, during much of which time the brigade had been isolated, it had saved McClernand's division from the effect of a strong flank movement upon his right wing, then defending itself against a continuous and determined attack, which, but for the courage and discipline of officers and men, would have demolished it.

The beleagured garrison had thus, after six hours' fighting, driven the investing force away from their left and rolled it back upon the center, uncovering three roads that led southward to liberty. Having thus accomplished the first move in the plan of escape agreed upon, and in momentary expectation of being called upon to act as rear guard to the retreating army, Buckner was astonished by the reception of an order to march back to his old position in the intrenchments. There should have been nothing in the way of a rapid retreat by every practicable route. But no preparations for this last act in the tragic performance of the day had been made. The troops, to whom had been assigned the brave work of clearing away the right wing of the Union army, had very properly been left unfettered in their movements, by burdensome haversacks and knapsacks, and when the door of escape was open they were unable to avail themselves of it through lack of any provision

for the march. Eight regiments had been allowed to remain idle spectators of the scene within the intrenchments, where every moment should have been utilized in removing provisions to the rear. Night closed upon the scene. The Union lines, pressing forward closely upon the heels of the garrison, withdrawn within the intrenchments, formed their lines across the Winn's Ferry Road and closed the only avenue by which the Confederates could escape.

The two commanding generals, through whose inefficiency the withdrawal from Fort Donelson had been rendered impossible, made their escape, leaving the task of surrender to Gen. Buckner, who, with what grace he could command, accepted the only terms offered—unconditional surrender. This occurred on the 16th of February; on the 4th of March, Gen. Grant was temporarily relieved from duty, and the troops, under the direction of Gen. Halleck, the department commander, were placed under the command of Gen. C. F. Smith, who, proceeding to the Tennessee, ascended that river to Savannah, where a part of the army was stationed. The rest was advanced to Pittsburg Landing, about nine miles above, and placed on the west side of the river. On the 13th of March, Gen. Grant was restored to his command, and, before any marked changes were made in the position of the army, was attacked by Gens. Johnston and Beauregard.

The battle of Shiloh, fought on April 6th and 7th, 1862, was the apprenticeship of a large majority of the regiments, on both sides, to the art of war. With more courage than discipline, and more zeal than knowledge, they were brought into the conflict by commanders as inexperienced as themselves, where they offered a soldier's last sacrifice in defense of their country.

The Union forces under command of Gen. Grant, present upon the field, consisted of five divisions commanded by Gens. McClernand, W. H. L. Wallace, Hurlbut, Sherman and Prentiss. The total effective strength of these organizations by the returns of the 4th of April was 37,330. On the morning of the attack by the Confederate army, under

Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, numbering 37,589, infantry and artillery, the several divisions were encamped at will, with no reference to a line of battle, upon the hills above the Tennessee River at Pittsburg Landing; not a spadeful of earth was thrown up as a defense, and the divisions were without a common commander. Of course defeat was the inevitable result, and that it was not final and crushing in its effect was owing to the arrival of Maj.-Gen. Don Carlos Buell, with the Army of the Ohio.

The Army of the Tennessee, however, fought with the same desperate courage that later on led it to victory on many hotly contested fields; the fault lay not with the troops, but with the lack of generalship which allowed them to be taken at cruel disadvantage. A year later not a subaltern in the army would have permitted his command to rest, even for a day, in the presence of a superior force of the enemy without erecting a barricade of some sort behind which to fight at advantage.

Like those youthful surgeons whose knowledge of the art was derived from books, and who finally became perfect through the suffering of others, the lesson had to be learned by our generals, and it was as well that it should be given by the grim instructors at Shiloh as elsewhere. The value of earthworks was taught the Army of the Tennessee at Shiloh. It was the dying gift of Albert Sidney Johnston, but it remained for Bragg to impart the lesson to the Army of the Ohio, when eight months later McCook's veterans fled in panic from the battle-field of Stone River.

The Kentucky Infantry regiments engaged on the Union side on the second day of the battle were the following: First, Col. D. A. Enyart; Second, Col. T. D. Sedgewick; Fifth, Col. H. M. Buckley; Sixth, Col. W. C. Whitaker; Ninth, Col. B. C. Grider; Eleventh, Col. P. B. Hawkins; Thirteenth, Col. E. H. Hobson; Twentieth, Lieut.-Col. Charles S. Hanson; Twenty-sixth, Lieut.-Col. Cicero Maxwell; Seventeenth, Col. J. H. McHenry; Twenty-fifth, Lieut.-Col. B. H. Bristow.

The last two mentioned were the only Ken-

tucky regiments engaged in the battle of the 6th of April.

Gen. Lauman, having reported for duty the previous day, was assigned to the command of the brigade, which, under the gallant leadership of Col. Charles Cruft, received its seasoning in the heat of battle at Fort Donelson, where its heroic defense in front of Lew Wallace's division had withstood the onset of Pillow's corps, while McClelland reformed his shattered brigades in its rear. It consisted of the Seventeenth and Twenty-fifth Kentucky, reduced by battle and disease to less than 600 men; the Thirty-first and Forty-fourth Indiana, 1,100 more—making an aggregate strength of 1,717 effectives. This brigade belonged to the Army of the Ohio, and had been dispatched by Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, at the order of Gen. Buell, to Fort Henry on the 1st of February. It had joined Grant's army with over 2,500 men, and was returned to Buell after participating in the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh, with an effective strength of little over 1,200. Nearly 700 men had been killed and wounded when it rejoined the Army of the Ohio.

The first assault fell upon this brigade at about 10:30 o'clock. Prentiss and Stuart having fallen back, all that portion of the battle-field for which they had so stubbornly contended was in possession of the enemy.

The skirmishers were driven in and the gleam of bayonets beyond showed the advance of a long line of Confederate troops. Gen. Lauman says, in his report: "I waited until I could distinctly see them advancing, by the gleam of their bayonets, about 100 yards distant, when I gave the order to fire. The first volley checked their advance. They held their ground for some time, however, when they moved off to the right, where they had planted a battery, and under cover of which they attempted to cross the open field. I immediately ordered the left wing to move up to the fence, and as soon as they came within short range opened fire on them, which soon caused them to fall back. Their loss here and in the front was very heavy; the



ground was literally covered with their dead and wounded. The rebels continuing to move to the left, I received your orders to move the brigade to the left, so as to check their movements in that direction. The movement was executed in fine order, and here we held our position until 4 o'clock, fighting against vastly superior numbers, until the batteries to right and left of us had retired."

Col. J. M. Shackelford having resigned in March, Lieut.-Col. Benjamin H. Bristow and Maj. Wall, each successively in command of the Twenty-fifth Kentucky, were wounded, and Col. McHenry, of the Seventeenth, assumed command of both regiments, Lieut.-Col. A. M. Stout, in command of the latter. The consolidation was made permanent by the military board of Kentucky, after the close of the battle. Col. McHenry says:

Many of my best men fell, killed and wounded, and the gallant Capt. Morton, of Company A, received at this place a fatal wound, whilst he was in front of his company, setting them a daring example, which he was ever ready to manifest in the presence of the enemy. We had been constantly engaged for five hours. All of the ammunition in the cartridge-boxes of my men was exhausted to the second round, and the enemy made a renewed attack upon our whole line, which was met with determined resistance on the part of our troops at this place. We were ordered to draw back, and did so, under your eye, slowly and without confusion. My regiment was again ordered into line, in the rear of the heavy and light artillery, which opened fire upon the Confederates, severely and unexpectedly, and which was kept up unceasingly until night closed the struggle of the day, in which your whole brigade had acted a conspicuous and gallant part.

We were moved to the front of the line of artillery, above alluded to, and bivouacked during the night in the rain, weary and worn, and without food or protection from the heavy rain that fell upon us. Without sleep, we arose with the dawn, and I found that my regiment, in killed, wounded, sick and disabled, had been reduced to less than half of the small number of men who had occupied the ranks on the day and night of the 6th.

About 10 o'clock on the 7th, we were led near the extreme right of our forces, and participated in a desperate charge of our column upon the Confederates, which resulted in driving them back, and gave the victory, glorious and dearly bought, once more to the beloved flag of our country. Lieut.-Col. Stout, on account of an extremely painful wound in the arm, received in the gallant devotion to his duty on the 6th, at my urgent request, did not go

with the regiment on the second day. Maj. Isaac Calhoun was during both of these two eventful days to be found at all times where his duty called him, fearless and bold in the discharge of it. Both of these officers' horses, as well as that of my own, were wounded by musket-balls from the Confederates on the 6th. Capt. Robert Vaughan, Company I, after having fought bravely during the whole day was severely wounded on the evening of the 6th. Capt. Davison, Company B, behaved with his usual coolness and courage, with his excellent Lieut. Byers executing all orders upon the field with zeal and devotion to the cause.

Lieut. Keith, in command of Company G; Lieut. Nall, Company F; Sergt. Landrum, Company H; Lieut. Brown, Company K; Capt. Beckham, Company C; Capt. Hudson, Company D; Lieuts. Campbell, Bratcher, Ferguson, Little, Heston and Adj. Starling, were to be found constantly at their posts on the 6th, with their respective commands, cheering, encouraging, and sustaining the gallant soldiers of the Seventeenth Kentucky Regiment, who now mourn the loss in killed and wounded out of their reduced ranks of eighty-eight of their comrades.

The First and Second Infantry Regiments returned to Kentucky from western Virginia in January, 1862, and were assigned to the 4th division, Army of the Ohio, commanded by Brig.-Gen. William Nelson. They had participated in the several minor engagements in West Virginia. Col. Bruce refers as follows to the part taken by the First, Second and Twentieth Kentucky Regiments in the battle of Shiloh on the 7th of April:

After the engagement became general, the colonel commanding the brigade was ordered to assist the Nineteenth Brigade, Col. Hazen. He ordered the First Kentucky Regiment to change direction to the right and advance to the support of Col. Hazen's left. This regiment sustained a galling fire of grape and canister while carrying out these orders. The Twentieth Kentucky was ordered up to support the First Kentucky in this movement, which it did under a very severe fire. Both these regiments deserve the highest commendations for the manner in which they executed their orders.

Between 9 and 10 o'clock, A. M., the Second Kentucky Regiment was ordered to charge a battery on our right, which was playing on our left flank. The fight of the regiment in executing this order became almost hand to hand, and was of the most terrific character. Capt. Spellmeyer was instantly killed. Capts. Bodine and Smith, Adj. Weinedel, Lieuts. Miller and Alms, were carried to the rear, all seriously wounded. Lieut. Miller died on the field. Within a very small compass, where this regiment charged, could be counted over 200 of the enemy lying dead upon the field. This regiment

succeeded in taking one of the enemy's guns, but was able to hold it for only a few minutes, being overpowered by much greater numbers. During the entire day the Twenty-second Brigade rendered the most efficient service in repelling the desperate assaults on the left flank of our army.

In the afternoon, the First, Second and Twentieth Kentucky Regiments steadily maintained the positions assigned them, and did their part toward securing the imperishable glory reflected upon the general commanding his division. The Second Kentucky at one time during the afternoon charged a battery, took it, spiked one of the guns, and turned another upon the Confederates, but were unable to hold it, being fiercely charged in return by their regiments. The Twentieth Kentucky, acting in reserve, placed in position for the purpose of supporting the First Kentucky, was in full range of the Confederates' fire, and at all times maintained their formation with the steadiness and tenacity becoming veterans. Where every officer and soldier displayed such distinguished courage, it seems almost invidious to particularize. The colonel commanding the brigade desires to make particular mention of the following gentlemen:

Lieutenant-Colonel Leiper, Maj. Cahill (who was wounded), and Adjutant Wright deserve great praise for the manner in which they discharged their duties. Col. Sedgewick, Lieutenant-Colonel Spencer and Maj. Hurd displayed the greatest courage, and daring. Col. Sedgewick was stricken down by a spent round shot while discharging the duties of his position. Late in the afternoon, when the Confederates made their last desperate attempt upon our left flank, the First and Twentieth Kentucky regiments moved up to the support of Terriil's battery, repulsed the attack and held the position, while the assailants retired from the contest. Lieutenant-Colonel Hanson, commanding the Twentieth, deserves very high commendation for the manner in which he managed his regiment at this crisis. Lieutenant Bachus, of the same regiment, while fighting bravely in the lead of his company, received a very severe wound. Lieutenant Cooper, aid-de-camp to the colonel commanding, deserves high praise for the brilliant manner in which he rallied the Forty-first Ohio regiment (Col. Hazen's brigade) when badly disordered. Through the entire duration of this terrible battle the Twenty-second brigade deported themselves in a manner of which their government and the State may well be proud.

The Fifth Kentucky was one of the gallant regiments led by Gen. Rousseau at Shiloh, which drew from Gen. Sherman the high commendation of Kentucky troops found in his official report:

The Confederates had one battery close by Shiloh and another near the Hamburg road, both pouring grape and canister upon any column of troops that

advanced toward the green point of water-oaks. Willich's regiment had been repulsed, but a whole brigade of McCook's division advanced beautifully, deployed, and entered this dreaded woods. I ordered my Second brigade, then commanded by Col. T. Kilby Smith, (Col. Stuart being wounded) to form on its right, and my Fourth brigade, Col. Buckland, on its right, all to advance abreast with this Kentucky brigade before mentioned, which I afterward found to be Rousseau's brigade of McCook's division. I gave personal direction to the 24 pounder guns, whose well-directed fire silenced the enemy's guns to the left, and afterward at the Shiloh Meeting-House. Rousseau's brigade moved in splendid order steadily to the front, sweeping everything before it, and at 4 P. M. we stood upon the ground of our original line and the enemy were in full retreat.

#### Gen. Rousseau says:

I at once decided to move forward the whole brigade to the open ground, except the Sixth Indiana which held a most important position on our left flank, which position the enemy had menaced in strong force for several hours. I ordered Col. Buckley, with the Louisville Legion, to move up to the right and front and engage the enemy, who had rallied all their available forces and were moving down upon us. At the same time Majs. King and Carpenter and Col. Smith were ordered to advance in line with Col. Buckley.

The advance was admirably made, and with alacrity the brigade steadily, briskly, and in excellent order, moved forward. We advanced about 200 yards to the front, when we came in collision with the enemy. They were stronger at this point than in either of the previous encounters. I afterward learned from wounded prisoners that the force at this time opposed to us consisted of the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Kentucky (Confederate) and several others from various States. The fire of musketry was the heaviest I ever heard. My line when fired on halted of itself and went to work.

The issue was important, as my brigade was directly in the road of the enemy to the Landing, and they were evidently pressing for that point. I was the more fully impressed with the importance of driving them from this position by your words to me when you ordered a change to the front of your original line of battle, which were, in substance, that my position was in the center, and must be held at every hazard, and that you would support me with the balance of your division as it arrived on the field.

The fight lasted about forty minutes, when the enemy gave way and were at once pursued by the whole line up to the open ground in front, my brigade capturing several cannon, retaking a battery of ours captured the previous day, and retaking the headquarters of Gen. McClernand. We also took three flags from the enemy. At this time the 40



rounds of cartridges in the boxes of the men were exhausted and the line was halted.

The Sixth Kentucky served in Hazen's brigade of Nelson's division, at Shiloh, and bore a conspicuous part in that engagement. Gen. Whitaker in his report refers as follows to the courage of his officers and men:

At 10 o'clock Mendenhall's battery, which had rendered efficient service, was assailed by a large force of the enemy. It was supported by three companies of the Sixth Kentucky, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton. They were severely pressed, and a charge was made by the remainder of the Sixth regiment at the point of the bayonet, headed by Col. Whitaker and Adj. Shackleford. The acting brigadier-general, Col. Hazen, most gallantly accompanied them in the charge. The enemy were routed from their cover behind logs and trees with terrific slaughter. The pursuit and fight were continued by Col. Hazen's brigade until the enemy were driven beyond their batteries. Whilst the entire regiment, with some miserable exceptions, behaved most gallantly, sustaining the reputation of Kentucky, and in conjunction with the Ninth Indiana and Forty-first Ohio boldly maintaining the credit of the Nineteenth brigade and Gen. Nelson's division, it is only justice to refer especially to the gallant conduct of Adj. Shackleford, Lieutenants McGraw and Rockingham, Sergeant-Major Danks, Company A, and Private Floyd, of Company D. The regimental color-bearer, Richard T. Thorntou, was shot down, and, true to his duty, died with the flag of his country on his breast. It was taken by the colonel, who carried it some distance and gave it to Sergeant Schmidt, of Company C, who bore it through the balance of the fight. Private Irving, of Company A (wounded and since dead), killed five of the enemy. Lieutenant Chilton was taken prisoner by six rebels. Two or three friends rallied to his aid. The enemy were all killed and he rescued, the lieutenant killing one of his captors with his pistol.

Brig.-Gen. J. T. Boyle, commanding the Eleventh Brigade of Gen. T. L. Crittenden's division, in his report to that officer refers as follows to the conduct of the Ninth and Thirteenth Regiments:

The Nineteenth Ohio, Col. Beatty, formed the right of my brigade; the Thirteenth Regiment, Col. Hobson, the center, and the Ninth Kentucky, Col. Grider, on the left, with the Fifty-ninth Ohio, Col. Fyffe, in the rear, as a supporting reserve. In pursuance of orders, we marched steadily forward upon the center, the Fourteenth brigade being still in advance on the left. I halted my command in sight of the open field in front of the right wing of my brigade, and, by order of Gen. Buell, given in person, I threw forward four flanking companies of the Nineteenth Ohio and Thirteenth Kentucky

as skirmishers, to advance to the open field, or to where the skirmishers could find and engage the enemy, or await the advance of our line. After capturing a prisoner and sending him in, the skirmishing companies of the Nineteenth Ohio were fired upon and driven back, and I ordered up Col. Beatty, of the Nineteenth Ohio, to take position along the edge of the open field to repel the advance of the enemy in that direction. At this juncture the enemy turned their forces in the direction of the position occupied by you with the Fourteenth brigade, evidently with the view of driving back our forces and capturing our guns. The Fourteenth brigade, encouraged and led on by you in person at their head, made an impetuous attack upon the enemy, driving them back with great loss, saving our guns, and advancing our lines. As the regiments of that brigade were withdrawn, I ordered up the Thirteenth Kentucky to their position, and ordered the Ninth Kentucky and Forty-ninth Ohio to my left, where they were placed in position by you. The Thirteenth Kentucky, led on by Col. Hobson in a gallant charge upon the enemy, drove them back with great slaughter, forcing them to desert their guns, to which they had rallied after having been driven back by the Fourteenth brigade, under your command. In this charge Col. Hobson, Maj. Hobson, acting lieutenant-colonel, Capt. Towles, acting major, and Acting Adj. Stewart, of the Thirteenth Kentucky, behaved with great coolness and courage, and, with the exception of a recoil, caused by a portion of the Wisconsin troops breaking through their lines, creating some disorder, they steadily led their brave men forward, driving the enemy before them. Maj. Hobson had his horse shot dead under him in this charge. Lieut.-Col. Edmunds, of the rebel army, was killed in the attack.

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The enemy seemed to be deflecting their forces and making their attack upon the left of the center, in the direction of Capt. Mendenhall's battery, which had shelled them with fearful destruction, when Gen. Buell, in person, ordered the Ninth Kentucky, Col. Grider, and Fifty-ninth Ohio, Col. Fyffe, to advance rapidly, and engage and drive back the enemy. Col. Grider led his men gallantly in the attack, well supported by most of his officers and men. The youthful Lieut. Underwood, of that regiment, behaved with the gallantry of a veteran soldier, going in advance of his men, and was shot through the sword-arm, and lost his sword. In his attack Col. Grider had three of his commissioned officers killed, and ten wounded.

Col. Hobson says:

A heavy firing commenced on our left. Gen. Crittenden ordered me to hold my regiment in readiness to charge the enemy's battery, which I did, in connection with Col. Hawkin's Eleventh Kentucky, both regiments advancing in order and occasionally meeting the enemy, driving them before us until we arrived at a section of battery in

our front, which had been abandoned by the Confederates, they falling back in confusion. A section of battery on our left was captured about the same time by Col. Fyffe's Fifty-ninth Ohio, and Col. B. C. Grider's Ninth Kentucky, they moving on the left, and my regiment and Eleventh Kentucky, Col. Hawkins, on the right, supporting Capt. Bartlett's battery.

The Fourteenth brigade entered the fight on the right of Nelson's division, and became at once engaged. Col. William S. Smith, Thirteenth Ohio, commanding the brigade, thus alludes to the part taken by the Eleventh and Twenty-sixth Infantry:

The Fourteenth Wisconsin Volunteers, temporarily attached to my brigade, was drawn up in line of battle on the right, the Thirteenth Ohio on the left, and the Twenty-sixth Kentucky in the center. The Eleventh Kentucky was held in reserve, and placed 200 yards in the rear of the center of our line of battle, in a position covered by the crest of a hill, along which our line of battle extended. Two companies of skirmishers, one from the Eleventh and one from the Twenty-sixth Kentucky, were then deployed to the front. The skirmishers on our right soon charged those of the enemy in an open field in front of the right of our line. The enemy's skirmishers retired, and all was quiet in front of our line for nearly one hour, when our skirmishers again engaged those of the enemy, and this was soon followed by a furious attack upon our whole front. The right recoiled, while the left and center stood firm. The Twenty-sixth Kentucky was then sent forward to support our right, and a heavy cross fire to our front was opened from Bartlett's battery, which was in position on our right. The enemy soon yielded, when a running fight commenced, which extended for about one mile to our front, where we captured a battery and shot the horses, and many of the cannoneers. Owing to the obstructed nature of the ground, the enthusiastic courage of the majority of our men, the laggard discharge of their duty by many, our line had been transformed into a column of attack, representing the various grades of courage, from reckless daring to ignominious fear.

At the head of this column stood a few heroic men, not adequately supported, when the enemy returned to the attack with three fresh regiments in good order. We were driven back by these nearly to the first position occupied by our line, when we again rallied and moved forward toward the battery. Reaching a ravine to the right, and about 600 paces from the battery, we halted and awaited the assistance of Mendenhall's battery, which was brought into action on a knoll within a half mile of the enemy's battery, which it immediately silenced. We then advanced and captured it the second time, and succeeded in holding it, despite the efforts of

the enemy to repulse us. One of the guns was at once turned upon the enemy, and Mendenhall's battery was advanced to nearly the same position, and opened fire upon the flank of the Confederate column, then retiring before Gen. McCook's division on our right. This occurred at about half past 3 o'clock, P. M., and up to this time, from 8 o'clock in the morning, my brigade had been almost constantly engaged.

The Thirteenth Ohio and Eleventh and Twenty-sixth Kentucky regiments seemed to vie with each other in determined valor, and while they each have cause to regret and detest the conduct of a few of their officers and men, they may proudly exult over the glorious part which they took as regiments in the bloody engagements of Shiloh fields.

I beg leave to make a special mention of the gallant conduct of the field and staff officers of the Thirteenth Ohio, and Eleventh and Twenty-sixth Kentucky Regiments, who, without exception, bore themselves as true soldiers and efficient officers through the dangers of the day, and Lieut. R. E. Hackett, of the Twenty-sixth Kentucky, acting aid-de-camp, whose conduct throughout the day was marked by great coolness and courage.

In the subsequent operations of the Army of the Ohio before Corinth these regiments bore a conspicuous part, performing with coolness and courage every duty assigned them. The Confederate army having advanced through eastern and middle Tennessee into Kentucky, Gen. Buell moved his army to Louisville and thence to Perryville.

Gen. George W. Morgan who was assigned to the command of the Seventh Division of the Army of the Ohio assumed command of the forces in eastern Kentucky early in April, 1862. Collecting the military commands at his disposal he formed them into four brigades, under Gens. S. P. Carter, A. Baird, J. G. Spears and Col. De Coursey, in which the Seventh, Fourteenth, Nineteenth and Twenty-second Kentucky Infantries were incorporated. Maj. Munday's battalion of the Sixth Kentucky Cavalry and Capt. Patterson's company of Engineers and Mechanics reported directly to headquarters.

Gen. Morgan determined at once upon the capture of Cumberland Gap. By bold strategical movements, crossing the mountains by unfrequented roads south of the gap, he moved through Powell's Valley and was informed that the Confederates had not awaited



his arrival, but had evacuated the stronghold, leaving Morgan to take peaceable possession. Maj.-Gen. E. Kirby Smith was in command of the Confederate department of east Tennessee and his small force was kept busy along his extensive front from the gap to Chattanooga.

Cumberland Gap was held until the advance of the Confederate forces under Bragg and Smith rendered it necessary for the latter to turn it by the same route taken by Morgan in gaining possession, thus proving its uselessness as a strategic position. Finding his communications with his base of supplies at Lexington, Ky., cut off, and his supplies running short, Morgan determined to withdraw. This was successfully accomplished in the presence of the Confederates. After a weary march of 200 miles through mountain passes, harassed by Confederate cavalry and suffering from lack of provisions, the division reached the Ohio River. Previous to leaving the gap Gen. Morgan was obliged to dispense with cavalry and artillery horses for want of forage. Maj. Munday, with his cavalry and 400 of the Seventh Kentucky Infantry mounted upon artillery horses, was sent under command of Col. Garrard to report to Gen. Nelson, where they took part in the battles of Richmond and Perryville.

The first of these battles, fought against orders given by Gen. Nelson to his subordinate, Gen. M. D. Manson, resulted in defeat to the Union troops. Gen. William Nelson, to whom the command of all the troops in Kentucky was entrusted by Gen. Buell, had two brigades of the new levy stationed in the vicinity of Richmond and two more near Stanford. Gen. James S. Jackson, in command of two regiments of cavalry thrown well forward on the Crab Orchard Road, reported the advance of a heavy force from the direction of Cumberland Gap. Gen. Nelson at once issued orders for the concentration of his command at Stanford, believing that Gen. Smith would not attempt to cross the Kentucky River while so large a force was on his flank. Gen. Smith was, in the meantime, pushing forward toward Lex-

ington by the Richmond Road, and on August 30th, came upon Manson's brigade three miles in advance of Richmond.

The Seventh Kentucky Cavalry and a detachment of the Third Tennessee Infantry had been brushed away from Big Hill by Smith's cavalry several days previously. In the first encounter with Smith's advance the Union troops were victorious, which emboldened Manson to advance a mile farther, to Rogersville, where he formed line of battle and bivouacked for the night. Early on the following morning Smith attacked and drove Manson's line back in confusion. Gen. Cruft, commanding a brigade consisting of the Eighteenth Kentucky, Ninety-fifth Ohio, and the Twelfth and Sixty-sixth Indiana, hearing the roar of battle, moved forward from Richmond and soon met a courier from Manson with orders to re-enforce him at once. The Eighteenth Kentucky pushed forward and formed under a heavy fire on the right of the line, the Ninety-fifth Ohio on the left, leaving the two Indiana regiments in reserve. In the second attack the center gave way in confusion, followed by the left, but the Eighteenth Kentucky held its ground. Col. Warner's horse was shot, but procuring another he continued to cheer on his men, until, struck down by a musket-ball, he was borne from the field. Lieut.-Col. Landrum had no sooner assumed command than he too received a fearful wound in his face, and the command devolved upon Maj. Bracht.

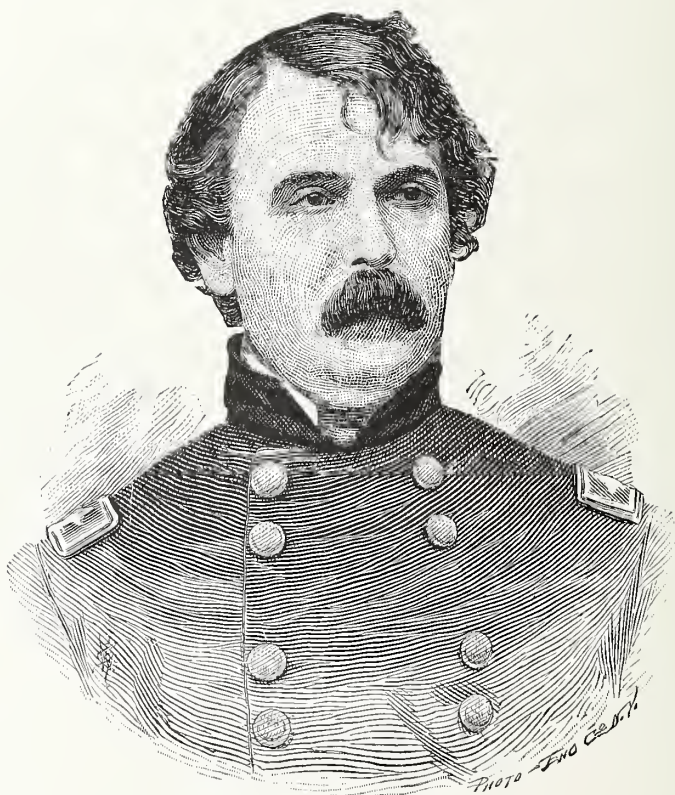
Referring to the conduct of his brigade at this time, Gen. Cruft says in his report:

The Eighteenth Kentucky made a gallant fight, and by its brave stand broke the force of the enemy's attack and prevented the retreat at this time from becoming a rout.

The men and officers of most of the regiments, however, fled in confusion through the fields to the rear. This was at 10:30, in the morning. No appeals availed to stop the panic-stricken men until the reserve was reached, when, a considerable number having been rallied, a new line was formed and the two brigade commanders determined to risk another fight. The attack came in due time; Gen. Smith waiting long enough to allow the cavalry which he had







GEN. JAMES S. JACKSON.

sent by a detour to the rear of Richmond to get well on its way, before scattering the force in his front.

The retreat which followed the third attack was soon converted into a rout. Gen. Nelson arrived on the field at this juncture, and by strenuous exertions succeeded in getting some 2,000 men in line, hoping to form of them a rear guard to cover the retreat of the command. A few moments sufficed to show the utter uselessness of this undertaking. The line broke at the first fire, when, with one impulse of disgraceful cowardice, officers and men, mules and wagons, crowded the road toward Lexington. It was a fair field for a cavalry charge, and the Confederates made the most of it. Men were killed, wounded or taken prisoners. Gen. Nelson, severely wounded, barely made his escape. Maj. Bracht collected about 300 of his regiment, together with stragglers from other commands, and, being well acquainted with the country, left the main road, and by hard marching reached Lexington by way of Boonesboro. The loss of the Eighteenth Kentucky, in this its first engagement, was three officers and forty-seven men killed, six officers and sixty-four men wounded, and nine officers and 230 men missing. Gen. Kirby Smith was soon after joined in Kentucky by Gen. Bragg, and foraging and recruiting commenced on a large scale.

The possibility that Gen. Bragg would be able to make good his promise to hold possession of the State induced several hundred men to join the Confederate standard. Meanwhile Gen. Buell had reached Louisville, and as soon as his army was reorganized by the incorporation of a large number of new regiments into it, he moved at once upon Bragg. While the main army, divided into three grand divisions under Gens. Thomas L. Crittenden, Alex. McD. McCook and C. C. Gilbert, moved by parallel routes in the direction of Perryville—in the vicinity of which place Bragg's army was reported to be—two divisions under Gens. Sill and Dumont were sent toward Frankfort. By a singular mistake Smith was led to believe that the force advancing on the Frankfort road was Buell's

main army, and so impressed Bragg with his view of the matter as to induce him not only to allow Smith to retain all his own forces, but to re-enforce him with two divisions of his own. By this means it came about that the main Union army encountered but about one-third of the Confederate army at Perryville, while that portion under Sill and Dumont was permitted to march unmolested into the capital of the State, where they interrupted the interesting ceremony of the inauguration of a governor by the Confederates. Had the two armies met in a general engagement, their respective strength being so nearly equal, a decisive battle must have ensued.

The Fifteenth Kentucky received its baptism of fire at Perryville. Lytle's brigade of Rousseau's division occupied the right of McCook's line of battle, where for several hours it held its position in the face of an attack, which for courage and endurance has few parallels in history. Late in the afternoon the Confederates determined upon a last and overwhelming assault. Moving around where they could easily be concealed by the undulations of the ground, they fell upon the right and rear of Lytle's brigade and forced it to retire. Col. Lytle was severely wounded, and, refusing to be taken from the field, was captured. Hearing of this, Gen. Rousseau rode rapidly to that part of the field where the right of the brigade, the Fifteenth Kentucky, under command of the gallant Col. Pope, was resting upon a hill immediately in front of Loomis' battery.

Gen. Rousseau says: "While near the Fifteenth Kentucky, I saw a heavy force of the enemy advancing upon our right, the same that had turned Lytle's right flank. It was moving steadily up, in full view of where Gen. Gilbert's army corps had been during the day, the left flank of which was not more than 400 yards from it. On approaching the Fifteenth Kentucky, though broken and shattered, the regiment rose to their feet and cheered, and, as one man, moved to the top of the hill where they could see the enemy; I ordered them to lie down, at the same time ordering Loomis' battery to open upon the



advancing enemy." At this moment re-enforcements, tardily sent, appeared upon the field from Gilbert's corps, and the Confederates were forced to retire from the field. The loss of the Fifteenth Kentucky in this engagement was sixty-six killed, and 130 wounded, and four taken prisoners. Col. Pope received a mortal wound, from which he died a month later. Lieut.-Col. Jouett and Maj. Campbell were killed, and three other officers were wounded.\*

The Army of the Ohio, under Gen. Buell, comprised all Kentucky regiments. After the Confederate forces retired from the State, and Buell, returning from their pursuit, turned the head of his columns toward Nashville, he was relieved of command by Maj.-Gen. William S. Rosecrans. The Department of the Cumberland was to be carved out of the southern Confederacy, and that portion of the State of Kentucky lying east of the Cumberland River was embraced in the Department of the Ohio under Maj.-Gen. H. G. Wright. Several regiments which had participated in the campaigns of Buell were retained by Gen. Wright. These were the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-fourth and Twenty-sixth Infantry. The Seventh, Fourteenth, Sixteenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-seventh and Thirty-fourth also remained in the Department of the Ohio, leaving the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third and Twenty-eighth Infantries in the Army of the Cumberland. The cavalry regiments were also divided between the two departments, the First, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fifteenth and Seventeenth, all but the first newly raised regiments, remained in Kentucky, while the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh were assigned to Gen. Rosecrans, and thenceforth shared the fortunes of the Army of the Cumberland. The Seventh, Nineteenth and Twenty-second Infantries and Patterson's engineers represented the Kentucky troops in the Army of

the Tennessee, where, under their old commander, Gen. George W. Morgan, they participated in the assault upon Chickasaw Bluffs, near Vicksburg, in December, 1862.

The movement by Maj.-Gen. William S. Rosecrans with the Army of the Cumberland against the Confederate Army of the Tennessee, under Gen. Bragg, commenced on Christmas day, 1862.

The following Kentucky organizations were engaged in the battle that ensued December 31st, at Stone River.

Second Cavalry, Maj. T. F. Nicholas, on detached duty at headquarters; Third Cavalry, Col. Eli H. Murray, First Cavalry Brigade; Battery A, Light Artillery; Third Brigade, First Division, center; First Infantry, Col. D. A. Enyart, First Brigade, Second Division, left wing; Second Infantry, Col. T. G. Sedgewick, First Brigade, Second Division, left wing; Third Infantry, Lieut.-Col. Samuel McKee, First Brigade, First Division, left wing; Fifth Infantry, Lieut.-Col. W. W. Berry, Third Brigade, Second Division, right wing; Sixth Infantry, Col. W. C. Whitaker, Second Brigade, Second Division, left wing; Eighth Infantry, Lieut.-Col. R. May, Third Brigade, Third Division, left wing; Ninth Infantry, Col. B. C. Grider, First Brigade, Third Division, left wing; Eleventh Infantry, Lieut.-Col. E. L. Mottley, First Brigade, Third Division, left wing; Fifteenth Infantry, Col. J. B. Foreman, Second Brigade, First Division, center; Twenty-First Infantry, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Evans, Third Brigade, Third Division, left wing; Twenty-Third Infantry, Maj. T. H. Hamrick, Third Brigade, Second Division, left wing; Maj.-Gen. George H. Thomas, commanding the center; Maj.-Gen. A. McD. McCook, commanding the right wing; Maj.-Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, commanding the left wing; Brig.-Gen. David S. Stanley, commanding the cavalry.

Gen. Palmer's division occupied the right of Crittenden's corps and Cruft's brigade held the right of the line, adjoining Negley's division of Thomas' corps. The attack made at dawn by the Confederates, commencing on the right, swept the right of McCook's corps from the field, and swelling toward the left was met sturdily by Sheridan and Negley who were at length compelled to fall back, when the force of the assault fell upon Palmer. Gen. Cruft's brigade was formed in two lines, the Second Kentucky and Thirty-first Indiana under charge of Col. Sedgewick in front, and the First Kentucky and Ninetieth Ohio commanded by Col. Enyart in the rear support. Gen. Cruft says in his report of the battle of

\*See Appendix B, Battle of Perryville, page 736.

Stone River: "My troops fought with heroism; every officer and soldier acted well and seemed to me to accomplish more than could be expected of him. For sturdy endurance, stalwart bravery and manly courage, it does not seem to me that the conduct of these two regiments here could be surpassed. The enemy was driven back, although superior in numbers. His charge was made in two lines with the appearance of a four rank formation and in most admirable order and discipline. After the first repulse and before my line could be advanced, the enemy made a second charge more furious than before. The Second Kentucky and Thirty-first Indiana nobly held their ground, and after some thirty minutes' well directed fire drove him back for a short distance." The rear line consisting of the Second Kentucky and Ninetieth Ohio was now advanced to the front, and became immediately engaged. Gen. Cruft continues: "I attempted with it to assail the enemy and ordered an advance. The First Kentucky, Col. Enyart, on the right of the line, made a gallant charge and drove the enemy before it, rushing forward to the crest of the hill, clear beyond and to the right of the burnt house. The fire was so severe from the enemy's force at the burnt house on the left that the order to move up the Ninetieth Ohio was countermanded, not, however, until many of the officers and men of this gallant regiment had pressed forward over the fence in line with the old First Kentucky." The sad list of killed and wounded, in the First and Second Kentucky, attest the courage with which these regiments held their ground on this eventful day. At length forced to fall back, the Second Kentucky brought off three pieces of artillery abandoned by Negley's division just as they were being seized by the Confederates. The loss in the First and Second Kentucky Regiments in this engagement was 173 in killed, and wounded and missing.

Although on constant duty during the first year of its service, the Third Kentucky Infantry had no opportunity to test its metal in a general engagement until the 31st of December, 1862, when the Army of the Cumberland met the Confederate Army under Gen. Bragg

on the field of Stone River. The regiment under Col. Samuel McKee served in Hascall's brigade of Wood's division in the left wing, and its opportunity came when the Confederates, under Donelson, attacked Palmer's division in front of the Cowan House. Col. A. F. Stevenson, of Sheridan's staff, in his history of Stone River, refers as follows to the splendid conduct of the Third Kentucky and its lamented commander: "Suddenly an aid sent by Gen. Palmer dashed across the open space toward Gen. Hascall, whose command was a short distance in the rear, and informed him that Gen. Palmer's division needed help immediately. After a moment's consultation with Gen. Wood, Hascall sent the grand old Third Kentucky, and in double quick time this regiment rushed to the rescue and took its position on the west side of the Nashville pike. A terrible fight took place. Scarcely had the Third Kentucky been in its position ten minutes when a minié ball struck its brave commander, Lieut.-Col. Samuel McKee, above the eye, and he fell from his horse, while the regiment lost one-fourth its number in killed and wounded. The courageous Maj. Collier, though wounded in the leg and breast, refused to leave the field and stayed with his men to the end. Seeing that the Third Kentucky had suffered so severely, Gen. Hascall ordered the Fifty-eighth Indiana and Twenty-sixth Ohio to their relief as a second line; then placing Estepp's battery between them a little way to the rear, he kept the One Hundredth Illinois further back in the rear." The slaughter was frightful, and Gen. Donelson, after losing fifty per cent of his effective strength, finding himself unable to break the line in his front, ordered his men to move into the cedars west of the Cowan House, and finally retired toward the Wilkinson pike. The loss of the Third Kentucky in killed, wounded and missing in the engagement was 133, out of a total of 313 taken into action.

In the disaster which befel the right wing at Stone River the Fifth Kentucky was involved, but all that heroic courage on the part of officers and men could do to compen-



sate for the blunders of superior officers, was most gallantly done. Col. Berry took into the action 320 men, and of this number lost nineteen killed and eighty wounded, Capt. Ferguson among the former, and Lieut.-Col. Berry, Maj. Forman, Capts. Speed and Lovett, and Lieuts. Dissell, Shepard and Powell among the latter; twenty-six were missing. During the engagement the color-bearer was shot, and down went the flag, but in a moment it gleamed aloft again in the hands of three men struggling who should have it. Sergt. Baker bore it throughout the remainder of the day.

The old Nelson division was commanded by Maj.-Gen. John M. Palmer, and Hazen's brigade, formed in two lines with the Sixth Kentucky and Forty-first Ohio in front, formed the center of the division. Gen. Hazen, referring to the assault made by the Confederates upon Cruft's brigade, mentioned, says: "The Sixth Kentucky was not immediately under my observation from the first assault until late in the day, but the portion of time it was with me, and I have reason to believe at all other times, it fought unflinchingly, and is deserving of all praise. It repelled three assaults of a rebel brigade from the Cowan House endeavoring to reach the wood, and only retired when its ammunition was exhausted. The loss of the regiment in the engagement was, in killed, two officers and eleven enlisted men; in wounded, six officers and eighty-eight enlisted men. Among the killed was Lieut.-Col. George T. Cotton, a brave and efficient officer, and Capt. Charles S. Todd, who fell while pressing his men on to victory. Among the wounded officers were Lieuts. Bates, Dawkins, Armstrong and Frank."

On the march of the army northward in September, Col. Stanley Matthews' brigade, in which the Eighth and Twenty-first Kentucky were serving, moved to Louisville, where, in October, it was assigned to the old Crittenden division, then under command of Gen. Van Cleve. In the battle of Perryville the right wing, under Maj.-Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, had no opportunity to participate, and the first battle of import-

ance in which these regiments took part was Stone River. Van Cleve's division, consisting in part of the Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh and Twenty-first Kentucky Infantry, was ordered to move at 7 A. M. on the morning of the 31st of December, to attack Breckinridge's division on the right of the Confederate army. Before this movement could be carried out, the Confederate attack came with the force of a cyclone upon the right of the Union line. Van Cleve was at once recalled, and the Third Brigade, commanded by Col. S. W. Price, Twenty-first Kentucky, assigned to the defense of the ford. "Who commands this brigade?" asked Gen. Rosecrans, appearing suddenly upon the scene. "I do," replied Col. Price. "Will you hold this ford?" "I will try," was the modest response. "Will you hold this ford?" "I will die here, sir." "Will you hold this ford?" "Yes, sir." "That will do," said the general, as he plunged the spurs into his horse, and dashed into the thick of the fray.

The Eighth and Twenty-first remained at the ford, which was held according to promise, while the Ninth and Eleventh Kentucky, commanded by Cols. Grider and Mottley, accompanied the First Brigade to the rescue of the right wing. The tide of battle had set in with disaster to the Union arms. The line of battle suddenly improvised by Gen. Rosecrans from the reserve and the left wing lined the turnpike, waiting for the cloud of stragglers from McCook's command to emerge from the cedars and pass through the line. Rarely had greater responsibility rested upon a single line of battle. Defeat meant the rout of the Union army and the undisputed march of the Confederates through Kentucky, from which they had just been driven. It was a thrilling moment when the order was given to advance. Steadily as if on parade the line moved forward in irresistible strength. The Confederates fell back, and the shock of battle came after the Confederate skirmish line, retiring upon the main body, rallied to defend the ground they had won. Col. Beatty formed his brigade with the Ninth Kentucky and Nineteenth Ohio in the first line, and the Eleventh

and Seventy-ninth Indiana in support. In the engagement which ensued, the Second Brigade was driven back, leaving the First Brigade to bear the brunt of the fight. It was in a dangerous position, and a charge was necessary to save it from terrible loss. This was effected with the skill and precision characteristic of this model brigade, and the battle raged with redoubled fury, resulting in the triumph of the Union arms. During the fight the men of the Ninth and Eleventh Kentucky bore themselves like heroes. Gen. Van Cleve having been wounded while the battle was in progress, Col. Beatty assumed command of the division, and the command of the brigade devolved upon Col. Ben C. Grider, Ninth Kentucky. New Year's day was occupied by both armies in caring for the wounded and moving into new positions. The division was advanced across Stone River, where its commander was directed to take position on the elevated ground beyond the ford, with the tacit understanding that his post was more one of observation of the Confederates' movements than that of an army on the defensive.

The assault of Breckinridge's division on the 2d of January is more fully described in the sketch of the Confederate Kentucky brigade. Beatty's entire division, sadly decimated by the fight of the 31st of December, numbered little over 2,000 bayonets. To attempt to hold the position was folly, but receiving no orders to fall back, the sturdy commander held his position as long as possible, when, finding that to remain longer must result in the loss of his command, the order was reluctantly given to retreat. It was delayed too long and a hand-to-hand fight ensued. The Ninth and Eleventh retired in as good order as possible, the Eighth and Twenty-first after a desperate battle were forced back and all reformed on the west bank of the river. The success of the Confederates was short lived. Fifty-four pieces of artillery sent a shower of iron among them. Volleys of musketry plowed through their ranks and they were compelled to retire.

Gen. Rousseau refers to Col. Forman, who

fell at Stone River while bravely leading his men in action, as "My brave boy-colonel of the Fifteenth Kentucky." Col. John Beatty commanding the brigade says: "Col. Forman, Fifteenth Kentucky, was killed in the cedar woods on the morning of the 31st. He was a brave man and an excellent officer. Capt. Bayne of the same regiment fell at the same time while urging his men forward."

In the desperate struggle between Rousseau and Cleburne for the possession of the cedars, Beatty's brigade moved up in line with the regular brigade, Scribner's brigade following as support. Filled with exultation by their victory over Johnston on the extreme right the Confederates rushed forward upon the solid columns of Rousseau and VanCleve, only to be hurled back torn and bleeding in the conflict. Brigade after brigade was brought up only to share the fate of the first. The Union line was never broken after the first assault, for the heroic men who composed it realized the immense responsibility of the situation.

The officers killed and mortally wounded at the battle of Stone River, in Kentucky regiments, were:

Capt. Miller R. McCulloek, Second Cavalry; Col. Samuel McKee, Lieut. Daniel Severance, Lieut. Mathew Cullen, Third Infantry; Capt. Alexander B. Ferguson, Lieut. Frank Dissell, Fifth Infantry; Lieut.-Col. George T. Cotton, Capt. Charles S. Todd, Sixth Infantry; Capt. Robert B. Hickman, Eighth Infantry; Capt. John B. Benton, Eighth Infantry; Capt. Landon C. Minter, Eighth Infantry; Lieut. Wade B. Cox, Eighth Infantry; Capt. William T. Bryan, Ninth Infantry; Capt. Demetrius B. Coyle, Ninth Infantry; Lieut. Algernon S. Leggett, Ninth Infantry; Lieut. Frederick F. Carpenter, Ninth Infantry; Col. James B. Forman, Fifteenth Infantry; Capt. Aaron S. Bayne, Fifteenth Infantry; Lieut. L. Frank Todd, Fifteenth Infantry; Lieut. Sebastian Stone, Twenty-first Infantry; Lieut. John H. Beville, Twenty-first Infantry.

The stupendous preparations for the capture of Vicksburg drew toward Memphis, in November and the early part of December, 1862, the two divisions commanded by Gens. Morgan and A. J. Smith, largely re-enforced by regiments of the new levy, together with a large number of regiments not brigaded. To this force was added the division of Morgan L. Smith, and Gen. William T.



Sherman was assigned to command. That portion of Gen. Curtiss' troops stationed on the east bank of the Mississippi was directed to join him. Admiral Porter's gun-boat fleet was directed to co-operate, and when the expedition sailed from Memphis, on the 25th of December, its effective strength was estimated at 40,000 men. The flotilla entered the mouth of the Yazoo and the troops disembarked on the 27th.

Gen. Steele's division of Curtiss' army had been taken on at Helena, Ark., and two brigades under Hovey and Thayer were landed above the mouth of Chickasaw bayou with orders to feel their way along its eastern bank. Blair's brigade of this division was assigned to Morgan who, with his three brigades commanded by De Coursey, Lindsay and Sheldon, landed below the bayou. Morgan L. Smith was on his left—his two brigades under Gens. A. J. Smith and Stuart on the main road from Johnston's plantation to Vicksburg, with orders to bear to the left and cross the bayou about one mile south of where Morgan struck it. The division of A. J. Smith was delayed one day at Milikin's Bend awaiting the return of Gen. Stephen G. Burbridge's brigade, which was detached at that point on an expedition to destroy the Vicksburg & Shreveport Railroad. On their arrival, the two brigades of this division under Gen. Burbridge and Col. W. J. Landrum, formed the extreme right of the line of battle, and during the night of the 27th the ground in front was strongly reconnoitered.

Gen. Martin L. Smith, the commander of the defenses at Vicksburg, whose successful repulse of the gun-boats the previous summer had entitled him to the confidence of the Confederate government, surmising that the next attack would be made from the northern side to gain access to his rear, had applied himself to strengthening his position along the Chickasaw Bluffs for a distance of thirteen miles. A line of works extended to Haine's Bluffs, manned by about 1,200 men, with abundant artillery planted along the sinuosities of the ridge, so as to gain a cross fire upon every available point of attack.

Gen. Pemberton, confronted by Grant at Grenada, was unable to spare a man to re-enforce Vicksburg until the opportune arrival of Stevenson's division from east Tennessee, when Vaughn's brigade was at once detached and placed by Smith in the trenches on the left. Having aligned his troops Gen. Sherman announced that the signal for a simultaneous rush upon the works would be a volley of artillery in Morgan's front. Struggling through the water and mud of the sluggish bayou, Blair's and De Coursey's brigades plunged forward. The water was too deep for the main portion of the line to cross and the position was stormed by a portion of these two brigades. Reaching the opposite bank the Forty-second Ohio was detained under cover by Col. De Coursey, but the Twenty-second Kentucky, led by the brave Monroe, rushed forward with a cheer to join their comrades in the charge. Their leader fell, but they pressed on through a tangled abatis, over dead and wounded men, under a storm of grape and canister shot raining down upon them from the works above their heads. Of the whole force, but eight regiments reached the second line of works. They had struggled over ground, to enter upon which was to encounter death.

Lieut.-Col. Dustin led his Fifty-eighth Ohio to the foot of the last line of works and fell dead upon the parapet. Near him lay the brave major of the Thirty-first Missouri, dying of a mortal wound. For a few minutes the situation was such as to appeal to the stoutest heart, but the line stood firm, rapidly melting away under an enfilading fire that swept every square yard of the ground in front of the works. No support was anywhere in sight; of 40,000 men but this handful was sent into the jaws of death. The works above their heads were manned by a disciplined force, thrice their number, whose well-aimed rifles dealt death at every discharge. If there is a limit to human endurance the men of Blair's and De Coursey's brigades showed no signs of having reached it. With courage undaunted they still strove to reach the summit of the works, where as many as succeeded were received

upon the points of bayonets and thrust back. All along the base their bodies lay, in ghastly heaps, the life-blood welling from gaping wounds. Each man fought for his life, officers and men intermingled in the strife, and recognized no rank but that which valor gives. The brief carnival of death was closed only by the order to retreat, but to retire was as hazardous as to go forward; to hesitate was to be lost. They finally withdrew, however, leaving behind them a trail of dead and wounded to be cared for by the victorious Confederates.

The following regiments were in this assault, which must remain in history as one of the bloodiest on record: The Twenty-ninth and Thirty-first Missouri, Thirteenth Illinois, Fifty-eighth, Sixteenth and Fifty-fourth Ohio, and the Twenty-second Kentucky. Landrum and Burbridge on the right of the line performed the duty assigned them, which was to engage the troops in their front, and by a vigorous fusilade they prevented Vaughn from adding his force to that already in front of Blair and De Coursey.

The attempt upon Vicksburg having failed, Gen. McClelland, who assumed command of the corps on its arrival at the mouth of the Yazoo, determined upon the capture of Arkansas Post, on the left bank of the Arkansas River, fifty miles above its mouth. It was garrisoned by a division of infantry, 3,000 strong, under command of Gen. Churchill; and the fort, a full bastioned earthwork, was manned by three nine-inch columbiads in the casemates commanding the river, and smaller guns facing landward. An earthwork extending inland 700 yards to a bayou was defended by infantry and light artillery. Above the fort the river was open to navigation, and into it the "Blue Wing," a steamer laden with arms and ammunition for Sherman's army, after its capture by Confederate gun-boats, was taken. On his way down the river to assume command of the corps, Gen. McClelland had heard of this exploit, and on reaching his command, finding that nothing further could be accomplished in that direction, turned the

prows of his boats up stream in search of game more easily bagged. His first duty was to organize the army into two corps. Gen. Morgan was assigned to command of the Thirteenth Corps, consisting of A. J. Smith's division and his own now under Gen. Osterhaus. Steele's division and that of Morgan L. Smith, now commanded by Gen. Stuart (Smith, having been wounded), constituted the Fifteenth Corps, under command of Gen. W. T. Sherman.

By passing the mouth of the Arkansas and ascending the White River as far as the canal connecting the two rivers, the Confederates were thrown off their guard, and the fleet appeared within a few miles of the fort before its presence was known to the garrison. Gen. Churchill was informed by his pickets that a powerful fleet had entered the Arkansas from White River on the 9th of January, and rightly surmising that the fort was the objective point, he disposed his troops to meet the attack. Of his three brigades, he sent Deshler's and Dunnington's into the trenches below the fort, retaining Garland's in reserve.

The forenoon of the 10th was spent in debarking from the boats, three miles below, whence Gen. Sherman moved rapidly toward the rear of the fort, with orders to move forward until his right rested on the river above it. Morgan followed, taking position on Sherman's left, completing the line of investment, while Col. Lindsay was sent with his three regiments, the Seventh Kentucky, Fortyninth Indiana, and One Hundred and Fourteenth Ohio, and a battery of artillery, across the river to take position opposite to and above the fort, to cut off escape in that direction. These movements were as nearly executed as circumstances would permit, when night set in and the shivering troops bivouacked without shelter, and with no food but that found in their haversacks.

While the troops were moving to their allotted positions in the line of investment, the gun-boats opened upon the troops within the works below the fort, which caused their withdrawal under cover of the heavy guns, when Adm. Porter at once advanced to



test the metal of the guns within the fort. During the night Churchill received a telegram from Gen. Holmes, his department commander, directing him to hold out until re-enforcements arrived, or until all were dead, "which order," says Churchill, "I communicated to my brigade commanders with orders to carry it out in spirit and in letter."

Gen. Steele's division resting on the bayou in rear of the fort formed the extreme right of the line of battle and Osterhaus the left, De Coursey in reserve and Stuart and A. J. Smith in the center. Eight batteries of artillery were stationed at intervals along the line and a section of twenty-pounder Parrotts was posted on the river bank concealed from the fort by fallen trees to dismount the gun in the lower casemate. The cavalry was disposed in the rear with orders to force stragglers to the front, a vocation peculiarly agreeable to the men on horseback. Lindsay's battery had an enfilading fire across the river upon the Confederate line which carried away a battle flag and killed several men. "Eager to do still more," says McClermand, "the Seventh Kentucky Infantry embarked on one of the gun-boats, that had passed the fort, to cross the river, but before the regiment could get over the enemy had surrendered."

In the fight that ensued the entire line moved forward gallantly and gained the cover of a belt of woods. The twenty-pounder Parrotts demolished the casemate and silenced a nine-inch columbiad, and by 4 P. M. every gun except a six-pounder Parrott on the land side had yielded to Porter's artillery. Two boats passed up the river and joined Lindsay in enfilading the Confederate line, which still held out in obedience to Holmes' iron-clad order. Two attacks made on the right were repulsed and on the left every charge made was driven back with heavy loss. A. J. Smith now deployed nine regiments of Burbridge's and Landrum's brigades, supported by three regiments in reserve, and moving steadily forward drove the Confederates toward the open ground in front of the right of the rifle pits. Sheldon's brigade dashed forward upon the fort, but was halted by the

deep ravine on the lower side. De Coursey advanced against a galling fire. The Nineteenth Kentucky and two other regiments were sent to re-enforce Sherman. Burbridge's brigade went forward, following its gallant leader, who, mounted upon a swift and powerful steed, calling upon his escort to follow him, dashed forward and came suddenly upon the fosse surrounding the fort. Behind him were his troops hotly engaged. There was not time to rein up, and, leaping the ditch, the general found himself alone in presence of the enemy.

The men took aim at his head, but the address of the officer saved his life. "Recover arms," he shouted, and with instinctive obedience the soldiers brought their guns to a perpendicular. Before they had time to recover their senses, the general had dismounted and was about to surrender, when he caught sight of a white flag floating from a bastion of the fort. Calling the attention of the guard to it, he passed within the fort; drawing a small United States flag from his pocket he mounted to the top of the fort, and, securing a ramrod for a flag staff, gave it to the breeze. The sight of a white flag floating from the fort brought Churchill in hot haste to the spot. It had not been raised by his order, and the irate commander, encountering a Federal officer within the fort, hardly knew what to make of the situation. Gen. Burbridge immediately called upon him to surrender, but remarked jocularly "I do not know whether I am your prisoner or you mine." Outside the fort the storm of battle that had raged unceasingly for four hours had nearly ceased and the entrance of several of Burbridge's staff, led by the faithful Lieut. John Throckmorton, decided the question. Col. Dunnington now appeared upon the scene from an angle of the fort opposite the entrance. Both officers offered their swords but were referred to Gen. McClermand, who entering at this moment received their surrender. The loss in the Union troops was 129 killed, 831 wounded and seventeen missing; total 977. That of the Confederates, sixty killed, eighty wounded and nearly 6,000 prisoners. The spoils consisted of seventeen

pieces of artillery, 5,000 stand of arms, 130 swords and a large quantity of ammunition.

In the Vicksburg campaign, the Seventh Kentucky Infantry, under command of Lieut.-Col. J. Lucas and Col. R. B. May, served in the First Brigade of Osterhaus, Ninth Division, Thirteenth Corps. The brigade was commanded by Brig. Gen. T. T. Garrard, the former colonel of the regiment, until June, when Col. Keigwin was assigned to command. The Nineteenth Kentucky Infantry, under Lieut.-Col. J. Cowan, was in Col. Landrum's (Second) brigade of A. J. Smith's (Tenth) division, Thirteenth corps, and the Twenty-second Kentucky, under Lieut.-Col. Monroe, was in Col. Lindsay's (Second) brigade of Osterhaus' division. Col. Sheldon relieved Col. Lindsay in command of the brigade in June, when the latter assumed command of the division, retaining it until after the fall of Vicksburg. The First Brigade of the Tenth Division was commanded by Gen. S. G. Burbridge, formerly colonel of the Twenty-sixth Kentucky Infantry. Thus four brigades of the Army of the Tennessee were commanded by Kentuckians. They took part in all the battles of Gen. Grant's movement to the rear of Vicksburg, and won the following glowing tribute from the corps commander.

HEADQUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS, }  
NEAR VICKSBURG, June 5, 1863. }

*Governor* :—I have the honor to inform you that there are two general officers and three regiments, the Seventh, Nineteenth and Twenty-second Kentucky, in the Thirteenth Army Corps, Department of the Tennessee, under my command, who crossed the Mississippi River with me at Bruinsburg, below Grand Gulf, on the 30th day of April, and who took part in the battles of Thompson's Hill on the 1st of May; Champion Hills on the 16th; Big Black Bridge on the 17th of May; and at Vicksburg, beginning on the 19th of May and continuing up to the present time.

I am most happy, sir, to congratulate you, and, through you, your noble State for the victories won by the common effort of her brave sons with those of sister States, and to bear testimony to the gallantry, bravery and good conduct of her officers and men in all these bloody struggles. They bore themselves with the unflinching steadiness of veterans, both under galling fires of artillery and musketry, and in making charges upon fortifications.

They have shown themselves compeers and fit companions in arms with brave men of sister

States in a series of battles, in which it has become impossible to make particular mention of those who distinguished themselves, without mentioning, individually, both officers and men.

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN A. MCCLERNAND,  
*Major-General, Commanding Thirteenth Army Corps, Department of the Tennessee.*

His Excellency,

JAMES F. ROBINSON, Governor of Kentucky.

The limits of this work will not permit more than the merest outline of Gen. Grant's operations in rear of Vicksburg. By a series of bold movements his army, under skillful corps, division and brigade commanders, often acting independently, succeeded in separating the army under Gen. Pemberton from that commanded by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, and confining it to the works at Vicksburg.

Both Gens. Bragg in Tennessee and Pemberton in Mississippi were nominally under command of Gen. Johnston, but in the exercise of their discretion disobeyed his orders whenever in their judgment occasion demanded. If implicit obedience had been yielded to him the Vicksburg campaign would, beyond doubt, have had a different result. Bragg, resting quietly behind his works at Tullahoma, was repeatedly urged to send strong re-enforcements to Johnston to enable him to attack Grant's investing line from the rear and compel him to abandon the siege. With the railroad communications at his command this movement need not have occupied but a few days, and the increase of Johnston's army by 30,000 men would have been sufficient to crush Grant between the forces in his front and rear.

After an ineffectual attempt to cut a channel for the gun-boats across the peninsula, formed by a bend in the Mississippi River opposite Vicksburg, the problem was solved by Adm. Porter on the night of the 16th of April, when with his fleet and three transports he ran the blockade, followed a week later by six more transports, each towing two barges laden with forage and rations. After five hours' bombardment of the works at Grand Gulf, it became evident that they could not be carried, when the blockade at this point was run, and the troops, marching



to Hard Times Landing, were ferried across the river to Bruinsburg.

As soon as the Thirteenth Corps was landed and could draw three days' rations in haversacks, the troops were started on the road to Port Gibson, near which place, on the 1st of May, the advance of the Confederates was met, and after a hard fight defeated and pursued toward Port Gibson. Col. S. A. Sheldon, commanding the Second Brigade at the time, says: "The Sixteenth Ohio and the Twenty-second Kentucky obliquing to the left entered the ravine on the front and left of the enemy's position, and advanced under cover very near the enemy, and maintained their position until near night, doing considerable damage to the enemy by a continuous and well directed fire." He mentions among other officers Maj. Worthington, commanding the Twenty-second Kentucky, as behaving ably and gallantly.

The next two weeks were occupied in bringing up supplies and advancing into the interior as far as Raymond, which was garrisoned by Osterhaus' division, but in obedience to orders from Gen. Grant the division moved north, and on the 15th, captured Bolton's Station with several prisoners. Smith's division bivouacked north of Raymond; Hovey's, Carr's and Blair's divisions were near at hand, all fronting toward Edward's Station, where the Confederate army was supposed to be in force. Early on the morning of the 15th, Smith advanced supported by Blair on the southern road. Osterhaus moved on the middle road followed by Carr, while Hovey marched by the northern road. Thus McClellan's corps moving on parallel roads encountered Pemberton's advance about 7.30 A. M. and the battle of Champion Hill ensued. Gen. McPherson was in support of Hovey's division with his entire corps; a line of skirmishers connected with Smith's and Osterhaus' divisions; Blair moved a brigade to the support of the right, while Ransom's brigade performed a like service upon the left. At 10 A. M. Gen. Hovey advanced upon the Confederates, who were posted on a wooded hill some sixty or seventy feet in height, midway between Vicksburg

and Jackson, known as Champion Hill. The appearance of Hovey's division at the base of the hill was the signal for opening a galling fire of artillery and musketry, but the brave fellows pressed forward and by 11 o'clock the engagement was general along the entire line, which continued with increasing fury until noon, when the Confederates fell back, leaving 300 prisoners in the hands of the Union troops.

Quickly rallying, however, the Confederates, re-enforced by fresh troops, poured down the road and renewed the conflict, directing their attack upon Hovey, who was borne back until the ground taken by desperate fighting was lost. The advance of the Confederates, however, was checked by a heavy enfilading fire of artillery, under which they were driven back to the cover of the woods, followed by Hovey's and Crocker's divisions, which pushing forward reached the crest of the hill, and the day was won. In little over four hours nearly one-third of Hovey's division were killed or wounded. Meanwhile, Osterhaus' division had advanced against the right of the Confederate line, Garrard's brigade on the right and Lindsay's on the left, and soon both brigades were hotly engaged, and the reserves were brought up. Lindsay's brigade charged a battery, shooting down men and horses and capturing two pieces of artillery. Garrard, in the meantime, was pushing his lines forward on the right. The Seventh Kentucky, the Forty-ninth Indiana, and one section of Lanphere's battery, formed the advance, and, driving the Confederate skirmishers from one ravine to another, they pushed forward toward the main position in a fierce charge that brought them under the fire of the guns upon the hill, where they were obliged to halt.

Finding that a further stay at Champion Hill would place the army in jeopardy, Gen. Pemberton now determined to fall back upon Vicksburg, which he did, followed by Osterhaus and Smith. "Thousands of the enemy," says Osterhaus in his report, "were found scattered everywhere and fell into our hands as prisoners. In one instance Col. Lindsay with the Sixteenth Ohio and Twenty-second

Kentucky Infantry alone took more prisoners than the whole number of his brigade combined." The pursuit was kept up as far as Edward's Station, where McClernand's corps bivouacked for the night. The lines were pushed forward, however, at other points and especially by Gen. Lawler, whose division dashed forward under a severe fire, and with fixed bayonets drove the Confederates from their works, but not until they had succeeded in burning the bridge across Big Black River. During the following night and morning, the bridge was rebuilt by Patterson's Engineers, and the army crossed and took up the line of march for Vicksburg.

In the alignment of his troops before Vicksburg Gen. Grant assigned McClernand's corps to the left. The right of the corps stretched across the railroad, and the left, reaching southward, closed the roads leading into city.

On the 22d of May, an attempt was made to carry the works by storm, the three corps acting simultaneously. In this movement the divisions of Gens. Osterhaus and Smith bore a prominent part. Gen. Osterhaus formed the column with the Twenty-second Kentucky and Forty-second Ohio on the right, the One Hundred and Fourteenth Ohio, Forty-ninth and Sixty-ninth Indiana in the center, and the Seventh Kentucky and One Hundred and Eighteenth Illinois on the left, the Sixteenth and One Hundred and Twentieth Ohio deployed as skirmishers. Gen. Osterhaus says: "Precisely at 10 o'clock the column advanced against a terrific fire from the rifle-pits and forts. The Seventh Kentucky, leading the left column, advanced to the top of the hill and marched over the naked brow of it through a murderous fire from the great redoubt on the left; they suffered heroically. All the columns reached the top of the hill, and came within so short a distance from the works that all orders and commands given on the enemy's side could be distinctly understood by our men."

Here the division remained during the day, unable to advance or retreat until night-fall, when it was withdrawn. They kept up

a rattling fire, however, and aided materially in the success of their comrades on the left. McClernand gives a graphic account of the charge made by Landrum's brigade.

Five minutes before 10 o'clock the bugle sounded the charge; at 10 o'clock my columns of attack moved forward, and within fifteen minutes Lawler's and Landrum's brigades had carried the ditch, slope and bastion of a fort. Some of the men, emulous of each other, rushed into the fort, finding a piece of artillery, and in time to see the men who had been serving and supporting it escape behind another defense commanding the interior of that they were in. All of this daring and heroic party were shot down except one, who recovering from the stunning effect of a shot seized his musket and captured and brought in thirteen rebels who had returned and fired their guns. The captor was Sergt. Joseph Griffin, who I am happy to say has since been promoted. Within fifteen minutes after Lawler's and Landrum's success, Benton's and Burbridge's brigades, fired by their example, rushed forward and carried the ditch and slope of another heavy earth-work and planted their colors upon the latter.

There is no doubt but that if McClernand had been promptly supported at this juncture the works could have been carried and the day won. His troops were the only troops who gained a momentary foothold within the intrenchments, and a heavy column pushed forward in support would doubtless have forced its way to the rear of the Confederate lines. It was not done, however, and the many valuable lives lost in the useless slaughter were wasted to no purpose. The loss in McClernand's corps alone was 1,487 in killed, wounded and missing.

In the siege that followed, the Kentucky regiments and Patterson's Engineers were constantly on duty, winning by their courage and constancy the highest encomiums from their commanding officers. After the surrender of Pemberton on the 4th of July, they were sent to Louisiana, where they remained on duty during the continuance of the war. The men of these splendid regiments have good reason to be proud of their record, undimmed as it is by a single act of cowardice or insubordination.

The names of officers of Kentucky regiments who were killed in battle or died of wounds, received in the two campaigns against Vicksburg, are as follows:

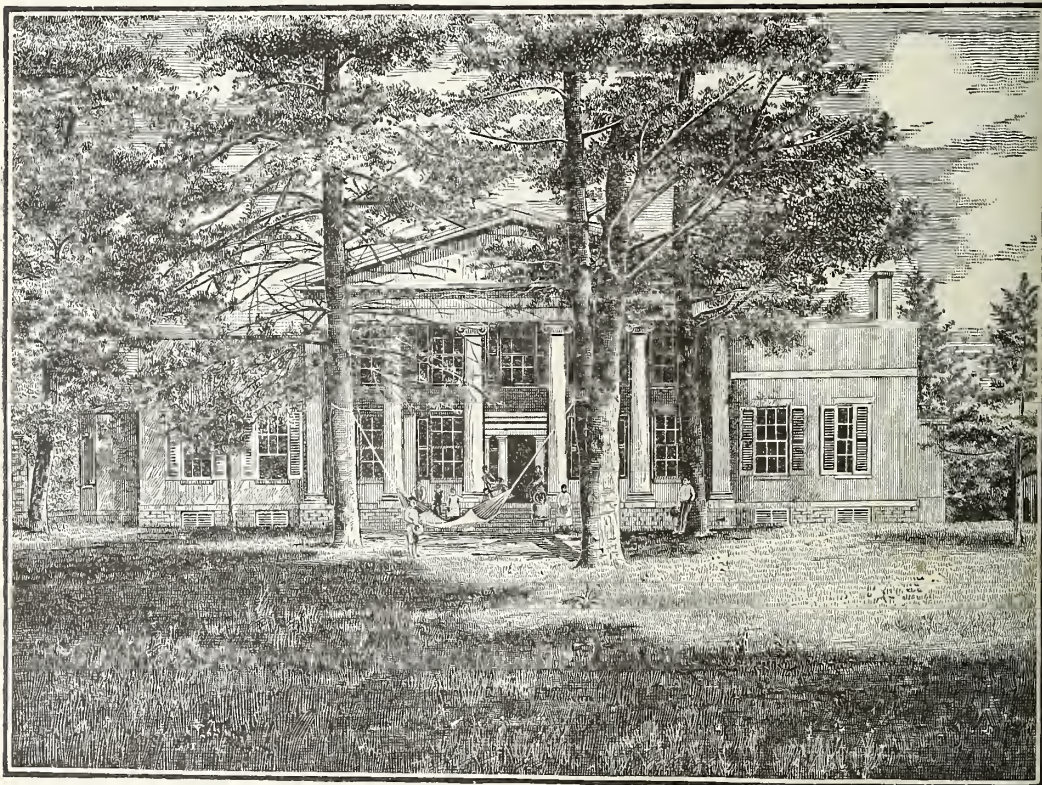


*Seventh Infantry.*—Capt. Levi Pennington, in action at Chickasaw Bluffs, December 28, 1862; Capt. Thomas Wilson, in battle of Chaplin Hills; Lieut. Thomas Buchanan, Chaplin Hills, May 16, 1863.

*Nineteenth Infantry.*—Maj. Morgan V.

Evans, in action before Vicksburg, May 22, 1863.

*Twenty-Second Infantry.*—Capt. Daniel Garrard, Capt. William B. Hogan and Lieut. Jabez Truitt, in action at Chickasaw Bluffs, December 29, 1862.



COLORED DEPARTMENT DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM—DANVILLE.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## KENTUCKY TROOPS IN TENNESSEE AND GEORGIA CAMPAIGNS.

THE four days' struggle in front of Murfreesboro (December 31, 1862—January 3, 1863), known as the battle of Stone River, was succeeded by a period of inactivity in middle Tennessee. Rosecrans had immediately taken possession of the town, while Bragg had retired to Tullahoma, strongly fortifying his position there, as well as an advanced position at Shelbyville. Here the two armies closely watched each other; the Federal general, by his threatening attitude, preventing his antagonist from sending needed re-enforcements to Johnston, who was vainly striving to raise Grant's siege of Vicksburg. Early in June, however, the Army of the Cumberland moved from its position, and in August found its way over the mountains to Stevenson and Bridgeport, necessitating the withdrawal of Bragg, first to Chattanooga, and in the early part of September to Lafayette, Georgia. On the 10th instant the national troops entered Chattanooga.

This brilliant campaign, which resulted in wresting middle Tennessee from the Confederates, was obscured by the more bloody, but not more successful, capture of Vicksburg, and battle of Gettysburg, and in comparison with these events attracted less attention than its real importance merited. The movement would have been made much earlier but for the certainty that in case of success, which was never doubted by the brave commander, the defeated army of Gen. Bragg would have joined Gen. Johnston at Jackson, Miss., and enabled him by the augmentation of his strength to imperil the operations before Vicksburg.

But the campaign was not to close without a savage struggle. The Confederate general, receiving re-enforcements from the army in

Virginia, determined to contest the possession of Chattanooga in a pitched battle in the valley of the Chickamauga, and having attempted on the 17th and 18th to fall upon detached corps of Rosecrans' army, without securing any advantage, he prepared for a grand attack on the next day.

The Fourth, Tenth and Eighteenth Kentucky Infantry Regiments, although among the first mustered into the service, missed the opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the battles of Shiloh, Perryville and Stone River.

The Fourth, Lieut.-Col. P. B. Hunt, and the Tenth, Col. William H. Hays, formed a portion of the second brigade of Brannan's division commanded by that superb soldier, Col. John T. Croxton, which had the honor of opening the battle of Chickamauga. A Confederate brigade was reported to have crossed Chickamauga Creek and to be cut off from the main body by the Union cavalry. Croxton's brigade was ordered forward to attack it. Advancing about one mile on the Ringgold Road, the brigade halted and formed in line of battle, the Fourth Kentucky on the left, Seventy-fourth Indiana on the right, the Tenth Indiana on the center, and the Tenth Kentucky and Fourteenth Ohio in reserve. The skirmish line was at once attacked by Forrest's cavalry and fell back to their place in line, which opened fire and caused a hasty retreat by the venturesome cavalry. Resuming the march in line of battle the brigade soon came upon the Confederate infantry, which developed into an overwhelming force. Finding that the force in his front far exceeded a brigade and was in fact an army corps, Croxton at once ordered a retreat, which was successfully



effected. In this fight the brave commander of the Fourth Kentucky was severely wounded, and Maj. R. M. Kelly, of the regiment, inspector-general of Brannan's division, assumed command. Having taken position on a ridge, the brigade held its position until relieved by King's brigade, when it fell back, replenished its cartridge-boxes and returned to the right of King's, now severely pressed.

The Confederates, three lines deep, were advancing in force, when, a charge being ordered, the two brigades sprang forward and drove them back and captured five pieces of artillery which they brought from the field. After a desperate struggle, in which the Fourth and Tenth fought with courage and determination, the Union troops were flanked and driven back. They fell back, however, slowly, and in good order, and seizing the first favorable position held it until relieved by Johnson's division. On the morning of the 20th, the brigade crossed the Chattanooga Road toward the front and took position near Kelly's house. Rude fortifications were thrown up, and every preparation made to resist the attack that all knew to be impending. In the terrible battle that ensued, Col. Croxton was seriously wounded, and was compelled to relinquish the command to Col. C. M. Chapman, Seventy-fourth Indiana. The brigade became separated when the charge of Longstreet fell upon the right center of the main line, but the organizations clung together and rendered good service in repulsing the assault upon the ridge. Gen. Turchin's brigade of Reynold's division, to which the Eighteenth Kentucky was attached, took part in the engagement of the 19th, at the point where Cruft's and Hazen's brigades being heavily pressed called for assistance. Gen. Cruft refers to the timely aid rendered by the Eighteenth Kentucky, Col. Milward, and the Ninety-second Ohio.

Gen. Turchin was in the rear of his column at the time when these two advance regiments of his brigade were ordered by Gen. Reynolds to re-enforce Palmer, and coming up soon after brought up the remaining portion of his command and took position between Palmer and Johnson, where,

about 4:30, P. M., he met a charge by Law's brigade of Hood's division with a counter charge which drove them back. In this he was joined by Cruft's brigade, after which, as related by both brigade commanders, they withdrew to their original position.

In the fight of the 20th, the Eighteenth Kentucky was in reserve most of the day, but joined in the timely charge made by the brigade, when, flushed with success, Longstreet's troops were driving the dissevered fragments of Brannan's division. It was a forlorn hope, but the intrepid brigade was equal to it. Turchin says: "The command 'Forward!' was given, and with a yell the brigade rushed forward and broke to pieces the confronting columns of the rebels. They fled pell-mell, and notwithstanding the fire of artillery on front and flank they pushed forward and took the guns." Col. Milward, of the Eighteenth Kentucky, being wounded, Maj. Hall took command. The loss in the Kentucky regiments was as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Fourth Kentucky . . .	25	153	12	190
Tenth Kentucky . . . .	21	134	10	165
Eighteenth Kentucky.	7	45	33	85

The Third Kentucky, under Col. H. C. Dunlap, was in Harker's brigade of Wood's division, Twenty-first Army Corps, and formed a portion of the command of Col. Harker, which made a bold reconnaissance from Chattanooga to Gordon's Mills in the wake of the retreating army of Gen. Bragg on September 11th. On this march the brave Lieut.-Col. Bullitt, with eight companies of the Third Kentucky, formed the skirmish line which drove the straggling cavalry and infantry through the defile in the mountains and across the Chickamauga Creek, where, the Confederates making a stand, Col. Dunlap was ordered to re-enforce them with the remainder of the regiment. So promptly was this done, that the regiment was dubbed "Harker's cavalry." On the morning of the 12th, Hazen's brigade, advancing from Peavine Valley, formed a junction with Harker. The two brigades remained at Gordon's Mills until the arrival of the corps, the main body of which marched *via* Ringgold from Chattanooga. In the battles of the 19th and 20th,

the Third Kentucky won the especial commendation of the brigade and division commanders for soldierly conduct and steadiness under the most trying circumstances. Col. Dunlap refers as follows to the action of his regiment at the moment of Longstreet's attack upon the right center of the Union line of battle: "Lieut.-Col. Bullitt and Adj. Hunt behaved gallantly in gathering from the retreating mass some 400 stragglers, which they rallied upon the hill, that developed itself as part of the important key to the safety of the army."

The loss of the Third Kentucky in the battle was 113 killed, wounded, and missing.

The Seventeenth Kentucky replaced the Eleventh in Col. Samuel Beatty's brigade, after the battle of Stone River, and at Chickamauga the Kentucky regiments engaged in Van Cleve's division were the Eighth, Lieut.-Col. James D. Mayhew; the Ninth, Col. George H. Cram, and the Seventeenth, Col. Alex. M. Stout; the first named in Barnes' and the two latter in Beatty's brigades. The Twenty-first under its intrepid commander was left at Shell Mound to look after the rear and protect communications with Bridgeport when Crittenden's corps marched into Chattanooga, and so it came about that one of the best fighting regiments in the army took no part in the battle of Chickamauga, other than as anxious listeners to the cannonading on the other side of Lookout Mountain. "Left behind and forgotten," was the angry comment of Col. S. W. Price, as he returned from his perch on a spur of Raccoon Mountain, where he had gone to gain from the roar of the battle some idea of how it fared with his comrades in the fight.

While Harker and Hazen were feeling for the Confederates in the direction of Lafayette, Beatty, who had moved with the main portion of the Twenty-first Corps to Ringgold, was sent with his brigade on a reconnaissance in the direction of Dalton, the object of Gen. Rosecrans being to ascertain beyond doubt the position of Bragg's main army. The result was to locate him at Lafayette, a belief which subsequently developed into a

certainly. On the 13th, the corps having moved to Gordon's Mills, Van Cleve's division advanced on a reconnaissance toward Lafayette, Beatty in advance. The Confederates, consisting of three regiments of Wheeler's cavalry and a section of artillery, were driven some three miles, when, no considerable force appearing, the division returned to camp. At 10 A. M., the 19th instant, Palmer's division being heavily engaged, Van Cleve was ordered with the First and Second brigades to his support. In this movement the Ninth and Seventeenth Kentucky were in the second line of Beatty's brigade. In the charge that ensued, the brigade captured a battery. The Confederate line overlapping the division to the right and continuing to advance, made it necessary for Van Cleve to fall back to a new position in the rear. On the morning of the 20th, the two brigades moved by order of Gen. Rosecrans, in response to Gen. Thomas' request for reinforcements, to the left. Barnes' brigade had been detached on the previous day, and was engaged near the extreme left of the line.

The First Brigade, followed by the Second, marched by the left flank, in the rear of Brannan's division, with the general order to fill any vacant place in the line, but finding none, the men were ordered to lie down to avoid the effects of a fire they could not return. While in this position the attack by Gen. Longstreet came with the force of an avalanche, sweeping through a gap in the line, made by the withdrawal of Wood's division from its position in line, on the right of Brannan, and left of Sheridan. In response to the repeated calls of Gen. Thomas for reinforcements to the left, which was greatly imperiled, and which it was agreed must be held at all hazards, Brannan's division was ordered to move in rear of Reynolds, and report to Gen. Thomas. Gen. Wood, next in line, was ordered to move to the left, and connect with Reynolds, while Davis and Sheridan, of McCook's corps, were directed to move to the left, and close the gap formed by this movement. When the order was given, there was no appearance of danger in the front of the center and right, but there was



heavy fighting on the left. When Brannan and Wood received the order the advance of the Confederates from the woods was plainly visible. Brannan, who was near Reynolds, turned to him, and said: "I have an order to withdraw my division; shall I do so in the face of this attack?" Gen. Reynolds' reply, as stated to the writer, was: "Remain where you are, and I will assume the responsibility of countermanding the order." Gen. Wood obeyed the order, as to moving to the left, but finding Brannan still on his left, moved in rear of his division, and was caught in flank by the assault. Wood had but two brigades, George P. Buell's and Harker's; his second brigade, Wagner's, being at Chattanooga.

The military reader will readily imagine the scene of confusion which followed. Wood's veteran brigades were scattered like chaff before the wind. The right of Brannan's division, being without support, crumbled away. The head of Sheridan's column, moving rapidly to carry out the order to close up on Wood, was caught in the flank, and Gen. Lytle, the brave commander of the leading brigade, fell with a mortal wound. The line was rent in twain, and each side of the gap recoiling before the storm of musketry fell back in disorder. There was no panic, however, such as was witnessed at Stone River, when the right wing melted away as if by magic. Detached companies and regiments clung together, and at the first appearance of a nucleus, rallied around the flag. The Seventeenth Kentucky, under the masterly leadership of Col. A. M. Stout, remained nearly intact, and formed on the ridge, which formed one side of the ravine through which Longstreet's victorious army marched after passing through the line. It was the wish of Gen. Longstreet, as expressed years later, to the writer, to move on without halting upon Chattanooga, and it was so evidently the right thing to do, that Gen. Rosecrans believed he would do it, and made his dispositions to meet the changed condition of affairs. This involved the necessity of looking after his rear; hurrying the army trains to Chattanooga ahead of Longstreet, placing the reserve artillery, supported by

Wagner's Posts and Spear's brigades, in position to defend the place, and thus forming a rallying point for the broken columns of his army. It was easy to give the orders for these things to be done, but everything depended upon their prompt execution, and turning to Gen. Garfield he rapidly enumerated the various movements necessary to insure the defense of Chattanooga, until the main army could be brought off the field. Gen. Garfield replied that he could much easier be the bearer of the general's orders to Gen. Thomas, which was agreed to, and under these circumstances Rosecrans rode rapidly away, to make arrangements for the safety of his army.

Meantime, a strong line was formed at right angles with Brannan's, facing toward the right, along the crest of the ridge, composed of troops of Wood's, Van Cleve's and Brannan's divisions, strengthened by such troops as could be spared from the main line, which defeated the flank movement of Longstreet. His intention to move upon Chattanooga was frustrated by Bragg, who, anticipating danger from the detachment of so large a portion of his army, ordered him to move upon the flank. In the defense of the right flank, as now formed, the Third, Sixth, Ninth and Seventeenth Kentucky Regiments took a prominent part. Eighty officers and enlisted men of the Third Kentucky were wounded, within fifteen minutes, in the angle formed by Brannan's division and the new line. A portion of the reserve corps, under Gens. Granger, Steedman and Whitaker, appeared in the nick of time upon the right, and went into action with a fury that nothing could withstand, and the day was saved. At the same time the Eighth Kentucky was actively engaged on the right, and, though flanked and compelled to fall back, maintained its organization, and fought bravely during both days of battle, and was the last to leave the field.

The loss in the Kentucky regiments of Van Cleve's division was as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Eighth Kentucky.....	3	31	2	36
Ninth Kentucky.....	2	45	13	60
Seventeenth Kentucky..	6	105	15	126

Baldwin's brigade of Johnson's division, Twentieth Army Corps, with the division, moved on the morning of the 19th from the corps, and took position on the extreme left of the general line of battle, three miles east of Crawfish Springs. The Fifth Kentucky, Col. W. W. Berry, was posted on the left of the front line of Baldwin's brigade. A charge being ordered, the line advanced rapidly against a galling fire of musketry and artillery, driving the Confederates over a mile. Half an hour later, being heavily re-enforced, they returned the attack. The Ninety-third Ohio formed on the left of the Fifth Kentucky, but, the Confederate lines extending beyond the left of the brigade, the Ninety-third staggered under the blow. Col. Baldwin, with heroic courage, seized the colors and shouting "Rally round the flag, boys," the regiment sprang forward with such impetuosity as to repulse the charge and capture two guns. The Fifth Kentucky, standing in line, swept its front with continuous volleys of musketry.

Quiet then reigned for an hour and a half when the storm again burst with renewed fury. Baldwin's brigade withstood the shock, but a regiment on its right broke, and the Confederates rushing into the gap commenced a furious assault upon Baldwin's right. Here Col. Baldwin was shot, leaving the brigade without a commander. The Fifth Kentucky and the Ninety-third Ohio were completely cut off, the Confederate line being between them and the reserve. But darkness came to their relief, and silently, on double quick, the two regiments passed the Confederate flank, joined the reserve, faced about and for half an hour the most terrific fighting of the day took place. The two lines were but a few yards apart and a hand to hand fight followed. It was a desperate struggle, but the Confederates were drawn back and the line was held. At this moment Col. Berry, as ranking officer, assumed the command of the brigade, and Gen. Baird's division, coming up, formed on the extreme left of the main line of battle.

The divisions were now aligned as follows:—counting from left to right—Baird, John-

son, Palmer, Reynolds, Brannan, Negley, Sheridan and Davis; Wood and Van Cleve in reserve. During the night Gen. Rosecrans called his corps commanders together, and in the conference which took place it was agreed that the left must be held, as it guarded the main Lafayette and Chattanooga Road. To this end, Negley was withdrawn from the line, Wood ordered to take his place, and Van Cleve was ordered to the rear of Brannan in reserve. This formation remained until the withdrawal of Wood caused the disaster of the afternoon. The Fifth Kentucky occupied a position in the second line.

The Confederate line, formed in echelon, attacked first on the left and followed with successive strokes along the Union front. This attack was well adapted to produce the result which followed, as the troops on the left of the Confederate line, concealed from view, awaited the weakening of the Union right before advancing. When the attack fell upon Berry, he at once moved up his rear line, but some of Baird's troops giving away, necessitated a half wheel and charge upon the Confederates. The Fifth Kentucky, now led by Capt. Huston, rapidly cleared the fields in their front, and, as Col. Berry expressed it, "with an impetuosity never excelled," struck the Confederates in flank, and drove them pell-mell a mile and a half, capturing many prisoners, among them Gen. Adams. Lieut. Huston, a promising young officer, was killed in this charge.

The loss of the Fifth Kentucky in this engagement was 15 killed, and 110 wounded. Total, 125.

Gen. Cruft's brigade went into action on the 19th of September, with an effective strength of seventy-six officers and 1,300 enlisted men, of which 128 were artillery. The Second Division of the Twenty-first Army Corps, commanded by Gen. Palmer, was detached from the corps and ordered to report to Gen. Thomas. Line of battle was formed to the right of McNamar's house on the Ross-ville Road, in echelon, Hazen's brigade on the left, Cruft's brigade in the center, and Grose's brigade on the right. The First and



Second Kentucky, Cols. Enyart and Sedgewick were in the latter; the Sixth Kentucky, Col. Shackelford, in Hazen's brigade, and the Twenty-third Kentucky, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Foy, in Grose's brigade.

The battle opened in this part of the field with a successful charge by the Confederates, which drove the division back from its first position, but no rout ensued, and on the arrival of re-enforcements under Gen. Turchin, a counter charge was made which resulted in regaining the lost ground. In this charge the Kentucky regiments displayed their usual gallantry. During the night, rapid firing in front of Johnson's division indicated a night attack, and Cruft's brigade moved up on the right and Grose followed soon after. The night was far spent when the new line was formed, and the remaining hours were utilized in the erection of rude breastworks along the bank of a stream. The morning of the 20th found the division in good position for withstanding an attack. The men wearied by hard fighting and loss of rest were yet in good spirits, and the steadiness with which they fought and held their line is the best evidence of their courage.

The loss in the Kentucky regiments of Palmer's division was as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
First Kentucky....5	61	17		83
Second Kentucky..2	26	3		31
Sixth Kentucky...15	93	11		118
Twenty-third Kentucky.....11	52	6		69
Total.....33	232	37		301

Gen. John Beatty's brigade of Negley's division of the Fourteenth Corps moved early on the morning of the 20th to a position on the left, and formed his line by direction of Gen. Thomas perpendicularly to the left of Gen Baird's division. This strong support to the extreme left of the line was imperatively needed to secure it from a flank attack, but was subsequently changed by an order to Beatty to advance to a ridge in his front. Gen. Beatty represented to the officer bringing the order that the movement would leave a wide interval between him and Baird, but

after hearing that the order was imperative and that the interval would be filled by Negley, he advanced against heavy opposition. The Fifteenth Kentucky, Col. Taylor, became immediately engaged, but pushed steadily forward. The gap between the brigade and Baird's troops on its right gradually widened and Beatty called upon Baird to send some of his troops to cover it. This movement had been observed by the Confederates, who pressing forward, filled the interval, and turned with the evident intention of capturing the brigade, or at least one regiment, the Forty-second Indiana, then busily engaged in its front. This design was frustrated by Gen. Beatty's battery, which opened with grape and canister, and the Confederates fell back. The force in front proving too heavy for further advance, Beatty withdrew his brigade. The Confederates, following briskly, captured two guns of Beatty's battery. The Fifteenth Kentucky and the One Hundred and Fourth Illinois, with their accustomed steadiness, succeeded in checking the further advance of the Confederates, but the Eighty-eighth and Forty-second Indiana were compelled to make a wide detour to escape capture and did not regain the brigade.

Col. Stanley came up soon after with the Second Brigade of Negley's division, and, relieving the two regiments, they took position in rear as support. In the hard fight that followed, the Fifteenth Kentucky was especially distinguished. Being ordered to haul off by hand two pieces of artillery which had been abandoned by the gunners, they enlarged upon their instructions and gathered up five pieces, and attaching them to limbers that they found upon the field, succeeded in saving them all. The loss in the Fifteenth Kentucky was five killed, forty-three wounded and fifteen missing; total, sixty three.

Among the surgeons who bravely remained at their post of duty at the field hospital, and were captured by the Confederates, was Surgeon Joseph Fithian of the Eighteenth Kentucky.

The officers of Kentucky regiments killed or mortally wounded at the battle of Chickamauga were:

Lieut. Frank N. Sheets, Fourth Cavalry; Capt. James M. Bodine, Second Infantry; Capt. Henry S. Taylor, Third Infantry; Lieut. Alban D. Bradshaw, Third Infantry; Maj. Charles L. Thomasson, Fifth Infantry; Lieut. John W. Huston, Fifth Infantry; Lieut. John Ryan, Fifth Infantry; Capt. Peter Marker, Sixth Infantry; Capt. John McGraw, Sixth Infantry; Lieut. Richard Rockingham, Lieut. Thomas Eubanks, Sixth Infantry; Lieut. Frederick V. Lockman, Sixth Infantry; Capt. Seth P. Beville, Tenth Infantry; Lieut. John H. Myers, Tenth Infantry; Lieut. Joseph L. McClure, Fifteenth Infantry; Lieut. John D. Millman, Seventeenth Infantry; Capt. James W. Anthony, Seventeenth Infantry; Lieut. Joseph C. Hoffman, Twenty-third Infantry.

The result of this battle was the retirement of the Federal army to the defenses of Chattanooga, where it was closely followed by the victorious foe. Bragg at once seized the natural fortresses of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, and placed the bulk of his forces in an almost impregnable position overlooking the city. The withdrawal of the Federal forces from the passes of Lookout Mountain, left the way open for the attack upon Rosecrans' natural line of communication with his base of supplies at Bridgeport, and the enemy's pickets soon held the river from that point to Chickamauga Creek. Railroad communications in his rear were cut off by a successful cavalry raid, and the Army of the Cumberland, cooped up within the fortifications of Chattanooga was forced to subsist upon the meager supplies which could be wagoned over Waldron's Ridge by a circuitous and mule-killing route.

This predicament caused the early dispatch of re-enforcements from the Army of the Potomac, and the removal of Sherman's forces from Memphis to this point. But in the meantime, the situation grew more serious, although the evacuation of the city was at no time contemplated.

Gen. Grant arrived on the 23d of October, and at once set about recovering the possession of the river. Operations against the main position of the enemy, however, were delayed until the arrival of Sherman in November.

In reorganizing the Army of the Cumberland, after the battle of Chickamauga, the

Kentucky regiments were assigned as follows:

	Brigade.	Division.	Army Corps.
First Infantry, Col. D. A. Enyart.....	1st	1st	4th
Second Infantry, Col. T. D. Sedgewick.....	1st	1st	4th
Third Infantry, Col. H. C. Dunlap.....	3d	2d	4th
Fourth Infantry, Maj. R. M. Kelly.....	3d	3d	14th
Fifth Infantry, Col. W. W. Berry.....	2d	3d	4th
Sixth Infantry, Maj. R. T. Whitaker.....	2d	3d	4th
Eighth Infantry, Col. S. M. Barnes.....	2d	1st	4th
Ninth Infantry, Col. G. H. Cram.....	3d	3d	4th
Tenth Infantry, Col. W. H. Hays.....	3d	3d	14th
Fifteenth Infantry, Maj. W. G. Halpin.....	1st	1st	14th
Seventeenth Infantry, Col. A. M. Stout.....	3d	3d	4th
Eighteenth Infantry, Lieut.-Col. H. K. Milward.....	3d	3d	14th
Twenty-first Infantry, Col. S. W. Price.....	2d	1st	4th
Twenty-third Infantry, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Foy..	2d	3d	4th

By this arrangement the First and Second Regiments were in Cruft's brigade, and the Eighth and Twenty-first in Whitaker's brigade, of Stanley's division; the Third Kentucky in Harker's brigade, of Sheridan's division; the Fifth, Sixth and Twenty-third in Hazen's brigade, and the Ninth and Seventeenth in Beatty's brigade, of Wood's division, Fourth Army Corps. The Fourth, Tenth and Eighteenth were in Phelps' brigade, of Baird's division; and the Fifteenth in Moore's brigade, of Carlin's division, Fourteenth Army Corps. All the regiments above mentioned participated in the battles about Chattanooga, November 23d to 25th, except the First, Second and Fifteenth.

A preliminary movement of considerable importance was the capture of Moccasin Point by Hazen's brigade on the night of October 27th. The Tennessee River, in its tortuous course after leaving Chattanooga, runs southward a short distance, then turning abruptly northward forms a tongue of land, called Moccasin Point. After reaching a



distance of seven or eight miles in this direction, it sweeps gracefully around a curve and resumes its southern course, when bearing westward it flows past Bridgeport, the base of supplies for the army. The possession by the Confederates of the tongue of land formed by the latter curve, compelled a wide detour northward *via* Anderson's Cross Roads to supply the suffering army. Gen. Rosecrans, with a view to the possession of the direct road to Bridgeport, formed the plan, subsequently carried out by Gen. Thomas, of landing a force under cover of night at Brown's Ferry and seizing the upper end of Lookout Valley simultaneously with the advance of the troops, then on their way from the Army of the Potomac. The river being commanded by batteries at the base of Lookout Mountain rendered the undertaking both difficult and dangerous.

Hazen's brigade was selected for the enterprise and the result proved that its execution was confided to competent hands. With a picked force of 1,200 men, divided into squads of twenty-five each, of which the Fifth, Sixth and Twenty-third Kentucky Regiments furnished eleven squads of twenty-five men, and one of seventy-five, under competent officers, Gen. Hazen embarked upon pontoon boats; the squad of seventy-five from the Twenty-third under Lieut.-Col. Foy was in advance, and silently floated down the river under the Confederate batteries. Many a heart stood still as the noiseless procession glided phantom-like under the shadow of Lookout Mountain and out into the light beyond. For full two miles the route lay under the muzzles of Longstreet's artillery, which had full sweep of the river. The oars were not used; not a word was spoken; the slightest noise would open the brazen throats of a dozen cannon. Three miles down the river, the flotilla came under the guns of the Confederate pickets, but by keeping well under the shadow of the opposite shore the boats were unobserved until the first boat was within ten feet of the landing at Brown's Ferry, when the men of the Twenty-third leaped ashore, and, with the brave Lieut.-Col. Foy at their head, pushed down the

road, driving the Confederates before them. As the boats came up, the men disembarked and soon forming a line of battle, were prepared for the attack that was anticipated. The assault fell first upon Col. Foy, who repulsed it, driving the Confederates to the right where they were met by Col. Wiley, who, re-enforced by Col. Langdon, pursued them across the valley. Entrenchments were rapidly thrown up, the pontoons were formed in a bridge, artillery was brought over, and when morning dawned the astonished Confederates were dispossessed of the coveted peninsula. Gen. Hooker, advancing in the meantime from the western end of the valley encamped on the following night near Wauhatchie, where a battle was fought, resulting in the defeat of the Confederates, and permanent occupation of the valley.

The next exploit of Hazen's brigade was, in connection with the division, the capture of Orchard Knob, an eminence between the Union and Confederate lines in front of Chattanooga, on the 23d of November. In this daring movement Col. Berry, of the Fifth Kentucky, was wounded. During the last half mile after meeting the Confederate pickets, Hazen's brigade was constantly under fire, from which it suffered severely, but pushing forward the position was captured, and with it the greater part of the Twenty-eighth Alabama Infantry.

Stanley's division, stationed at Whiteside, near Bridgeport, was at this time under command of Gen. Cruft, ranking brigade commander. With two brigades of his division under Whitaker and Grose, he took part in the capture of Lookout Mountain.

The departure of Longstreet's corps and Buckner's division from the line of investment at Chattanooga to attack Burnside in the vicinity of Knoxville left Bragg but 32,700 infantry and artillery, divided into two corps, commanded by Hardee and Breckinridge. The Confederate line extended from the northern extremity of Missionary Ridge around to the western base of Lookout Mountain. Stevenson's division occupied Lookout Mountain and Chattanooga Valley at its base. On the 24th of November the

ops on the mountain consisted of three brigades under Gens. Walthall, Moore and Pettus.

In the assault made by Geary's division of Crocker's corps and Whitaker's brigade, the latter was in support, but in the advance up the rugged mountain side, owing to irregularities in the ground it gradually pushed itself to the front and took part in the fight even before the summit was reached. Drifting clouds enveloped the lofty crest of the mountain, and the precipitous sides were involved in an impenetrable mist. In this "battle above the clouds" the Eighth Kentucky Infantry bore a prominent part. The Twenty-first Kentucky not having joined the brigade at this time was temporarily assigned to Davis' division of the Fourteenth Corps.

At noon, when Walthall's main line was reached, Whitaker's brigade had by hard climbing and desperate hand-to-hand fighting found its way around to the right, and was exactly in the right place. Hastily deploying their lines, the brigade commanders gave the order to charge, and never was the command, that carries with it death to the brave, obeyed with a heartier will. The men of Gettysburg and Chickamauga stood shoulder to shoulder, and, with a courage that nothing could withstand, rushed forward to the attack. A few minutes of desperate fighting ensued, when half of Walthall's men threw down their arms and were sent to the rear as prisoners. Pushing forward, the plucky little army found itself in possession of the plateau beneath the crest of the mountain. Whitaker refers in his graphic style to the assault upon the lines at the Craven House:

Steadily and firmly advancing, my brigade reached the base of Lookout's bold, projecting point. Its profile is delineated from beneath against the sky. In good order my bold command, now become one line, swung round the crest, the right wing being the pivot, with the flags of the Fortieth Ohio on the left and the Eighth Kentucky floating free and triumphant on the right. With beating hearts we heard the soul stirring vivas of our country's friends, and responding boldly we charged upon the rallying columns of the enemy. A portion of Gen. Geary's division meeting overwhelming opposition from the rifle pits in the orchard be-

fore reaching the Craven House, and having no cover, were falling back. The Confederates were sending re-enforcements from the summit of the mountain over a depression in the cliff some hundreds of yards to our rear, on the west side of the mountain. The Eighth Kentucky, Col. Barnes, was halted on the crest of the ridge with orders to deploy skirmishers to drive the Confederates back and to hold the crest at all hazards. This was well and gallantly done.

While Geary and Whitaker were steadily fighting their way to the summit of the mountain, Osterhaus' division of Sherman's army and Grose's brigade were pressing forward from below, and at about 3 P. M. the latter joined Whitaker's brigade on the plateau near the Craven House. Osterhaus came up on the left followed by Carlin's division, the Fifteenth Kentucky in advance.

The storming of Lookout Mountain will always rank as one of the boldest achievements of the war. Gen. Geary footed up the assault as follows: "1,940 prisoners, 125 of the Confederates killed and 300 wounded and left on the field, 2,800 stand of arms, 2 cannon, 5 battle flags, 50 officers' swords and 1,000 intrenching tools captured, at a loss of 150 men killed and wounded, 52 of whom were in Whitaker's brigade." Early in the morning of the 25th, Gen. Whitaker called for volunteers from the Eighth Kentucky to scale the cliff that overhung the plateau and take possession of Lookout Point. It was not known what force was there. Capt. Wilson of Company C, Sergts. Davis, Wager and Wood and privates Witt and Bradley at once stepped forward. It was a hazardous undertaking, but these brave men were equal to it, regardless of the result. The regiment soon followed and their flag, the gift of the loyal women of Estill County, was given to the breeze amid the wild cheers of the dauntless men whose valor had driven 4,000 men from the summit of Lookout Mountain, and cheered by the exulting shouts of the main army hundreds of feet below.

The smoke of battle was still hovering over the lofty crest of Lookout, from which the flag of the Eighth Kentucky floated in triumph, when Gen. Bragg ordered the con-



centration of his entire army on Missionary Ridge. On the right was Hardee with four divisions, under Cleburne, Stevenson, Cheat-ham and Gist, numbering over 20,000 men. Breckinridge on the left commanded three divisions under Bate, Hindman and Steward, 15,000 strong. In the battle which ensued Cleburne on the right was charged with the defense of that wing, and so well did he perform this service that Sherman's army failed to dislodge him. On the left Breckinridge with Stewart and Hindman's division confronted Hooker, who, with Geary's division of the Twelfth Corps, Cruft's division of the Fourth Corps, and Osterhaus' division of the Fifteenth Corps, advanced across Chattanooga to assault the left of Bragg's line of battle. The attack was brief and decisive. The Confederates fell back along the ridge toward the center of their line, followed by Hooker's infantry on the ridge and his artillery in the valley.

The sun shone brightly down upon a scene of surpassing grandeur. Every movement of the troops in the valley was distinctly visible from the headquarters of Gens. Thomas and Grant at Fort Wood and Gen. Bragg on Missionary Ridge, where "the enemy," says Bate, "like a huge serpent uncoiled his massive folds into shapely lines in our immediate front."

The Army of the Cumberland, now commanded by Maj.-Gen. George H. Thomas, was aligned in the center as follows: Johnson on the right, then Sheridan, Wood, Baird and Davis, with their divisions in line awaiting the signal of attack. The Eleventh Corps, under Gen. Howard, was in position in rear of Thomas' left, ready to move to any portion of the field where it might be needed. The same regiments which had fought at Chickamauga, diminished in numbers, by re-enforcing the right and left now prepared for the magnificent charge which will go down in history as one of the grandest in military annals. Noon had arrived, but, thus far, Sherman's sledge-hammer strokes had produced no apparent effect. Between his advance and Hardee's front there was a deep ravine and a steep ascent, a second Chickasaw Bluffs, and beyond it—death.

The headquarter flags of the contending armies floated defiantly in the breeze, and there was not a soldier in the ranks who did not know that a great and decisive battle was to be fought that day. That Missionary Ridge would be carried, when the signal was given for the advance, was confidently believed by every Federal soldier, and to be the first upon the summit was the goal of each one's ambition. The Third Kentucky in Harker's brigade, the Fifth, Sixth and Twenty-Third in Hazen's brigade and the Ninth and Seventeenth in Beatty's brigade were near together, and contested the honor of first reaching the summit. The Fifteenth in Carlin's brigade was on the right, and the Fourth, Tenth and Eighteenth in Phelps' brigade of Baird's division were near the left of the line.

While Gen. Sherman, with the pluck and persistence that formed his prominent characteristic, was sustaining the shock of battle on the northern extremity of Missionary Ridge, and Hooker's victorious columns were advancing along the ridge from the south in the wake of the retreating Confederates, the order came for the Army of the Cumberland to advance and carry the rifle pits at the base of the ridge. Only this and nothing more. The assault is tersely described by Gen. Grant as follows:

These troops moved forward, drove the enemy from the rifle pits at the base of the ridge like bees from a hive, stopped but a moment until the whole were in line, and commenced the assault of the mountain from right to left almost simultaneously, following closely the retreating enemy without further orders. They encountered a fearful volley of grape and canister from nearly thirty pieces of artillery, and musketry from still well filled rifle pits on the summit of the ridge. Not a waver was seen in all that long line of brave men. Their progress was steadily onward until the summit was in their possession. In the charge the casualties were remarkably few for the fire encountered. I can account for this only on the theory that the enemy's surprise at the audacity of such a charge caused confusion and purposeless aiming of their pieces.

Gen. Thomas says:

Our troops advanced steadily in a continuous line. The enemy, seized with panic, abandoned the works at the foot of the hill and retreated precipitately to the crest, pursued closely by our troops, who, apparently inspired by the impulse of victory, carried

the hill simultaneously at six different points, and so closely upon the heels of the enemy that many of them were taken prisoners in the trenches. We captured nearly all their cannon and ammunition before they could be removed or destroyed. After halting for a few moments to reorganize the troops, who had become somewhat scattered in the assault of the hill, Gen. Sheridan pushed forward in pursuit and drove those in his front, who escaped capture, across Chickamauga Creek. Gens. Wood and Baird, being obstinately resisted by re-enforcements from the enemy's extreme right, continued fighting until darkness set in, slowly but steadily driving the enemy before them. The alacrity displayed by officers in executing their orders, and the enthusiasm and spirit displayed by the men who did the work, cannot be too highly appreciated by the nation for the defense of which they have on so many memorable occasions nobly and patiently exposed their lives in battle.

An army officer, who witnessed this magnificent pageant from Orchard Knob, is accustomed to say, when referring to it, "the grandest sights I ever witnessed were, sunrise on the ocean, Niagara Falls, and the charge of the Army of the Cumberland at Missionary Ridge." In this engagement the Kentucky regiments maintained their reputation for courage and discipline, and were among the first to plant their colors upon the summit of the ridge.

It was evident to every general officer that the troops were disobeying orders in advancing beyond the rifle pits at the base of the ridge. Grant inquired of Thomas by whose orders they were ascending the ridge. "By their own, I think," said the philosopher. "It is all right, if it turns out right," was the response. As it turned out right, all were willing to excuse this breach of discipline. A contest ensued between Gens. Hazen and Sheridan as to which first gained the crest, the latter claiming the honor for Harker's brigade, the former stoutly claiming it for his own, but as these brigades were largely composed of Kentucky troops it is probable that but little if any difference in time elapsed between their arrival.

The Twenty-first Kentucky took a hand in the fray, simultaneously with Sheridan's advance at midnight across Chickamauga Creek. The division of Gen. Davis, which had during the day acted as reserve to Gen.

Sherman, moved around the nose of the ridge along the river bank, and, crossing the creek, moved upon Chickamauga Station, near which it bivouacked for the night. At 8 o'clock, on the following morning, the division advanced, preceded by the Twenty-first Kentucky, deployed as skirmishers. Gen. Davis says: "The Twenty-first Kentucky moved forward in a beautiful skirmish line, and, when nearing the suburbs of the town, encountered the enemy in a very sharp skirmish." The flames which now streamed upward from the burning station indicated the destruction of stores, and the regiment pushed forward and compelled the Confederates to abandon a considerable quantity of supplies undestroyed. The Twenty-first made a gallant fight against a portion of the Confederate Kentucky Brigade, and, re-enforced by the Eighteenth Illinois, got the better of their opponents, compelling them to retreat in the direction of Graysville.

While the Army of the Cumberland, under Gen. Rosecrans, was advancing its lines and closing the gateway to east Tennessee and Virginia, by seizing and holding possession of Chattanooga, the Army of the Ohio under Gen. Burnside was pushing eastward from Kentucky to the capture of Knoxville and the valley of the Tennessee. Knoxville was occupied on the 3d of September, and Cumberland Gap, defended by a garrison of 2,000 men under Gen. Frazier, was captured on the 10th near the date of the occupation of Chattanooga by the Twenty-first Army Corps.

Gen. Simon B. Buckner, in command of the Department of East Tennessee, had, in obedience to the order of Gen. Bragg, evacuated the valley, and ordered his command of 7,000 men to the Confederate Army of the Tennessee, leaving Burnside an undisputed march to Knoxville. With few Confederates in his front, the obvious duty of Gen. Burnside was to re-enforce Gen. Rosecrans with at least so much of his infantry as would compensate for the increased force added by Buckner to the army of Gen. Bragg. His army of 25,000 men was composed of two corps, the Ninth



and Twenty-third. The latter, consisting of cavalry and infantry, marching over the mountains, reached Kingston in ample time to join Rosecrans, and render much needed assistance at the battle of Chickamauga.

The Kentucky regiments participating in the campaign culminating in the siege of Knoxville, were:

Eleventh Infantry, mounted, Col. S. P. Love, Pennebaker's Brigade.

Twenty-seventh Infantry, mounted, Lieut.-Col. J. H. Ward, Pennebaker's Brigade.

	Brigade.	Division.	Army Corps.
Twelfth Infantry, Maj.			
J. M. Owens.....	1st	3d	23d
Thirteenth Infantry, Col.			
W. E. Hobson.....	2d	2d	23d
Sixteenth Infantry, Col.			
J. W. Gault.....	1st	2d	23d
Twenty-fourth Infantry,			
Col. J. S. Hurt.....	2d	3d	23d
First Cavalry, Col. S.			
Adams.....	1st	4th	23d
Eleventh Cavalry, Maj.			
M. Graham.....	1st	4th	23d
Twelfth Cavalry, Maj. J.			
B. Harrison.....	1st	4th	23d

The Eleventh and Twenty-seventh, mounted infantry, under Col. C. D. Pennebaker, formed an independent brigade during the months of September and October, after which they were assigned to the cavalry corps and formed the Third Brigade of Col. Wolford's division.

Gen. Burnside, having obtained almost undisputed possession of east Tennessee, concluded, about the 1st of November, to place his army in winter quarters. Col. Chapin's Brigade of White's Division, of which the Thirteenth Kentucky formed a part, was stationed midway between the main army at Lenoirs and Loudon, with pickets on the Holston River. Mott's brigade of the same division, in which the Sixteenth Kentucky served, was stationed at Kingston, on the extreme right of the line. The Third Division (Hascall's), in which the Twelfth and Twenty-fourth Kentucky were brigaded, occupied the intrenchments at Knoxville. The Eleventh and Twenty-seventh, mounted infantry, with the cavalry regiments, were stationed at points on the flanks of the army.

Gen. Wheeler's cavalry, detached from

Bragg's army to co-operate with Longstreet in his operations against Burnside, arrived at Sweetwater on the 11th of November 1863, and on the following morning moved forward toward Maryville with orders to capture whatever Federal force could be found there. This force was Col. Wolford's cavalry brigade, consisting of the First Eleventh and Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry numbering 1,126 officers and enlisted men. Wheeler's force was vastly superior, comprising two divisions.

Dibrell's brigade, pushing forward in advance, came upon the Eleventh Kentucky, which fell back, after a sharp fight, upon the main body, which in turn was compelled to retreat across Little River with a loss of 200 killed, wounded and prisoners. Emboldened by his success, Wheeler pushed forward in pursuit and on the following morning came upon Wolford, who, re-enforced by Pennebaker's brigade, had made arrangements to meet him at Stock Creek.

Wolford had partially torn up the bridge, and his forces, 1,500 strong, were posted in a strong and elevated position behind a fence inclosing a thick wood. In their front were open fields descending toward the wood upon which Wheeler was advancing; on their right was the Holston River, while their left rested upon the steep side of a high ridge. It was afternoon when the head of Wheeler's column appeared, and it at once encountered a brisk artillery fire, wounding, among others, Maj. Buford of Wheeler's staff. Wheeler at once dismounted Martin's division, and crossing the river under a heavy fire attacked the left of Wolford's line, driving it back. While this was in progress a force had been busily engaged repairing the bridge, and soon Armstrong's division crossed it and charged on the right, which resulted in driving the entire force back under cover of the guns in the fortifications on the heights south of Knoxville.

Information of the movements of Longstreet reached Col. Chapin on the night of the 13th, and a reconnaissance to Huff's Ferry, demonstrated that a large force was there preparing to cross the Holston. Cha-

pin's brigade was at once withdrawn to Lenoirs. Returning on the following day, reinforced by Ferrero's division of the Ninth Corps, Chapin's brigade encountered Longstreet's pickets about two miles north of the Holston. The Thirteenth Kentucky, under command of Col. William E. Hobson, advanced gallantly, in connection with the One Hundred and Seventh Illinois, and drove the Confederate pickets nearly to the landing. "Up to this time," says Chapin in his report, "the two regiments had been about equally engaged, but now the enemy seemed to concentrate in front of the Thirteenth Kentucky. The summit of the hill being wooded made good cover for the rebels, and the side toward the Thirteenth Kentucky being bare, offered no cover for our men who were still in the woods at the foot." Gen. White now came upon the ground and ordered the two regiments to charge. "This was done," says Chapin, "in most gallant style by both regiments, the Thirteenth Kentucky charging up the bare hill in the face of a galling fire, driving the Confederates off the hill, and holding it until the next morning. In falling back to Lenoirs, Chapin's brigade acted as rear guard.

The escape from Lenoirs with all the baggage of a large army required the utmost activity, as the road to Knoxville led by Campbell's Station, a point on the road from Huff's Ferry about equidistant from both points. The baggage trains were pushed forward and Hartranft's division sent to guard them to Campbell's Station, then to take positions to protect their passage. Here a fight ensued in which the indomitable courage of the Ninth and Twenty-third Corps saved the train from destruction. The troops did their full duty and under cover of darkness fell back upon Knoxville. Chapin closes his report with a glowing tribute to the Thirteenth Kentucky and its gallant commander.

The dawn of day found the infantry safely behind the entrenchments at Knoxville, while the cavalry, under its heroic commander, Gen. William P. Sanders, held back the advance of Longstreet's column during the

entire day. Alluding to the death of this splendid soldier, Gen. Burnside says: "The troops worked all day and night and by daylight, on the morning of the 15th, were tolerably well under cover. Still the work was continued, the enemy being held at bay on the Kingston Road by the cavalry under Gen. Sanders, and on the Clinton Road by Col. Pennebaker's mounted regiments. The hours in which to work that were secured to us by the gallant conduct of our cavalry were worth to us a thousand men each. It is sad that they were bought at such a price as the life of that most gallant and chivalric soldier and noble gentleman, Brig.-Gen. William Pitt Sanders. I hope I may be pardoned this allusion to the only classmate I had at the siege of Knoxville. Gen. Sanders falling in front of the work occupied by Benjamin's battery, it seemed appropriate that the fort should be named for him." Thus the principal fort in front of Knoxville was named in honor of this noble Kentuckian. Before it raged for hours one of the fiercest conflicts of the war, but, as if the soldier whose name it bore had imparted a portion of his daring spirit to its defenders, the flag upon its crest was never lowered to the enemy.

In assigning the troops to their positions in the works around Knoxville, Chapin's and Reilly's brigades were placed on the ridge adjacent to Temperance Hill, which was heavily manned with artillery, while Hoskin's and Casement's brigades continued the line from Bell's house to the Holston River. This arrangement brought the Kentucky regiments nearly in line on the north side of the town, where an attack was anticipated. The event proved that the assault was determined upon where it could be most readily repulsed, and when it came the garrison of Fort Sanders proved equal to the emergency.

On the 18th Gen. Wheeler joined the main army with his cavalry, whence he was sent with three brigades to capture Mott's brigade at Kingston. Col. Mott gives the following brief account of the repulse of the Confederate attack: "The attack was made at day-break on the 24th of November, and after a



brisk engagement of seven hours' duration the enemy was handsomely whipped and driven back, with a loss of 250 killed, wounded and prisoners; among the killed was Col. Russell of the Third Alabama. Too much cannot be said in praise of the cool and determined bravery of the officers and men under my command. As an instance, I may mention the case of Capt. Murphy of the Sixteenth Kentucky, who, with a single company, charged a rebel regiment and demanded its surrender. There were many instances in which officers and men performed prodigies of valor."

After his repulse at Knoxville, Longstreet retired up the valley to Rogersville in time to avoid a battle with Sherman, who, immediately after the battle of Missionary Ridge, set out with a well equipped army, consisting of Blair's, Howard's and Granger's corps, to the relief of Gen. Burnside at Knoxville. The cavalry followed closely, and took position at Bean's Station. Longstreet had no sooner reached Rogersville than he was informed of the isolated position of the cavalry, and determined to capture it. Gen. Martin, who had superseded Wheeler in command of the cavalry, was ordered to march down the south bank of the Holston, and cross opposite to Bean's Station. Gen. W. E. Jones, with two brigades of cavalry, was to pass down along the north side of Clinch Mountain, and prevent the escape of the Union forces by the gap in that direction, while a heavy force of infantry, Bushrod Johnson's two brigades in advance, moved by the direct road from Rogersville to Bean's Station.

About 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 13th of December, after a toilsome march, the infantry reached the Union pickets, drove them in, and attacked with vigor. Wolford's brigade fell back, skirmishing and twice halting, disputed the way with great spirit to protect the retreat of the main body from the station. The Confederates continued to advance in the face of a destructive fire, when, finding the force overwhelming, the rear guard was ordered to withdraw, which, under the cover of darkness, it successfully did.

Gathering his forces together, Gen. Longstreet fell back to Rogersville, and went into winter quarters, thus ending the east Tennessee campaign.

When Longstreet laid siege to Knoxville, Gen. Burnside ordered the Thirty-fourth Kentucky Infantry to Cumberland Gap from Morristown. After the siege was raised by Gen. Sherman, the Thirty-fourth was ordered to Tazewell, Tenn., the colonel of the same being placed in command of a brigade composed of the Thirty-fourth Kentucky, One Hundred and Sixteenth and One Hundred and Eighteenth Indiana Infantry, Eleventh Tennessee Cavalry and Eleventh Michigan Battery. Here, on the 24th of January, 1864, the brigade was attacked by Col. Carter with about 1,800 men. In this fight the Thirty-fourth again distinguished itself for undaunted bravery under severe fire. In the engagement, which lasted about three-quarters of an hour, the Confederates were repulsed with a loss of thirty-one killed and many more wounded.

On the 26th of January, the regiment was again ordered to the gap under command of Gen. T. T. Garrard, where it remained on one-third rations for nearly three months. News having been received by the general commanding that a simultaneous attack would be made on the gap by Gens. Jones and Vaughn approaching in different directions, he ordered fifty-five men of the Thirty-fourth Kentucky Infantry to proceed to Powell River bridge to prevent Vaughn's forces from crossing and forming a junction with Jones. The detachment of the Thirty-fourth arrived at the bridge just as Vaughn's advance guard was entering it, and repulsed them after a short fight. Being armed with Colt's five-shooters, their small numbers were enabled, by undaunted bravery and their efficient arms, to contend with this large force and compel them to retire.

On the 17th of April, 1864, Gen. Garrard was relieved of the command of the gap, and Col. W. Y. Dillard, of the Thirty-fourth Kentucky Infantry, remained in command until the 8th of November, 1864, when the Thirty-fourth was ordered to Knoxville,

which place was threatened by Gen. Breckinridge from the direction of Strawberry Plains. The regiment, reduced to 304 men, was ordered to proceed to Knoxville *via* Tazewell and Walker's Ford, a road much infested with guerrillas. On arriving at Walker's Ford, on Clinch River, it was unable to cross, owing to the high water and want of a ferry-boat, and was consequently compelled to return to the gap and take the Jacksboro Road. The regiment arrived at Knoxville on the 18th of November, and remained there on provost duty until February 2, 1865, when it was ordered back to the gap.

On the 20th of April, the Thirty-fourth proceeded up the Virginia Valley in the direction of Gibson's Mills, where a force of the Confederates was reported. On the 22d, it was met by a flag of truce, and a proposition from Cols. Pridmore, Slemple, Richmond and Wicher to surrender their forces, which was at once done, their commands numbering 2,713 men. On the 24th of April, the Thirty-fourth was again ordered to Knoxville, and thence to Loudon, Tenn.; remained here on garrison duty until the 20th of June, and then returned to Knoxville for muster-out, which occurred June 24, 1865.

The promotion of Grant to the rank of major-general in the regular army, and his assignment to the command of the military department of the Mississippi on the 16th of October, 1863, was followed on the 12th of March, 1864, by his promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general and his assignment to the general command of all the armies. His new duties requiring his presence in the east, Grant departed for Virginia, leaving Maj.-Gen. W. T. Sherman in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi.

The forces, in command of which Sherman was thus placed, consisted of the Army of the Cumberland, under Gen. George H. Thomas; the Army of the Tennessee, under Gen. McPherson, and the Army of the Ohio, under Gen. Schofield, and a cavalry corps under Gen. Wilson. The total effective strength of the combined armies on the 20th of April, 1864, was as follows: Infantry, 4,228 offi-

cers, 87,838 enlisted men; cavalry, 612 officers, 12,062 enlisted men; artillery, 185 officers, 63,322 enlisted men. Total, 5,025 officers, 163,222 enlisted men.

The preservation of a line of communications over 300 miles in extent by the Union commander, however, involved the necessity of making heavy details to guard bridges, garrison important points and bring forward supplies for the army.

The Confederate army, after its defeat on Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, had retired to Dalton and Resaca, where it passed the winter. Longstreet's corps had retired from the siege of Knoxville to Virginia; Gen. J. E. Johnston had been transferred from the Mississippi in December, 1863, and had superseded Bragg in command, and in May Polk's army was moved from the Mississippi to swell its ranks. The forces thus opposed to Sherman, under command of Gen. Johnston, consisted of two corps under Gens. Hood and Hardee, and a cavalry corps under Gen. Wheeler. Its effective strength at the same date was as follows:

Infantry, 3,446 officers, 35,646 enlisted men; cavalry, 1,209 officers, 10,239 enlisted men; artillery, 203 officers, 3,775 enlisted men. Total, 4,858 officers; 49,660 enlisted men.

To this should be added Polk's command of 19,330 effectives.

The Kentucky infantry regiments which served in the Atlanta campaign were:

First.—Col. D. A. Enyart, Craft's (First) Brigade, Stanley's (First) Division, Howard's (Fourth) Corps.

Second.—Col. T. D. Sedgewick, Craft's (First) Brigade, Stanley's (First) Division, Howard's (Fourth) Corps.

Third.—Col. H. C. Dunlap, Harker's (Third) Brigade, Newton's (Second) Division, Howard's (Fourth) Corps.

Fifth.—Col. W. W. Berry, Hazen's (Second) Brigade, Wood's (Third) Division, Howard's (Fourth) Corps.

Sixth.—Capt. I. N. Johnston, Hazen's (Second) Brigade, Wood's (Third) Division, Howard's (Fourth) Corps.

Ninth.—Col. G. H. Cram, Kneller's (Third) Brigade, Wood's (Third) Division (Fourth Corps).

Tenth.—Col. W. H. Hays, Este's (Third) Brigade, Baird's (Third) Division (Fourteenth Corps).

Eleventh.—Col. S. P. Love, Byrd's (Third) Brigade, Cox's (Third) Division (Twenty-third Corps).



Twelfth.—Col. L. H. Rousseau, Reilly's (First) Brigade, Cox's (Third) Division (Twenty-third corps)

Thirteenth.—Col. W. E. Hobson, Bond's (Second) Brigade, Hascall's (Second) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Fourteenth.—Col. G. W. Gallup, Strickland's (Third) Brigade, Hascall's (Second) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Fifteenth.—Col. M. C. Taylor, Carlin's (First) Brigade, Johnston's (First) Division (Fourteenth Corps).

Sixteenth.—Maj. J. S. White, Reilly's (First) Brigade, Cox's (Third) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Seventeenth.—Col. A. M. Stout, Kneffler's (Third) Brigade, Wood's (Third) Division (Fourth Corps).

Eighteenth.—Col. H. K. Milward, Este's (Third) Brigade, Baird's (Third) Division (Fourteenth Corps).

Twentieth\*.—Lieut.-Col. T. B. Waller, Strickland's (Third) Brigade, Hascall's (Second) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Twenty-first.—Col. S. W. Price, Whitaker's (Second) Brigade, Stanley's (First) Division (Fourth Corps).

Twenty-third.—Lieut.-Col. James C. Foy, Hazen's (Second) Brigade, Wood's (Third) Division (Fourth Corps).

Twenty-fourth.—Col. J. S. Hurt, Casement's (Second) Brigade, Cox's (Third) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Twenty-seventh.—Col. J. H. Ward, Strickland's (Third) Brigade, Hascall's (Second) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Twenty-eighth.—Lieut.-Col. J. R. Boone, Wagner's (Second) Brigade, Newton's (Second) Division (Fourth Corps).

The cavalry regiments were brigaded as follows:

The Fourth Kentucky Mounted Infantry, acting as cavalry, under command of Col. R. M. Kelly, served in Croxton's (First) Brigade, McCook's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

First.—Col. S. Adams, Adams' (Third) Brigade, Stoneman's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Second.—Lieut.-Col. E. S. Watts, Long's (Second) Brigade, Garrard's (Second) Division, cavalry corps.

Third.—Lieut.-Col. R. H. King, Murray's (Third) Brigade, Kilpatrick's (Third) Division, cavalry corps.

Fourth.—Maj. L. Groyane, Watkin's (Third) Brigade, McCook's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Fifth.—Col. O. L. Baldwin, Murray's (Third) Brigade, Kilpatrick's (Third) Division, cavalry corps.

Sixth.—Maj. W. H. Fidler, Watkin's (Third) Brigade, McCook's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Seventh.—Col. J. K. Faulkner, Watkin's (Third) Brigade, McCook's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Eleventh.—Lieut.-Col. Alexander, Adams' (Third) Brigade, Stoneman's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Twelfth.—Lieut.-Col. Bramlette, Adams' (Third) Brigade, Stoneman's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Various changes were made in commanders and brigades during the progress of the campaign. The Eighth Infantry did not participate in the active duties of the campaign, the regiment being stationed at Chattanooga as part of the garrison until November 17, 1864, when it was mustered out of service. The Eighteenth Infantry was stationed at Ringgold, Ga., until September, when it rejoined the brigade, and marched with the Fourteenth Army Corps through Georgia to the sea.

Both commanders had been actively preparing for offensive movements, but Sherman being soonest ready took the initiative in what is known as the Atlanta campaign. His army moved forward on converging roads toward Tunnel Hill and Snake Creek Gap on the 5th of May, 1864. Johnston, expecting to be attacked at Dalton, had fortified Buzzard Roost Gap on the direct road, but had neglected to guard the gap through which the Snake Creek road led direct to Resaca in his rear, and but for the indecision of the Army of the Tennessee in moving forward and seizing Resaca, this campaign would have had a far different history. Gen. McPherson did advance to the vicinity of Resaca, which was then held by only two brigades, but subsequently retired and fortified at the gap. This action gave Johnston time to send Hood with three divisions to Resaca, who, finding that McPherson had retired, left one division there, another at Tilton, half-way between Resaca and Dalton, and brought the third back to camp.

On the 12th, leaving Howard's corps and the cavalry to confront the enemy at Dalton, Sherman's entire army, with this exception, passed the left flank of the Confederate army by the Snake Creek Gap, but too late to get in the rear of Johnston. That watchful general, not to be caught napping after the information he had had, observed this movement from an overlooking ridge, and quietly with-

\*The advent of Gen. Bragg into Kentucky, in 1862, was preceded by an extensive raid, made by Gen. John H. Morgan, with a brigade of cavalry. At this time the Twentieth Kentucky Infantry was stationed at Lebanon, where, after a stout resistance, it was captured by the raiders. This misadventure, for a time, removed this fine regiment from the effective force of the army. The officers and men were paroled, and soon after exchanged. The regiment was then stationed at Bowling Green, but was removed a little later to Louisville, where it remained until the opening of the Atlanta campaign. It was then ordered to the front.

drew his army to Resaca, where he faced about and gave battle on the 15th instant. He reached this point on the morning of the 14th; sent Loring's division to observe Snake Creek Gap, and formed a line of battle with Polk on the left, Hardee in the center, and Hood on the right.

Early on the morning of the 13th, Howard discovered that Johnston had withdrawn his army, and moving through Dalton, pushed on eight miles toward Resaca, where he encamped for the night. On the next day he pushed up to the vicinity of the enemy and formed a line of battle. The rest of the Union army advanced through the Snake Creek Gap and formed on Howard's corps. Kilpatrick, moving in advance of McPherson through the gap, encountered Wheeler's cavalry, when a brisk fight ensued. Kilpatrick was severely wounded, and turned the command over to Col. Eli H. Murray, who continued the fight with such success as to drive his opponents back upon their infantry support.

The fight was opened by Carlin's brigade. This brigade, the Fifteenth Kentucky, in advance, crossed Camp Creek and advanced some distance over the open ground in front of the enemy's position under a severe fire of artillery and musketry, where it gained a position which it held during the day. Meantime the lines of investment were slowly closing around the Confederate army, to prevent which Johnston determined to assume the offensive, and, if possible, turn Sherman's left flank. Stevenson's and Stewart's divisions and two brigades of Walker's were formed in column, and, moving to the right under cover of the Oostanaula Hills, fell like an avalanche upon Cruft's brigade. This splendid brigade never fought better, but were driven slowly back across the open fields toward the rear of Wood's division.

Simonson's battery, planted on an eminence, had full sweep of the ground, but could not open fire until Cruft had fallen back far enough to give him range upon the Confederates. Then his guns opened with terrific effect at short range. There were no reserves in this part of the field, and for a

quarter of an hour the firing from this noble battery, supported on either flank by Cruft's brigade, was incessant, when on the road in his rear a heavy column of troops was seen approaching at double-quick. This was Williams' division of the Twentieth Corps under the personal command of Gen. Hooker. Moving down the road on the flank of the Confederates, the long line of troops halted only when its rear had passed the battery, which was still working with the rapidity of a steam fire engine. Facing to the right, the line now moved forward, a blaze of fire pouring from their muskets. It was nearly dark, and the Confederates, struck suddenly in flank, fell back down the Resaca road, and all along the line the Union troops had gained ground which they occupied during the night.\*

The attempt to turn the right of the Union army was repeated by Gen. Johnston on the following day, and resulted in a desperate fight between Stewart's and Stevenson's divisions, and Williams' and Geary's divisions. On both sides artillery charged with canister and shrapnel was freely used. The fight closed with the repulse of the Confederate troops, but not until the leading regiments were nearly annihilated. During the night of the 15th Gen. Johnston abandoned Resaca, and the campaign for the possession of Atlanta was fairly begun.

Resaca was occupied by the Army of the Cumberland on the morning of May 16th, and Gen. Sherman determined upon immediate pursuit. But a heavy rear guard, seeking every available point at which to offer resistance, rendered pursuit, if such it could be called, exceedingly slow. The cavalry, thrown well to the flanks, the Armies of the Tennessee on the right, Cumberland in the center and Ohio on the left, moved forward on parallel roads when practicable, or through forests when necessary, but always in position to be formed in line of battle. The pioneer brigade of the Army of the Cumberland, formed by Gen. Rosecrans of picked

\*This was the last battle for the First and Second Kentucky Infantry. Having enlisted in June, 1861, they had served faithfully for three years, and were honorably mustered out of service at Covington, Ky., on the 19th of June, 1864.



men from each regiment, under command of Gen. George P. Buell, together with the First Michigan regiment of Engineers and Mechanics, fully equipped for the service, with a pontoon train and an ample supply of implements, opened roads, built railroad bridges, and brought forward trains of cars laden with supplies as fast as they were needed by the army.

At Cassville Gen. McCook's division of cavalry had a brilliant passage of arms with Stevenson's division of infantry, where it was Johnston's intention to again give battle, in which he was upheld by Hardee, but was finally dissuaded by Polk and Hood. Accordingly, during the night Johnston crossed the Etowah with all his trains and moved to the stronger position of Allatoona Pass.

It was no part of Gen. Sherman's purpose to waste life hurling his men upon Johnston's works at Allatoona when the position could be turned, and by the same movement threaten Johnston's communications. Moving divisions, to these masterly tacticians, was a work that never confused them. Their orders were obeyed without question, and such was the discipline of both armies that, having once ordered a division or corps to be at a certain point at a given time the commander was at liberty to make all his combinations in the magnificent game with certainty that when wanted the men would be at the place indicated. Covering the Alabama road toward Allatoona with Geary's division, the balance of Hooker's corps was moved to Burnt Hickory, preceded by McCook's cavalry, skirmishing all the way. A Confederate courier was captured, whose dispatches showed that Johnston had divined Sherman's purpose to move upon Dallas, and that he was taking steps to meet him there.

On the morning of the 25th, as the Union army was advancing by parallel roads, Geary's division, the central one of the Twentieth Corps, came upon a division of Hood's corps. In the fight that ensued Geary was winner, and from prisoners he learned that Hood's entire corps was not far distant in the direction of Dallas. The next point of convergence of the roads upon which the various

corps of the army were moving was New Hope Church, and Hooker was directed to drive the force in his front beyond that point, and made a vigorous effort to comply, but was arrested by Johnston's artillery, well supported by infantry, at the church, and was obliged to await re-enforcements. Johnston had thrown his whole army directly across Sherman's line of advance, and was ready for defensive battle in a strong position. Reconnoissance to the front and both flanks of Johnston's line were made to ascertain his real position, in which a good deal of heavy fighting was done. McPherson and Davis passed through Dallas on Johnston's left flank and deployed on the east of the Marietta road.

Hardee's corps was on Johnston's left, Hood on his right, and Polk in the center. Sherman's line was formed with Schofield on the left and McPherson on the right, each with one corps, while the center, under Gen. Thomas, was composed of the Fourth, Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps. Doubtful whether Johnston would maintain his position, Sherman disposed of his troops so as, by a movement to the right, to place a strong force between Johnston and the railroad, while an attack was being made upon his right flank. Wood's division of the Fourth Corps was designated as the assaulting column, to be supported on the left by R. W. Johnson's division, of the Fourteenth Corps, and on the right by McLean's brigade, of the Twenty-third Corps. Gen. Wood formed his division in column six lines deep, Johnson on the left, with a brigade front. After feeling the line in various places, a point of attack was selected, and at 5 P. M. the entire column marched briskly forward, Hazen's brigade leading, and having driven in the Confederate skirmishers, made a gallant assault upon the main line, but met with a bloody repulse. The column fell back slowly under the hammering strokes of Cleburne's division, but brought away their wounded.

Gen. Wood's loss in the brief engagement was over 1,400 in killed, wounded and missing. Though no other assault was made

upon the Confederate works near Dallas, there was constant fighting from the 24th of May till the 5th of June, at which time Gen. Johnston fell back to Pine Mountain. The Kentucky regiments in Wood's division, the Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Seventeenth and Twenty-third, displayed their usual courage and fortitude on this trying occasion. To fly before the enemy may be the act of a coward, but to remain under fire until the order is given to fall back, and in doing so to preserve the line, giving shot for shot while the wounded are borne to the rear, requires equal courage in victor and vanquished.

Col. W. E. Hobson, Thirteenth Kentucky Infantry, assumed command of the Second Brigade of Hascall's division in June, Col. Bond being wounded, and was probably the youngest brigade commander in the army. On the 9th of June, Gen. McCook made a cavalry reconnoissance in front, where he found the Confederate army in force on Pine Mountain, with its left resting on Lost Mountain, its center at Gilgall Church and its right extended across the railroad. The advance of Sherman's infantry developed Johnston's position more accurately, when it was found that his lines extended over a series of hills from Kenesaw Mountain to Lost Mountain, with Pine Mountain fortified in front.

On the 14th of June active operations recommenced. The Fourteenth Corps and the left of the Fourth advanced a mile. The right of the Fourth closed up on the Twentieth, was formed in front of Pine Mountain, which caused Johnston to withdraw to his works between Kenesaw and Lost Mountain. During the day a shell thrown from Simonson's battery, aimed at a party of horsemen, who appeared on an eminence overlooking the field, killed Gen. Polk.

An advance along the Union line was ordered the next day. Gen. Schofield carried a line of works that had been left exposed by the abandonment of Pine Mountain. Gen. McPherson gained a hill on his left front, and Gen. Thomas advanced a mile and a half in the center, but this movement resulted only in contracting the Confederate

lines within its intrenchments. An assaulting column, composed of Newton's and Geary's divisions strongly supported, carried an intrenched skirmish line and advanced nearly to the main line. This proved to Gen. Johnston that an assault could be made with strong probabilities of success, and he fell back to an intrenched position on the south side of Mud Creek. Here the contending armies fought with varying success until the 27th, when Gen. Sherman determined upon an attack upon the Confederate center. Davis' and Newton's divisions were designated as the assaulting column. Newton's division was formed with Harker's and Wagner's brigades in line slightly separated for better cover, and Kimball's in echelon with Wagner's. For fifteen minutes all the artillery available poured a concentrated fire upon the points of attack, then the columns moved forward.

The distance to the works was about 600 yards, and from the moment that the troops left the cover of their own intrenchments they were subject to a galling fire of artillery and musketry. A tangled abatis encumbered their way, the air was filled with death-dealing missiles, but the brave fellows pressed forward, and the brigades of Cols. Daniel McCook and J. G. Mitchell reached the works, but such was their exhaustion they were compelled to halt. McCook ordered his men to lie down; a soldier begged the brave colonel to do likewise; "Oh, no," said McCook in a bantering tone, "I am paid more than you are for being shot at;" the next moment he fell with a mortal wound. The formidable obstructions in front of Harker's and Wagner's brigades proved absolutely insurmountable in the face of the terrific fire to which the troops were subjected. Gen. Harker, the gallant young commander of Newton's Third Brigade, was killed. Some of his men, infuriated at the loss of their beloved general, rushed forward, struggled through the abatis, and fell dead upon the parapet.

The aggregate loss in Newton's and Davis' divisions in this assault, in nearly equal proportion, was 1,580 killed, wounded and



missing. This terrible sacrifice brought no adequate reward. Gen. Sherman now determined to do what might well have been done earlier, to turn Johnston's position by moving to the right, which movement, observed by the latter, caused him to abandon his position at Kenesaw and fall back across the Chattahoochee.

In the two months since the campaign opened the loss in the Army of the Cumberland alone was 133 officers and 1,972 enlisted men killed, 510 officers and 10,798 enlisted men missing. Total, 13,413.

While the infantry of both armies had been engaged in daily passages of arms, the cavalry had been equally active. Gen. Steedman, commanding the district of the Etowah, which was organized on the 10th of June, sent Col. Louis Watkins, commanding the Third Brigade of McCook's cavalry division, with the Fourth, Sixth and Seventh Kentucky Cavalry, to Lafayette, where he was attacked by Gen. Pillow with 2,000 men. Col. Watkins refused to surrender, and with 400 men held the place until re-enforced by the Fourth Kentucky, mounted infantry, whose vigorous attack repulsed, and finally routed the Confederates. Pillow's loss was about 300 men, including eighty captured. The loss of the Kentuckians was sixty.

The folly of the Confederate war department was in nothing more strongly exemplified than in detaching Gen. Forrest from Johnston's army, at a period when the only hope of preventing Sherman's advance was to destroy his communications with Nashville and Chattanooga. This bold cavalryman, raiding in western Tennessee, accomplished nothing in comparison with the work he might have performed along the extensive railroad lines required for the transportation of supplies to Sherman's army. Johnston's infantry and artillery, numbering less than one-half of the same arms in Sherman's army, often necessitated the use of Wheeler's cavalry in the rifle-pits along his front, thus affording it no opportunity to demonstrate upon Sherman's rear.

Johnston's next line of defense was selected on high ground on the south bank of Peach-

tree Creek and the Chattahoochee, below the mouth of the creek. In the defense of his fortifications he had an auxiliary army of militia.

On the 16th of July Gen. Sherman gave orders for an advance toward Atlanta, the objective point of the campaign. Early on the morning of the 19th the Fourth Corps reached Peachtree Creek, and finding the bridge destroyed, Wood's division constructed another, and forcing a passage drove the Confederates from their defenses, while Stanley crossed the north fork of the creek some distance north against strong opposition. To the right Davis' and Geary's divisions fought their way over the stream. Early the next morning the remaining divisions of the Army of the Cumberland crossed the stream, and two divisions of the Fourth Corps moved to the left to connect with Gen. Schofield. This movement left a wide interval in Gen. Thomas' line, and but for the determined valor of this magnificent army would have resulted in its defeat.

At 3 P. M. the Confederates rushed from their concealments in the woods. A division attacked Newton in front, another passed his left flank altogether and thrust itself between Peavine and Peachtree Creeks, and a third attacked his right flank. Gen. Newton first repulsed the column on his left and drove it to the woods with Bradley's brigade and the reserve artillery. Wagner's and Blake's brigades repulsed the attack in front, then turning upon the column on his left he threw his whole command against it with such force as to drive it back into the woods.

Meantime Gen. Ward's division of the Twentieth Corps advanced from cover, and after a spirited fight drove the Confederates back far enough to connect his right with Geary, and his left with Newton, where he fortified against immediate attack. Gen. Williams came forward with his division on the right of Geary.

In the furious contest that ensued, the Confederate line attacked with courage and determination, but the most daring assaults were repulsed again and again, until exhausted and bleeding at 6 P. M. the troops

were withdrawn by Gen. Hood, whose loss in the engagement was nearly 3,000 men. The loss in the Army of the Cumberland was about one-half that of the Confederates, but it comprised some of the bravest and best of the rank and file of the army. Newton, Stanley and Wood, though heavily engaged, lost very few men in proportion to the Twentieth Corps.

During the following night, Gen. Hood, who had by direction of the Confederate government superseded Gen. Johnston in command of the army, on the 18th, withdrew his forces within the fortifications of Atlanta:

On the 22d, while the Army of the Tennessee was moving into position on the left of the line of investment, Gen. Hood again attacked with such vigor as to gain a temporary advantage. Gen. McPherson was killed in the opening of the engagement, and the command devolved upon Gen. Logan. After a bloody engagement, Hood again withdrew into the city. On the same day, Gen. Rousseau arrived at Marietta with his cavalry, from a most successful raid upon the railroads southwest of Atlanta.

The garrison of Atlanta, although vastly inferior in point of numbers to the investing army, by fighting on interior lines was able to present a solid front at any point where it might be assailed; and finding that the occupation of Atlanta by Gen. Hood's army could be prolonged indefinitely, so long as he retained possession of the railroad leading southward to Macon, Gen. Sherman determined to destroy it.

To accomplish this object a cavalry expedition was fitted out, after the return of Gen. Rousseau, under command of Stoneman with 4,000, and McCook with 5,000, which by its strength gave promise of success. The expedition marched from Marietta on the 27th of July. McCook crossed the Chattahoochee at Riverton and moved at once upon Palmetto Station, where he destroyed two miles of the railroad track. At Fayetteville he burned 100 bales of cotton, burned a supply train of 400 wagons, killed 800 mules, saving a large number, and

captured several hundred quartermaster's employees and train guards.

Gen. Stoneman marched through Covington, detaching Garrard's division to go to Flat Rock, between his line of march and Atlanta; thence moved down the Ocmulgee to Macon. Lieut. Davidson, with a battalion of the Fourteenth Illinois Cavalry, was sent eastward on the Augusta Road, where he captured and destroyed a large number of cars laden with army supplies, and burned a depot and several bridges.

The two forces were ordered to concentrate at Lovejoy's Station on the Macon Railroad, and McCook obeyed the order, arriving at the place and time agreed upon. Stoneman appears to have paid no heed to his instructions, but marched at once upon Macon, where, his approach having been announced, the bridges were burned, and he was obliged to content himself with shelling the city. Meantime Gen. Hood, having been informed of the movement, dispatched all his cavalry in pursuit of the raiders, and McCook found himself surrounded by a superior force. Falling back from Lovejoy's he made a rapid march to Newnan's, where he came in contact with an infantry column cut off from railroad communication with Atlanta, and on the march to join Hood's army. The Confederate cavalry, close upon his heels, compelled him to fight and suffer great loss. The Fourth Kentucky, mounted infantry, under Col. R. M. Kelly, acting as a rear guard, was cut off from the main column and several hundred of the regiment captured. McCook finally reached the Union lines with about two-thirds of his command.

Gen. Stoneman fared even worse. In attempting to retrace his steps from Macon he took the road toward Hillsboro, and early on the morning of the 30th found himself in presence of a heavy force of cavalry, infantry and artillery. His three brigades, under command of Cols. Biddle, Capron and Adams, were deployed in line of battle, but before the action had fairly commenced Gen. Stoneman received a flag of truce demanding his surrender. He sent a message to his brigade commanders that he was about to surrender.



but giving them permission to cut their way out if they chose to attempt it. Col. Silas Adams, in command of the First, Eleventh and Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, on receipt of the message at once mounted his men, who rode away, reaching Marietta in safety.

Col. Capron whose brigade was stationed on the extreme right failed to receive the message until too late to act upon it with the same success. The falling back of the Kentucky regiments left a wide gap in the line, through which poured a strong column of the Confederates, and a running fight took place for the possession of the horses of Capron's brigade, in which the cavalry were beaten by the more fleet-footed infantry men. Gathering together a few hundred of his command, Col. Capron set out for Marietta, marching day and night for three days. Making a wide detour to the eastward to avoid the enemy, he encamped for the night near Mulberry's Creek, where he was surprised and most of his force captured. Gen. Stoneman was taken prisoner, together with most of Biddle's brigade. The failure in execution of Gen. Sherman's plans for cutting Hood's communications with Macon, convinced him of the necessity for a flank movement in force, which he soon after put in execution.

In the month of July the loss in the Army of the Cumberland was 40 officers and 547 enlisted men killed, 160 officers and 2,592 enlisted men wounded, and 17 officers and 344 enlisted men missing; total, 3,700.

Though Hood's army had been roughly handled during the month, his losses were much less, and his army as much out of reach of his antagonist as at any period of the campaign. His fortifications extended along the railroad to East Point, a distance of fifteen miles, and were so strongly manned as to resist any effort made by Gen. Sherman to carry them. Several attacks were made upon them by the Fourteenth Corps supported by Schofield's corps between the 1st and 10th of August, but without success.

Hoping to force Sherman to fall back, Hood about this time dispatched Wheeler, with all the cavalry of his command, northward, to cut the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad, but

the activity of Gens. Steedman at Chattanooga, Rousseau at Nashville and Granger at Decatur, prevented him from inflicting a serious damage, and he was soon forced to seek shelter south of the Tennessee. Taking advantage of the absence of Wheeler's cavalry Gen. Sherman determined upon another effort to break Hood's communications. Gen. Kilpatrick, on the 18th, dashed out of his entrenchments at Sandtown, striking the West Point Railroad near Fairburn, and moving thence to Jonesboro met and defeated Rose's cavalry, and commenced the destruction of the road, but, being attacked by Jackson's cavalry and a force of infantry, was compelled to fall back. He then made a circuit to Lovejoy's Station, and while breaking the road was again attacked. Finding his force nearly surrounded he formed his column, and with a sabre in hand cut his way through the investing line, making his way back to his camp.

In all these movements the Kentucky regiments before mentioned bore an honorable part. Wherever duty called them, these brave men bore their colors into the thick of every important engagement from Resaca to Atlanta, and whether fighting with Stanley at Resaca, Wood at Cassville, Hooker at Kenesaw, or Newton at Peachtree Creek their conduct was characterized by the most exalted courage and patriotism.

The time had now come when Gen. Sherman determined to cut loose from his communications and place his army south of Atlanta. On the 28th of July, the Twentieth Army Corps under command of Gen. H. W. Slocum took position on the north bank of the Chattahoochee, while the entire investing line moved by the left flank to West Point, where the railroad was thoroughly destroyed. The work went on during the night of the 29th, and on the 30th the army moved forward to the Macon Road.

Immediately on reception of information of Sherman's movements, Hood sent Hardee's and Lee's corps to Jonesboro and prepared to follow with Stewart's. Gen. Hardee took position on the summit of a wooded ridge and at once commenced fortifying. The Fourteenth Corps, being nearest the position,

ved forward at once to attack him. The Fourth Corps, commanded by Gen. Stanley, and the Twenty-third Corps having farther to march and being hindered by having to break up the road came up later. The troops of the Fourteenth Corps which participated in the assault were Carlin's and Morgan's divisions and Este's brigade of Bird's division. Morgan's division carried the entire front; Carlin's division pressing forward leaped the works, and bayonet in hand held captive the troops set for their defense, while Este's brigade was equally successful. The Tenth Kentucky and Seventy-fourth Indiana gained the intrenchments in their front, but the remaining regiments met with obstructions that compelled them to halt. The unlooked-for success of this brilliant attack caused the Confederates to fall back, losing over 1,500 prisoners.

The next position selected by Hardee was at Lovejoy's Station, where, after a slight attack made by Wood's division, he was left in his works, while most of Sherman's army returned to Atlanta. The objective point of the movement had been gained, and on the 3d of September, Gen. Sherman announced the close of the campaign. During the remaining part of the month, the national forces devoted themselves to recuperation and repairs, and on the 29th Gen. Thomas was sent to Nashville to assume command of the Military District of the Mississippi, although the order to that effect was not issued until later.

On the 30th, Hood crossed the Chattahoochee and threw Stewart's corps upon the railroad north of Marietta, and with the remainder of his army moved upon Allatoona, where Sherman had a large depot of supplies. Gen. French attacked the garrison stationed there on the 4th of October, but experienced a bloody repulse by Gen. Forrester. Gen. Hood then moved rapidly toward Resaca, destroying the railroad at various points, followed closely by Sherman, who in doubt as to the real object of Hood's movement, and unable to overtake him, was compelled to attack constantly at disadvantage.

While Hood was pursuing his course toward middle Tennessee, keeping well in advance of Sherman's main army but capturing any small garrison that came in his way, Gen. Forrest had entered the State with the evident intention of destroying the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad. His raid, though more successful at the start than Wheeler's, ended very soon after it began with no permanent injury to the main line of railroad or benefit to the Confederate army. Thus, with an army vastly inferior in numbers to that of his antagonist, Gen. Hood had compelled Sherman to retreat from Atlanta, although the place was still garrisoned by Union troops.

Moving in total disregard to a base of supplies, his erratic course was so difficult to conjecture that Gen. Sherman, in despair of capturing him by a stern chase, sat down at Gaylesville with the Army of the Cumberland, sending Howard with the Army of the Tennessee to Little River, and the Twenty-third Corps to Cedar Bluffs, regardless of Hood's final destination, hoping rather that his course might lead northward, where his capture might be attempted with some hope of success. Gen. Hood's expectations of obtaining supplies for his famishing troops having been blasted by the successful defense of Allatoona and Decatur, but one course was left him by which to save his army, and that was an immediate movement westward (*via* Gadsden and Tuscumbia, Ala.), where he could obtain supplies for his troops.

Gen. Sherman now determined upon the "march to the sea," and, detaching the Fourth and Twenty-third Corps to report to Gen. Thomas, together with all the cavalry except Kilpatrick's division, he moved from Gaylesville with the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth and Twentieth Corps—60,000 infantry and artillery, and 4,500 cavalry.

The Kentucky regiments that participated in the grand march were the Eighteenth Infantry, and the Second, Third and Fifth Cavalry. Of those in the Fourth, Fourteenth and Twenty-third Army Corps at the beginning of the Atlanta campaign, the Twelfth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Twenty-first, Twenty



third and Twenty-eighth remained for the closing scenes in Tennessee. After the battle of Franklin, the Seventeenth, whose term of service had expired, was replaced by the Twenty-sixth. Twelve regiments were sent back to Kentucky after long and faithful service to await the expiration of the third year of their enlistment.

On the 29th of October, Brig.-Gen. John T. Croxton, to whose vigilance the task of watching the movements of Gen. Hood had been entrusted by Gen. Thomas, reported that the Confederates were crossing the Tennessee at the mouth of Cypress Creek, two miles below Florence, Ala. Gen. Stanley was ordered to concentrate the Fourth Corps at Pulaski and await instructions; Gen. Schofield was ordered from Resaca, Ga., to Columbia; Gen. Hatch, commanding a division of cavalry, *en route* from Memphis, was directed to place his troops south of Columbia, and in conjunction with Croxton and Capron keep a sharp lookout for any forces that might make their appearance north of the Tennessee.

Gen. Schofield, who as a commander of the Department of the Ohio, was the ranking corps-commander under Thomas, had orders to hold the enemy in check until the arrival of re-enforcements at Nashville would enable the commanding general to take the field with an army of sufficient numerical strength to offer some prospect of success in a general engagement. Gen. A. J. Smith, commanding the right wing of the Sixteenth Corps, two divisions, having completed the expulsion of Price's army from the State of Missouri, was directed to report to Gen. Thomas at Nashville. Gen. Steedman had orders to furnish a contingent of colored troops from Chattanooga; Gen. Cruft was placed in command of all soldiers and detachments found at Nashville, who, being *en route* to their regiments in Sherman's army, were cut off from joining it, and Gen. John F. Miller, in command of the post of Nashville, was instructed to arm the employes of the quartermaster's department for service in the fortifications.

With this heterogeneous command, Gen.

Thomas was compelled to cope with the same army that Sherman had been fighting all summer, without once defeating it in a general engagement. He had turned away from it when it was drawn up in order for battle at Lovejoy's Station; had followed it when his communications were threatened north of Atlanta, and now, marching away with two-thirds of his army, he left the remainder to fight a decisive battle. But he left Thomas and Stanley, and A. J. Smith.

Gen. Thomas was handicapped at the outset by a difficulty which no foresight seemed able to prevent. His cavalry with the exception of the few brigades above mentioned were without horses. They had been ordered to furnish horses for Kilpatrick's division, and sent to Louisville to be remounted. Agents were sent throughout the State in every direction to purchase horses, but for once in its history the supply was exhausted. Its pastures had supplied Union and Confederates with an equally lavish hand. Those which Morgan had spared, Burbridge had pressed into the service, and the horseless troops of the Army of the Cumberland wandered aimlessly through the streets of Louisville when their services were imperatively demanded to confront Forrest on the banks of the Tennessee.

As fast as regiments were remounted they were sent to the front, and in a few weeks the cavalry corps was ready for service. The delay in paying its respects to the ubiquitous raider was solely owing to the lack of horseflesh, and to no unwillingness on their part to engage him in mortal combat; but the delay caused Gen. Thomas serious embarrassment, and came near causing his removal from command by the wisacre of the head of the army, who at a distance of thousands of miles presumed to direct his movements.

To add to the difficulties of the situation, troops did not arrive as fast as the veterans whose term of service had expired, left the army. Nothing saved the little force of 30,000 men from annihilation but the vigilance of Gen. Canby in patrolling the Mississippi, and preventing Kirby Smith

uniting his forces with those of Gen. Hood. Early in October he had intercepted a dispatch from President Davis to Gen. E. Kirby Smith ordering him to cross the Mississippi with his entire force. Gen. Magruder had doubtlessly received a copy of the dispatch, as he suddenly retired with his corps of 30,000 men from Gen. Steele's front and moved toward Gaine's Landing. Gen. Kirby's vigilance prevented the order from being carried out, and enabled Gen. Thomas to prepare for action. Having established a base of supplies at Cherokee Station, on the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, Gen. Hood proceeded to cross the Tennessee and move to Florence, but did not begin his forward movement until the 21st of November. The Confederate general's object was to place his army between Columbia and Nashville, and then having gained the rear of the Fourth and Twenty-third Corps to turn upon them in an overwhelming force. Leaving two divisions of Lee's Corps to make a show of strength in Schofield's front, Hood, at dawn of day of the 22nd of November, led Cheatham's and Stewart's corps and one division of Lee's across Duck River on pontoon bridges, and advanced on the road to Spring Hill.

Gen. Wilson, in command of the Union cavalry, immediately notified Gen. Schofield of this movement, and, supposing that the Confederates would at once put his troops in motion to Spring Hill, which is on the direct road to Nashville, he fell back slowly on the Lewisburg Road, retarding Hood's advance to the extent of his ability. Forrest's cavalry, in Hood's advance, followed Wilson until east of Spring Hill, when turning sharply to the left it advanced rapidly to take possession of the place. Meantime Gen. Stanley, marching with Wagner's division, reached a point within two miles of Spring Hill, where he was informed that the Confederate cavalry was approaching the town from the east. He ordered a double quick, and the gallant troops, moving rapidly forward, drove the Confederates back.

Believing that he had the two corps now within his grasp Hood left two corps at the crossing of Rutherford's Creek to prevent

Schofield from escaping to the defenses of Murfreesboro, and advanced with Cheatham's corps to attack Stanley, who had formed Wagner's division in readiness to receive him. Bradley's brigade was thrown forward to a wooded knoll about three-fourths of a mile east of the town, while Opdycke's and Lane's brigades were stretched out in as long a line as possible east of the Columbia Road to guard the supply and baggage trains which covered the road for miles in the rear.

The blunder of Schofield in permitting Hood to flank him was now apparent even to the most stupid soldier. The command was so widely separated as to bar any possibility of concentration in case of an attack in force, and, but for the equal blunder of Hood in attempting to bag the entire command by separating his forces, he might have got possession of Spring Hill, and then fought Schofield on ground of his own choosing. Cox's division was on the bank of Duck River, opposite Columbia; Kimball's and Wood's divisions confronted Stewart's at Rutherford's Creek. One-half of Rogers' division was far below Columbia on Duck River, where it had been forgotten, and the other half was in the rear of Stanley on the road to Spring Hill. With all this evidence bearing on the subject it was not until 3 P. M. that Gen. Schofield became convinced that Hood had done precisely what he would be expected to do—turned his left flank and gained the road to Nashville.

At the same hour Gen. Hood, with the prospect of brilliant success in view, gave the order to Cheatham to attack, promising support from his nearest division. After a short fight Bradley was compelled to fall back upon Lane, and, being severely wounded, relinquished the command to Col. Conrad; but Cleburne, who followed him closely, met a sharp artillery fire and galling musketry volleys from Lane's brigade, before which his troops recoiled, and finally retired. The short November day was nearing its close when the attack failed, and Hood's golden opportunity was lost. With ten divisions of infantry well in hand, a general assault upon three divisions and a half could hardly have failed.



The danger increased with every hour at Spring Hill, where a narrow bridge had to be crossed by 500 wagons. At 10 P. M., Schofield joined his own corps at Thompson's Station, and moved on toward Nashville, leaving Stanley to extricate his corps and the immense baggage-train as best he might. But Stanley was equal to the emergency. With characteristic skill and energy he sent his train over the narrow bridge, and covering it with a line of troops, snatched his corps and all his supplies from Hood's enclosing grasp.

The march of Stanley's corps from Spring Hill to Franklin, on the night of the 29th and part of the 30th of November, reads like a romance. With an overwhelming army pressing upon his rear, and a heavy force of cavalry hovering upon his flanks, the corps marched steadily forward, its rear guarded by Opdycke's splendid brigade, which, before the night closed on the last day of November, was destined to furnish one of the most brilliant pages in the annals of military warfare.

On approaching the town, Stanley found the Twenty-third Corps formed in a line, with the flanks resting upon the Harpeth River to cover the crossing of the Fourth Corps, and the trains of the army. Wood's division, by the direction of Schofield, crossed and took position on the north side of the river, in position to contest the crossings above or below the town, should Hood attempt a flank movement, and by the same authority, Lane's and Conrad's brigades of Wagner's division were left a third of a mile in advance of Cox's line, to retard Hood's advance. Opdycke, protesting against this needless exposure of his men, was permitted to pass in the rear of Cox's line, and take position on Carter's Hill.

Reversing the positions, it was Missionary Ridge repeated. As in that memorable charge, the attacking forces became mingled with the attacked, and rushing forward, came in a body upon the main line. It was impossible to direct a musketry fire upon them without destroying more friends than foes, and it was not until the Union brigades had gotten well over the works that the orders

were given to open fire. The leading Confederate troops had gained the interior of the works at the key point. Two batteries of artillery were captured and turned to enfilade the Union line, while Hood's entire army poured in ever-increasing volume, toward the breach. Schofield had crossed the river, and at this supreme moment was two miles away. One of the divisions was unoccupied near his headquarters, and one of Stanley's was too far away to render assistance.

Gen. Stanley had ridden to Schofield's headquarters to report his arrival, and was with him when the opening roar of artillery announced the impending battle. Mounted on his horse he was quickly upon the scene, but not quick enough to anticipate the gallant Opdycke in ordering his brigade forward to the charge. His men had unslung their knapsacks, stacked their arms, and were busy getting their suppers when the attack fell upon their comrades at the front.

In a moment all was changed. Some of the troops sent down by Gen. Thomas to swell the volume if not to increase the strength of Schofield's army, rushing in wild flight from the line of battle, threw away their arms, and ran past Opdycke's position. A colonel of one of his regiments, anticipating his order to move to the front, had thrown his regiment into the road, and thereby gained the advance. Then came the order. As if by magic the entire brigade, a self-constituted reserve, sprang forward into the "imminent deadly breach," supported on the right by Reilley's brigade, those gallant regiments the Twelfth and Sixteenth Kentucky, in advance. A charge was made that sent the Confederates staggering over the works. Volumes of musketry poured upon them, but with rapidly thinning ranks the heroic soldiers of these two brigades held their ground, giving shot for shot.

Meantime the entire line of works was blazing with artillery full in the faces of the Confederates crowded into a narrow space, the vain hope of carrying the works by overwhelming numbers. Thirteen Confederate brigadier-generals were killed or wounded, 1,700 officers and men were killed, and 4,000

wounded. More than half the losses in the Union army were from Wagner's division, which suffered heavily by the blunder in leaving the two brigades in front of the Union line, and by the heroic charge of Opdycke's brigade. Forrest fared no better in his attempt to cross the Harpeth, where he was met and driven back by Wilson's cavalry. A. J. Smith's first division arrived at Nashville on the 30th, and Gen. Thomas found that he could not move the corps to Schofield's support until the 2d of December. He therefore wrote Gen. Schofield asking if he could hold Hood in check at Franklin three days. The reply came that he could not, and unwilling to risk the possibility of Hood's thrusting his army between the two wings of his army, he ordered Schofield to Nashville. The movement was successfully effected on the night of the 30th, and the 1st of December saw the army united in front of the city. Gen. Stanley having been severely wounded at Franklin, Gen. Wood assumed command of the Fourth Army Corps.

Seven days of unremitting toil were used in forming, from the heterogeneous troops thrown together, an army of infantry and cavalry such as Gen. Thomas believed would be sufficient not only to defeat but destroy his antagonist; but the anxiety of preparation for a decisive battle was not the only perplexity that annoyed him. Daily messages were received from Grant ordering him peremptorily to attack. He explained the reasons for delay, reasons which were regarded as potent by every one of his corps and division commanders, but to no effect. Grant caused an order to be issued placing Schofield in command, but subsequently suspended it. At the end of seven days Thomas announced himself nearly ready for the attack, when a terrible storm of rain and sleet was followed by freezing weather, which covered the ground with ice. Knowing that Hood could not move during this time, he delayed his attack until the ice should melt, telegraphing daily his position and prospects. On the 13th an order was issued by Grant to Gen. Logan to proceed to Nashville and assume command. Gen. Logan reached Louisville on the 15th,

where he received news of the battle of Nashville, and with the instinct of a true soldier knew that there was no occasion for him to continue his journey. Grant reached Washington from City Point, Va., bound for the same place, and there heard news from Nashville that changed his destination.

Chaplain Van Horn in his life of Thomas says: "Gen. Hood's first blunder was in not attacking Sherman at Gaylesville, where he had only 60,000 men; his second was in waiting so long at Florence without effort to help his promised re-enforcements across the Mississippi; the third was his failure to crush Schofield at Spring Hill, and the fourth was in offering himself to Thomas to be crushed."

Although Hood's army was intrenched upon a commanding ridge and supplies were furnished by the country, his forces grew weaker day by day. In constant hope of receiving large accessions to his army by the arrival of Smith from Texas, he held his position tenaciously, believing that an attack by Thomas would result in giving him possession of Nashville, and eventually of Kentucky and Tennessee. He had not offered himself to Thomas to be crushed, but chose the best, in fact the only, means of defeating the Union army. This he would undoubtedly have done, had that army been commanded by a weaker general—one who, in blind obedience to an imperative order to advance, would have put his troops in motion up the icy slopes of Overton's Hill.

The morning of the 15th of December was foggy, and in the dense mist the cavalry moved to the right of the army where in conjunction with Smith's Corps they were to "turn" the left of the Confederate line, while Gen. Steedman made an attack with his colored troops upon the right. Both movements were successfully accomplished; Morgan, with his brigade of colored troops, executed his part of the programme so well as to cause Hood to re-enforce his right from his center and left, while Croxton and Hatch, with their brigades dismounted, advanced in conjunction with A. J. Smith's Infantry, and carried several advanced positions with their armament of guns and infantry supports.



The Fourth Corps was formed with Elliott's Second Division on the right, Kimball's First in the center, and Beatty's Third on the left, each division providing its own reserve. Montgomery Hill was carried by Post's brigade, supported by Streight's. Schofield was moved to the right of Smith, where he advanced and drove the Confederates from the hills overlooking the Granny White Turnpike. Steedman advancing, carried the right of Hood's fortifications on the Nolensville Turnpike, and the day closed with decided success to the Union arms. Hood lost 17 guns and 1,200 men by capture. It was believed by many that Hood had commenced his retreat, but no thought of this kind seems to have been entertained by him, as he spent the night in fortifying his second line, where, with his forces more compact, he hoped to repulse every attack made upon him. His line was two and a half miles shorter on the morning of the 16th than on the preceding day, and coursed over the hills constituting the main Brentwood range through which the Franklin Road passes. The right rested on Overton's Hill; his left, driven back, was well refuged, and the apex strongly fortified.

The Union line stretching around Hood's position, the opposite flanks faced each other, with the Confederate force between them, while the cavalry, feeling its way farther and farther to the right, by noon on the 16th had gained the rear of Hood's left flank. This was to be the signal for a general advance along the entire line, but at this moment Schofield requested re-enforcements. Wood and Steedman, weary of delay, attacked Hood's right flank, on Overton's Hill, with Post's and Thompson's brigades supported by Streight's, but were repulsed. Wilson moved in conjunction with McArthur, of Smith's corps, and carried the works in their front. The shout of victory rang out, and, carried along the line, fell upon the ears of the Fourth Corps, who, rushing forward in an impetuous charge, supported by the colored troops on their left, carried the strongest position along the line, and victory was won.

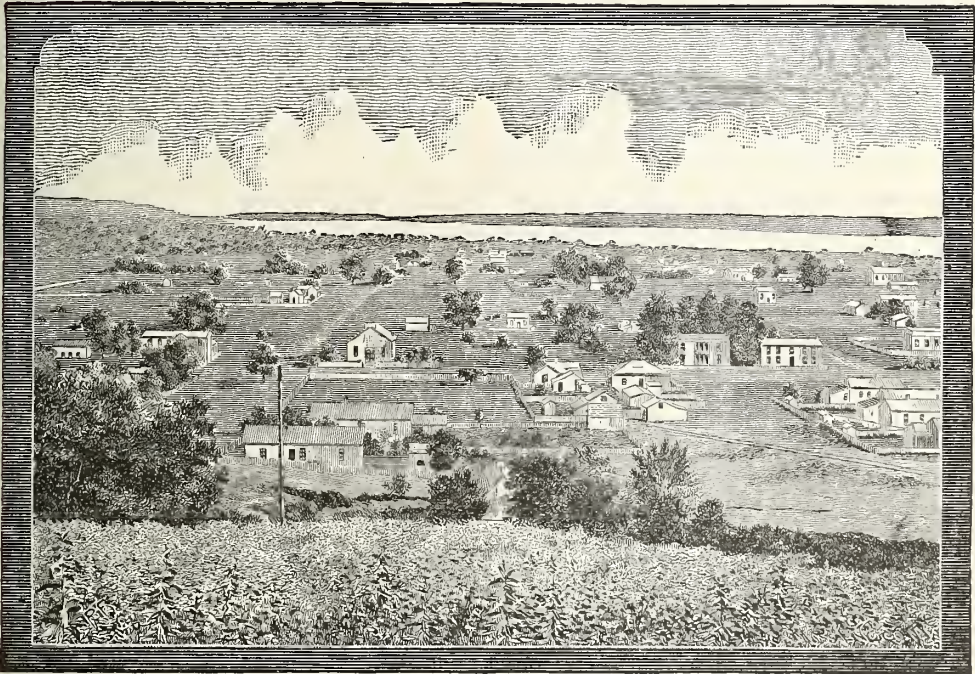
In a few minutes Hood's army was in retreat toward Franklin, followed by the Fourth Corps, which bivouacked near Brentwood, and early on the morning of the 17th continued its march to Franklin, where, finding the Harpeth swollen by rains, Gen. Wood encamped for the night. While the infantry was following in the wake of Hood's retreating army, the cavalry was hanging upon his flanks, charging upon his rear guard, capturing prisoners, artillery and camp equipage. Wood crossed the Harpeth on the morning of the 18th, and continued his march through Franklin and Spring Hill to Rutherford's Creek by the same road over which the corps had marched less than three weeks before, with the conditions reversed. A running fight ensued, but a stern chase is proverbially a long chase, and on the 26th Hood, crossing the Tennessee with the remnant of his command, continued his march to Tupelo, Miss., where, on January 20th, he called the roll of his army, and but 18,934 answered to their names. He had lost one-half of his army in little over a month.

The events thus briefly narrated form a thrilling chapter in the history of the war in the west. The power of the Confederacy, so long upheld by the strong hearts and willing hands of its devoted adherents, was broken, and it only remained for the Union forces to move forward and occupy the land. But even from a Union standpoint, it is impossible to withhold admiration for the zeal and courage, which, under the most adverse circumstances, animated the Confederate Army of the Tennessee. The best blood of the south was in its ranks. Its officers had no superiors in any land for chivalrous bearing upon the field of battle, and, animated by their example, their men followed where they led into the thickest of the fray. At Mill Springs, Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Perryville, Stone River, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge and Knoxville, they fought as only brave men can fight. At Resaca, and through 100 days of battle to Atlanta, the soldiers of this army withstood the blows of twice their number, and when at last dispossessed of the city which formed the objective point of the

campaign, when they were supposed to be nursing their wounds, they turned northward, and fell upon the rear of the invading army with unabated energy. The wonderful recuperative power which characterized the Confederate army; their constant submission to privations, such as were rarely experienced by their antagonists; their courage and discipline under the most trying circumstances, form a theme for the historian of the civil

war, which to ignore must mark him blindly partisan.

To the possession of these soldierly qualities by the Confederates may be ascribed the long continuance of the war, and that they were cultivated until they came to be regarded as manly attributes, even by men bred in luxurious homes, is due, in a great degree, to the influence and example of the women of the south.



COLUMBUS, AND THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, LOOKING SOUTHWEST.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

## MORGAN'S CAVALRY—FIRST KENTUCKY BRIGADE, ETC.

THE Lexington Rifles, a militia company organized in 1857, commanded by Capt. John H. Morgan, was the nucleus of the famous organization known in the annals of the civil war as Morgan's Cavalry.

The organization of a military camp in Garrard County, Ky., in uncomfortable proximity to Lexington, hastened the departure of the "Rifles" for a more congenial climate. On the 20th of September, 1861, Capt. Morgan conceived the idea of removing his guns from the armory, and taking up the line of march for the southern Confederacy. With characteristic skill, the guns were loaded into wagons and started out the Versailles Turnpike under a small guard. After two days' and nights' hard marching, Capt. Morgan, at the head of some 200 men, entered the Confederate camp on the south bank of Green River, where most of the men attached themselves to the various regiments then being organized. Capt. Morgan, with some twenty men of his own company, together with daring spirits from other regiments, tiring of the monotony of camp life here, commenced the series of daring raids that subsequently rendered his name famous. Scouting to the front he obtained the earliest information of the movements of the Union forces under Gen. McCook, then stationed at Nolin Creek.

An order was finally given to mount Morgan's company on condemned artillery horses, which, by the system of exchange then in vogue, soon presented a very respectable appearance.

After the fall of Fort Donelson and the evacuation of Nashville, Morgan, in command of a squadron of cavalry, remained in the vicinity of La Vergne, a small town between Murfreesboro and Nashville, where he

formed the acquaintance of the Fourth Ohio Cavalry, an acquaintance that ripened into unpleasant intimacy before the close of the war.

At the battle of Shiloh, Morgan's squadron was attached to Breckinridge's division, after which, at his solicitation, he was permitted to make a dash into Tennessee with a force numbering 325 men, composed of his own battalion, and detachments from Col. Wirt Adams' regiment, and McNairy's battalion. The expedition started on the 26th of April, crossing the Tennessee on a small horse ferry-boat, and reached Lawrenceburg, Tenn., on the 30th, where the troops encamped for the night. The next day he attacked and routed about 400 convalescents employed in putting up a line of telegraph, capturing and paroling many prisoners. Continuing his course toward Lebanon, the column reached that place on the night of the 4th of May, and encamped for the night.

The news of Morgan's operations had, in the meantime, reached Gen. Dumont, at Nashville, who started out with the First Kentucky Cavalry, and Twenty-first Kentucky Infantry, to capture him. The night was dark and rainy, Morgan's pickets were in a house, and before the alarm could be given, Wolford's cavalry came at full charge upon the camp. In the confusion that ensued the command came near being all captured. Morgan escaped with 15 men, and on the 6th reached Sparta, Tenn., where, during the next three days 50 of his men rejoined him. 120 were captured by the Union troops, and six were killed. On the 9th, he left Sparta with 150 men, mostly recruits, and directed his course toward Bowling Green, where, near Cave City, he captured two trains of

cars and paroled a number of prisoners. Morgan returned to Corinth about the middle of May, to obtain equipments for his command and permission to revisit Kentucky.

Capt. R. M. Gano and John Hoffman here joined him with two companies of Texas cavalry; Capt. Basil W. Duke, from whose interesting history of Morgan's cavalry this sketch is in part compiled, having been wounded at Corinth, had collected about thirty of Morgan's men who had been left behind, and accompanied Morgan to Chattanooga, where the remainder of the command was encamped. The three companies to which the squadron was now reduced were soon filled to the maximum by recruits.

The term of service of the First Kentucky Infantry having expired in Virginia, 300 of the men were on their way home, and arrived at Chattanooga at this time. They eagerly embraced the opportunity to enlist under Morgan, and three more companies were formed. Capt. Jacob Cassel was appointed to command Company A, Capt. John Allen to Company B, Capt. Bowles to Company C, Capt. John B. Castleman to Company D, Capt. John Hutchinson to Company E, Capt. Thomas B. Webber to Company F, and Capt. McFarland commenced the organization of Company G. These six companies, and a fragment of the seventh, numbered not quite 400 men. Basil W. Duke was lieutenant-colonel; G. W. Morgan, major; Gordon E. Niles, adjutant; Thomas Allen, surgeon; Dr. Edelin, assistant surgeon; D. H. Llewellyn, quartermaster; and Hiram Reese, commissary. The regiment seems to have had no chaplain. Ten days later the regiment, now known as the Second Kentucky Cavalry, set out for Knoxville. "Some were mounted," says Duke, "and the remainder had great hopes." In the latter part of June, Col. Hunt arrived from Georgia with a "partisan ranger" regiment, and accompanied Morgan on his first Kentucky raid. This increased the force to 870, fifty or sixty of whom were not mounted, and 250 unarmed.

The expedition started on the 4th of July, 1862, and on the 8th, reached Tompkinsville, Ky., where Maj. Jordan, with 350 of the

Ninth Pennsylvania Cavalry, was captured after a brief resistance. Morgan's loss was insignificant in numbers, but included Col. Hunt, who was mortally wounded. Lebanon, Ky., was captured on the following day, and among the military stores were found a sufficient quantity of excellent guns to arm every man in the command. Abundant ammunition was also secured. Supplying his command with everything needful, the remaining stores were destroyed, and Morgan moved toward Harrodsburg, which place he reached the next morning, and found himself among friends. After two days' rest, the column was again in motion, in the direction of Versailles, with the intention of turning sharply to the right on reaching there and attempting the capture of Lexington. Maj. Gano was detached at Harrodsburg to burn the railroad bridges north of Lexington, and Capt. Allen was sent to destroy the bridges on the Louisville railroad, to prevent reinforcements from being sent to Lexington from Louisville or Cincinnati, after which they rejoined the command at Georgetown. From Versailles, Morgan marched toward Georgetown, passing Midway, a small town on the Louisville & Lexington Railroad, where Capt. Ellsworth, an expert telegraph operator, taking possession of the office, dispatched Gen. Ward, at Frankfort, that Morgan, with 1,000 men, was moving on that place. After a halt of a few hours the column moved forward and reached Georgetown at night, where Morgan made a halt of two days. He was now in the "blue grass country," the garden of Kentucky, where fine horses, fat cattle, and good rations were abundant. The people of the country were strongly in sympathy with the southern Confederacy, and welcomed their guests with true Southern hospitality.

Here another company was organized under command of W. C. P. Breckinridge, a talented young lawyer of Lexington and a son of Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge. A younger brother, John, was at the time a captain on the staff of Gen. George H. Thomas (Federal), in the Army of the Cumberland, while his cousin John C.



Breckinridge was in command of a division in the Confederate army. This was a fair specimen of the division which took place in the prominent families of the State during the war. On the morning of the 18th, Morgan left Georgetown and moved toward Cynthiana, twenty-two miles distant, where Col. Metcalfe was organizing the Seventh Kentucky (Union) Cavalry. He had about 400 recruits, and they were within a few hours' march of about an equal number of "Home Guards," all under command of Lieut.-Col. Landram, of the Eighteenth Kentucky Infantry. A brass twelve-pound howitzer had been sent up from Cincinnati, manned by a company of firemen and commanded by Capt. Glass. There were sufficient men and ample courage to defend the place, but lack of discipline and ignorance of the simplest maneuvers neutralized every effort of Col. Landram to concentrate his forces at the various points where their presence was needed, and after a brief, though under all circumstances a gallant resistance, the place was captured. Col. Landram behaved with conspicuous courage and was one of the last to leave the town. From Cynthiana, Morgan marched to Paris, where he encamped for the night, and on the following morning, finding that a force of 2,500 cavalry under command of Gen. Green Clay Smith was near the town, he left in hot haste for Winchester, where he was joined by a company of recruits under Capt. Jennings.

While Morgan was thus marching at easy stages through the richest portion of the State, augmenting his forces and remounting his men with little loss and at trifling expense, a condition of the most perfect bewilderment seems to have taken possession of the military authorities at Lexington and Frankfort. With troops sufficient to have surrounded him at any of the points above mentioned, they were marching hither and thither, but always returning to their camps at night, and it was not until after the capture of Cynthiana that a well organized movement was set on foot to capture him. Hearing of this, Morgan met it in the most

sensible manner possible. He ran away from it. At Crab Orchard and Somerset 130 government wagons were captured and burned, and several wagons loaded with blankets, shoes and other stores, much needed in the south, were taken along with the column to Sparta, Tenn. Enough of spare horses, guns and saddles were captured to supply all the men who had been left behind. In twenty-seven days Morgan had traveled over 1,000 miles, added 300 men to his force, and paroled 1,200 volunteer troops, at a loss of about 90 of his men.

Gens. Bragg and Smith were at this time making arrangements to invade Kentucky, and Morgan was directed to precede them and inflict as much damage as possible upon the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. Selecting Gallatin, Tenn., as the first point to strike, he set out for that point on the 10th of August, and on his way was joined by Capt. Joseph Desha with a company of men. The Twenty-eighth Kentucky Infantry was encamped two miles distant from the town, but the commander, Col. Boone, slept in Gallatin. Capt. Desha was sent forward, when the column had passed Hartsville, to capture the colonel, who, acting upon the advice of Morgan, wrote the commanding officer of the regiment to surrender without resistance. This was done, and 200 officers and men were paroled and sent northward. A railroad bridge between Gallatin and Nashville was destroyed, and a tunnel 800 feet long was rendered impassable for months. Two stockades were captured and 100 soldiers paroled, but the attack upon a third was repulsed with considerable loss.

A battle that took place on the following day with a detachment of cavalry under Gen. R. W. Johnson was more successful. The respective forces were about equal, with the advantage of experience largely in favor of the Confederates. Gen. Johnson complained that but few of his men would fight, in which opinion Duke differs. He says: "They attacked with spirit and without hesitation, and were unable to close with us on account of their heavy loss in men and horses. They returned two or three times to

the attack until they found their efforts un-availing. They could not use their sabers, and they found their breech-loading carbines only incumbrances." Johnson's entire command was swept away. He was captured, and 200 of his men taken prisoners, 64 were killed and 100 wounded, with a loss to the Confederates of but 7 killed and 18 wounded. Morgan made his camp at Hartsville, where, on the 22d, he was joined by Forrest with a portion of his command. Col. Duke's regiment received its twelfth company at this point, commanded by Capt. W. H. Jones, and Gano's squadron was increased by the addition of a company under command of Capt. Steele.

After a week's rest at Hartsville, the brigade set out for the interior of Kentucky to meet the advance of Kirby Smith's column, then about entering the State from east Tennessee, and reached Lexington on the 4th of September, then in possession of the Confederate forces. Here Gano recruited three companies, which raised his squadron to a regiment. Duke's regiment, the Second Kentucky, now numbered 1,100 men. Cols. Cluke and Chenault were given authority to raise regiments for Morgan's brigade and were actively engaged in recruiting when Bragg was driven out of Kentucky.

Maj.-Gen. George W. Morgan, in command of the Seventh Division of the Federal Army of the Ohio, consisting of four brigades, numbering 7,000 men, was at this time in occupation of Cumberland Gap. Smith had flanked the position, entering the State with 12,000 men, leaving Gen. Stevenson with 8,000 in front of the gap. Finding that the Confederate forces had gained access to his rear, and that there was no further use for his command at the gap, Gen. Morgan determined to evacuate it, and attempt a retreat through eastern Kentucky to the Ohio River. This march afforded Morgan an opportunity, which he eagerly seized, to hang upon the flanks of the retreating army and harass it as much as possible.

While Morgan was operating in eastern Kentucky, Duke with his regiment was play-

ing havoc among the raw recruits in the vicinity of Cincinnati. Augusta was captured and burned, and a battalion of Home Guards put to flight. On the 6th of October, Morgan with his brigade, now consisting of three regiments and a battalion numbering 1,500 effectives, left Lexington and took post between Versailles and Frankfort on the flank of Kirby Smith's army, which was in the vicinity of Lawrenceburg. Duke says: "notwithstanding the efforts that were made to induce Kentuckians to enlist as infantry, very few would do so, and those who did, joined regiments which came in with Gen. Smith. Not a single infantry regiment was raised during the time that the Confederate army was in the State. All of the Kentuckians who joined at that time wanted to ride."

Gen. Abe Buford raised three regiments of cavalry under Cols. Butler, Smith and Grigsby, the last two of which were subsequently assigned to Morgan. Duke estimates the number of Kentuckians who enlisted in the Confederate army during the occupation of the State by Bragg and Smith at 5,000.

In the retreat of the Confederate army from Kentucky after the battle of Perryville, Morgan's and Ashby's cavalry formed the rear guard of Gen. Smith's corps as far as Big Hill, when Morgan obtained permission to retire from the State by way of Gallatin, instead of following the main army through Cumberland Gap.

On the 17th of October, believing that the main portion of the Union army was far enough out of his way to permit it, Morgan conceived the idea of capturing Lexington, then held by one regiment, the Fourth Ohio Cavalry. The main body was at Ashland, the home of Henry Clay, about two miles from the town. One or two companies were quartered at the court house. After a brisk fight the entire regiment, between 500 and 600 strong, was captured, and with them a supply of Colt's pistols, which were eagerly appropriated by their captors. From Lexington the column moved by way of Lawrenceburg, Bardstown and Elizabethtown to its field of operations on the Louisville &



Nashville Railroad south of Green River, which was reached on the 24th of October.

On the 4th of November Morgan reached Gallatin, Tenn., having captured nearly 500 prisoners and destroyed many miles of railroad, and at this place added another regiment to his command. This regiment was organized with James Bennett as colonel, W. W. Ward, lieutenant-colonel, and R. A. Alston as major.

In the meantime Breckinridge had arrived at Murfreesboro with his division, and learning that a large quantity of railroad cars were collected at Edgefield, instructed Morgan to attempt their destruction, while Forrest, who was also at Murfreesboro, supported by the Kentucky brigade attacked the works at Nashville from the south; but owing to the vigilance of Gen. J. M. Palmer, commanding the post, the expedition proved a failure.

In the latter part of November, the brigade was strengthened by the arrival of Cluke's and Chenault's regiments, a battalion under command of Maj. Stoner, and the old squadron captured at Lebanon in the spring of 1862, exchanged, and ready for work. Morgan's command now consisted of four regiments and two battalions.

The occupation of Hartsville and Castilian Springs by infantry brigades now effectually shut Morgan off from depredations upon the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, which was run to its utmost capacity in bringing forward supplies to the Army of the Cumberland, which was preparing for a campaign against Bragg's army at Murfreesboro. The brigade at Castilian Springs was commanded by Col. John M. Harlan, a bold and vigilant officer, who kept a sharp lookout for cavalry raids. That at Hartsville, commanded by Col. A. B. Moore, was composed of three regiments of the new levy, the One Hundred and Sixth, and One Hundred and Eighth Ohio, and One Hundred and Fourth Illinois Infantry, 1,200 strong. A battalion of the Second Indiana Cavalry and a small squadron of Kentucky cavalry acted as scouts—as the event proved, to little purpose.

The capture of this place was confided to

Morgan, who with Cobb's battery and two regiments, the Second and Ninth Kentucky Infantry of Hanson's brigade, 700 strong, in addition to his own command of 1,500, left Prairie Mills, twenty-five miles distant from Hartsville, on the 7th of December, and by a rapid march encamped that night within five miles of their destination. Morgan planned a complete surprise. The infantry and Cobb's batteries reached the ferry at 10 o'clock, and immediately crossed the river. This force moved forward promptly at break of day, fearing that information would reach Col. Harlan of the movement, and when Col. Duke joined the column with a party of his cavalry it was determined to make the attack at once.

The camp was on a hill two miles in advance of Hartsville, which town was at once occupied by a regiment of cavalry, while two more were formed opposite the right flank of the Union line. Cluke's and Chenault's men, after deducting horse holders, numbered 450, which with the infantry made a force of some 1,250 men for the attack. The One Hundred and Sixth Ohio, which received the attack of the cavalry, never having witnessed a battle, and being deprived of the presence of more experienced troops, broke after the first fire and fell back in disorder. The remaining regiment resisted the advance of the Confederate infantry for a short time, when Col. Moore surrendered. The contest lasted an hour and a half, in which time the Union loss was 50 killed and 100 wounded. Gen. Bragg reported Morgan's loss at 125 killed and wounded.

The tents and everything that could not be carried off were burned, a number of captured wagons were loaded with portable stores and arms and hurried over the river, accompanied by the prisoners, who, contrary to the usual custom, were not parolled. Col. Harlan hearing the firing at once put his brigade in motion and hurried to the assistance of Col. Moore, but, with all the haste he could make, his advance only reached the camp to find it in flames. Pressing forward in pursuit Harlan reached the river only in time to rescue a few wagons that had not had

time to cross and to witness the rear of Morgan's column disappear behind the hills on the southern shore.

For this exploit Morgan was promoted brigadier-general. Col. Hanson, who was captured at Donelson, with his regiment, and had just effected his exchange, was also promoted to the same rank, by President Davis. This was probably the zenith of Morgan's fame. His brigade, consisting of seven regiments, with an effective strength of 4,000, had no superior in either army for that dashing courage essential to the cavalry service, and in its ability to endure hardship without murmuring. He was the newly wedded husband of a most accomplished lady, a daughter of Judge Ready, of Murfreesboro, and was the idol of his men.

His fame as a cavalry leader attracted to his banner scores of spirited young men who, finding the service in other commands irksome, sought service in Morgan's cavalry. The command was now organized as a division, composed of two brigades, under command of Cols. Basil W. Duke and William C. P. Breckinridge, as follows:

First Brigade, Col. B. W. Duke; Second Kentucky, Lieut.-Col. Hutchinson; Third Kentucky, Col. Gano; Eighth Kentucky, Col. Cluke; Palmer's Battery of Artillery; Second Brigade, Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge; Ninth Kentucky, Lieut.-Col. Stoner; Tenth Kentucky, Col. Johnson; Eleventh Kentucky, Col. Chenault; Fourteenth Tennessee, Col. Bennett; White's battery of artillery.

The division was reviewed at Alexandria on the 21st of December, when the First Brigade numbered 1,800 effectives, and 200 unarmed. The Second Brigade also had some unarmed men, and was of about the same numerical strength. On the following day the division took up its march for Kentucky, and reached Sand Shoals Ford just before dark. The object of the expedition was the destruction of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad in rear of Rosecrans.

On the 24th the column reached Glasgow, and on the next morning marched out by the Louisville Pike, crossing Green River that night, and encamping at Hammondsville.

Turning toward the railroad, the bridge at Bacon Creek, guarded by not over 100 men (who were captured after an obstinate defense), was burned; the stockade at Nolin was also captured, and the bridge burned. On the morning of the 27th, the division moved upon Elizabethtown, which was garrisoned by a regiment of 600 men. Col. Smith, the commander, returned for answer to Morgan's demand for surrender, that it was the business of a United States officer to fight and not to surrender, but his men seemed to be of a different opinion. After a brisk fight the white flag was run up by a subordinate officer, and the garrison surrendered, and handed over 600 fine rifles to the victorious Confederates. The two great trestle works at Muldow's Hill, each eighty feet in height, and 500 feet long, Cane Run bridge, and two bridges on the Lebanon branch, were destroyed.

In the meantime, Harlan's brigade was marching thirty miles a day to reach the Confederates. On the night of the 28th Morgan encamped on the south bank of the Rolling Fork, and early next morning commenced crossing the swollen stream, when a shell burst in his ranks, and Harlan's advance appeared on the hill above them. In the rapid crossing that was soon after effected, several horses were killed by shells bursting among them, and the force was a good deal disorganized, but was concentrated at Bardstown on the same evening.

Col. Duke, having been wounded by a bursting shell, the command devolved upon Col. Breckinridge, who brought off the command with little loss. The concentration of troops in his front at Lebanon, and on his flank at Columbia, with Harlan in his rear, convinced Morgan that a rapid flight would be required to save his command from capture. He therefore made a detour to the right of Lebanon, and by rapid marching, although vigorously pursued by Col. Hoskins, made his escape across the Cumberland, and joined Bragg's army at Tullahoma, to which place it had fallen back after its defeat at Stone River.

Here Morgan's division, with those of



Gens. Wharton and Martin, constituted the cavalry corps commanded by Gen. Wheeler. On January 24, 1863, the Second Kentucky lost its commander, Lieut.-Col. Hutchinson, in a skirmish near Woodburg, and Capt. John B. Castleman assumed command of the regiment.

The three months following were spent by the cavalry in picketing the front of Bragg's army. Cols. Cluke and Chenault made a raid into Kentucky, in which they captured Mount Sterling, and subsisted their men for several months, returning to the command after a series of adventures in the mountains of Kentucky. About this time a new regiment was formed by the organization of a number of loose companies, the command of which was given to Col. R. C. Morgan, a brother of the general.

The winter wore away, and the spring was far advanced before any operations, other than preliminary skirmishing, was attempted by the cavalry of either army. Morgan's cavalry had a long front to picket, and brushes with the Union cavalry were of daily occurrence. Duke says: "But in this year the glory and prestige began to pass away from the southern cavalry."

The war department at Washington was slow to see the importance of maintaining a strong cavalry force, not only to guard the long lines of railroad to Louisville, the true base of all military operations in Kentucky and Tennessee, but to act aggressively upon the Confederate lines of communications as far south as Atlanta. It was in vain that Gen. Rosecrans represented the importance of equipping a force of cavalry equal to, if not superior to, that under the orders of Gen. Bragg. He received nothing but rebuffs for his suggestions, until, in despair, he wrote the telegram to Secretary Stanton, which sealed his fate, regretting that there was "not more of military knowledge at the head of the war department." The secretary pocketed the insult, but bided his time for taking revenge. It came after Chickamauga. The organization of "saber brigades," by Gen. Rosecrans, proved to be the foundation of the efficiency of the cavalry of the Army of

the Cumberland. A charge with drawn sabers was a new thing to western cavalry, and proved irresistible on many a hotly contested field.

On the 2d of July Morgan's division crossed the Cumberland to embark upon an expedition which ended in its destruction as a military organization. Twelve miles north, at Marrowbone, lay Gen. Judah's cavalry, ostensibly guarding the crossing, but in reality trusting to the high water to prevent Morgan from getting over. Morgan's effective strength was 2,460, exclusive of artillery, of which there were two three-inch Parrotts, and two twelve-pound howitzers. A regiment of Union cavalry was pushed down to the river to dispute the crossing, but Morgan having crossed two regiments, charged upon it and drove it back upon the camp at Marrowbone, which gave the rear regiments time to cross. The division encamped that night about ten miles on the road to Columbia, and early next morning pushed on to the town, where a detachment of Wolford's cavalry was posted, drove it out, and passing through, encamped six miles beyond.

Col. Moore, in command of a Michigan regiment, was stationed at Green River bridge, and hearing of Morgan's approach, made preparations to give him a warm reception. His position was in a horse-shoe bend of the Green River. Behind him was the toe where the bridge crossed, on either flank was the river, and in his front he had formed a strong abatis by felling trees on either side of the road, behind which he threw up a substantial earthwork, 100 yards in length, commanding the road along which Morgan was advancing. Morgan sent two regiments to cross the river and gain possession of the bridge in Col. Moore's rear, then sent a demand for the surrender of the garrison. Col. Moore's reply was: "The 4th of July is a bad day for surrenders." The only response to this greeting was of course a charge, which was made by two regiments. The first rush carried the men into the tangled tree-tops, where they were slaughtered like sheep by the unerring rifles of the Michigan men. Col. Chenault and Maj. Brent were killed, together with

Thirty-six men, and twice that number wounded. Finding that the capture of the position would cost him as many men as the garrison numbered, Morgan withdrew, and, crossing the river, left his wounded to be cared for by his brave antagonist, of whom Duke says, "he proved himself as humane as he was skillful and gallant."

The column moved through Campbellsville without halting, and encamped five miles from Lebanon, which was garrisoned by the Twentieth Kentucky Infantry, under command of Col. Charles S. Hanson, a brother of Gen. Roger Hanson, of the Confederate army. Two regiments were stationed on the Harrodsburg Road, within easy supporting distance, but did not reach the town until Hanson's regiment, fighting gallantly against vastly superior numbers, was overpowered and obliged to surrender. Avoiding a battle with these regiments, which made their appearance cautiously, Morgan moved rapidly to Bardstown, reaching that place at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 6th of July. Morgan's loss was inconsiderable--some eight or nine killed and some twenty-five or thirty wounded. Among the former were Lieut. Thomas Morgan, a brother of the general, and Lieut. Gardner.

From Bardstown Morgan moved in the direction of the Ohio River, capturing a railroad train within thirty miles of Louisville, and crossing the bridge over Salt River on the morning of the 7th. The secret of Morgan's success in this, as well as in his former raids, was his rapid movements. It was impossible to keep track of him. To aid in mystifying his pursuers as much as possible, Morgan detached five companies to move in different directions through the State, thus for the time throwing Gens. Hobson and Judah off the track of the main body.

Shortly after midnight the column advanced, and at 10 A. M. reached Brandenburg, on the Ohio River, forty miles below Louisville, where two steamboats, captured by Capts. Taylor and Merriwether, were awaiting the arrival of the division. The Second Kentucky and the Ninth Tennessee

were immediately set across the river, leaving their horses behind them, and, forming under the river bank, prepared to protect the crossing of the remainder of the command. While in this position a little gun-boat made its unwelcome appearance, and for a short time threatened to put a stop to the performance, but a few shots from the Parrotts convinced the commander that close quarters were not desirable, and he steamed away up the river for assistance. Before it was obtained Morgan was on the Indiana shore, mounting for a ride of 600 miles through a hostile country, thickly settled, and penetrated in every direction by railroads and telegraphs. The route previously sketched by Morgan, and which was followed with little deviation, led eastward through Southern Indiana from Corydon, through Salem, Vienna, Paris, Vernon, Dupont, Sumansville, to Harrison, Ohio. Morgan reasoned that the boldness of his movement would convince Gen. Burnside that his objective point was either Cincinnati or Columbus, and that smaller towns would be denuded of troops to strengthen the garrisons of these important points. He felt confident of keeping in advance of the cavalry in his rear, as being in advance gave him choice of the horses of the country through which he passed. To throw the department-commander off the track he here again resorted to the tactics that had proved successful in Kentucky. He sent detachments off in various directions, and after a few hours halt at Harrison moved in the direction of Cincinnati, then turning to the left, at night-fall, marched to the north of it, passing near Glendale, and morning broke just as the column neared the Little Miami Railroad. A halt was made near Camp Dennison to feed the horses and burn a pack of government wagons, when the men were again in their saddles, and did not draw rein until they reached Williamsburg, ninety miles from Sumansville, having made the march in thirty-five hours. Here at 4 P. M. the division went into camp and remained through the night. Resuming the march next morning they halted again before night-fall at Wilkesville, and remained until 3



o'clock next morning, when, on moving out of camp, the raiders found themselves harassed on all sides by militia, who, although declining close quarters, inflicted considerable injury with their trusty rifles at a safe distance among the hills.

At 1 o'clock, on the 18th, the command reached Chester, and halted to enable the column to close up. This halt proved disastrous, as Buffington, the point chosen to cross the Ohio, was not reached until after night-fall, and it was decided to wait until next morning. An earthwork had been thrown up to guard the ford, and Morgan was informed that it was manned by 300 men.

While Morgan had, by rapid marching, traversed the State of Ohio, doing little damage to persons or property, Gen. Hobson at the head of a picked cavalry force had reached the Ohio shortly after Morgan had crossed it, and pushing on in his rear reached Chester a few hours after Morgan had left it for Buffington.

Gen. Judah left the stern chase at Bardstown and proceeding to Cincinnati embarked a brigade of infantry and cavalry on transports and steamed up the river to be ready to intercept Morgan's crossing wherever he might attempt it. His force debarked at Pomeroy a short distance below Buffington on the previous day, and marched along the river road keeping abreast of Morgan who was several miles inland.

On the following morning these two commands, each ignorant of the proximity of the other, prepared for an attack upon Morgan's division, now considerably reduced by straggling and exhaustion. Col. Duke was ordered to draw up two of his regiments in readiness to attack the work at dawn of day, and the Parrotts were placed in position to assist the storming party if necessary.

Had Morgan's pickets been more vigilant they would have discovered long before daylight that the work was empty. It was evacuated during the night. The knowledge of this would have been of priceless advantage, but it came too late. The crossing came near being successfully accomplished, however. The steamer "Starlight,"

loaded with flour, ran aground on Buffington Bar the day before Morgan's arrival. Capt. Wood, of the regular army, on duty as mustering officer at Marietta, took charge of two companies of militia, and taking a steamboat dropped down the river, where he found the "Starlight" aground. He at once landed his men and manned the earthwork, lightened the steamer and towed her out of reach of Morgan, who was reported to be approaching, held the work until midnight, when he ordered it abandoned.

When morning dawned, Duke charged upon the empty works, then started out the Pomeroy Road in search of the retreating garrison. He ran into Judah's advance guard, and attacking with spirit threw it into confusion, capturing one gun and forty or fifty prisoners, and mortally wounding Maj. Daniel McCook, father of Gen. McCook. By Morgan's order, Duke formed two regiments of his brigade across the road upon which Judah was advancing, while Johnson with two regiments faced toward Hobson, who was moving upon him from the north. In the brief engagement that ensued on the Pomeroy Road, Duke lost his Parrott gun and a portion of the Fifth Kentucky. Meantime the gunboat "Moose" under command of Lieut. Fitch had come up and opened fire. Gen. Shackelford moved up the river with his own and Wolford's brigades to cut off escape in that direction. Notwithstanding the great disparity in forces, Duke and Johnson managed to hold Judah and Hobson in check long enough to enable Morgan with the four disengaged regiments to march out of the valley. Duke says: "The scene in the rear was one of indescribable confusion. While the bulk of the regiments that Morgan was drawing off was moving from the field in perfect order, there were many stragglers from each who were circling about the valley in a delirium of fright, clinging instinctively in all their terror to bolts of calico, and holding on to led horses, but changing the direction in which they galloped with every shell which whizzed or burst near them. The long train of wagons and ambulances dashed wildly in the only direction which

promised escape, and becoming locked and entangled with each other in their flight many were upset, and terrified horses broke loose from them and plunged wildly through the mass. Some of them, in striving to make their way out of the valley at the northern end, ran foul of the section of howitzers attached to the Second Brigade, and guns and wagons were rolled headlong down a steep ravine. Occasionally a solid shot or shell would strike one and bowl it over like a ten pin."

Having held their position until Morgan was well out of the valley, Duke and Johnson then determined to withdraw and to follow their leader. The men, who had been fighting on foot, remounted without confusion and retreated in column of fours from right of companies, and for some distance in good order, but there being but two roads by which to escape the men rushed for them. The gunboat sent its shells into the mass, which had now become a mob, and the Seventh Michigan soon came up and dashed pell mell into the crowd.

Cols. Duke and Smith and some fifty officers and men were here captured. In making his way up the river Morgan ran into Shackelford's brigade, composed of the First, Third and Eighth Kentucky cavalry, near Bashan Church. Shackelford thus graphically describes the encounter: "With drawn sabers gleaming in the beautiful sunlight, and with a yell that filled the foe with terror, they rushed upon him and he fled at their approach. The charge was led by Lieut.-Col. Holloway with the Eighth Kentucky, Maj. Wolfley with the Third Kentucky, and Lieut.-Col. Adams with the First Kentucky Cavalry. I do but simple justice to these brave and gallant officers and the veteran soldiers who followed them in that charge, to say that not in this nor any other war have officers and men acquitted themselves with more credit or manifested more determination or valor."

Morgan sent in a flag of truce asking terms of surrender. Shackelford gave them briefly: "immediate and unconditional surrender." Cols. Richard Morgan, Ward and Hoffman

with their regiments, about 700 strong, came in and laid down their arms. Cols. Grigsby and Johnson and Capts. Byrnes and Kilpatrick crossed the river with some 300 and made their escape, leaving about 800 with Morgan. Col. Cluke took charge of one brigade and Maj. Webber of the other, and the column moved in the direction of Blennerhasset's Island, and encamped at the foot of a high hill, with his pursuers in front and rear. When night had fallen, however, he formed his men, partially ascended the mountain, and before they were aware of his flight was far on his way toward liberty. Gen. Shackelford was on his track at early dawn, and at 3 o'clock, on the 20th, caught up with him and a fight ensued. While it was in progress Lieut.-Col. Adams was sent with his regiment and one company of the Third Kentucky to take position on the only road by which it was supposed Morgan could escape. He retired to a high bluff, and there received a flag of truce from Shackelford demanding his surrender, which was accepted by all but about 600, who with Morgan started at once on their way. Gen. Shackelford now called for 1,000 volunteers from his command, with the best horses, who would stay in their saddles as long as he would, without eating or sleeping, until they captured Morgan.

All would have volunteered, but only 500 horses could be found fit for the enterprise. Col. Horace Capron, the veteran commander of the Fourteenth Illinois cavalry, with 159 men, and Col. Wolford, with detachments of all the regiments, made up the column which started in immediate pursuit. Col. Jacobs, with the remainder of the command, took charge of the prisoners and returned to Cincinnati. The hardest ride on record now began. This chase began on the morning of the 21st, and continued day and night until the evening of the 24th, when Capt. Ward, with his company of the Third Kentucky and a detachment of the First under Adj. Carpenter, came upon Morgan's rear guard at Washington. A bold dash drove Morgan out of the town with a loss of several of his men. Morgan made a stand a mile farther east in a dense wood. Shackelford formed



line of battle and drove him two miles across a stream which ran between rugged and precipitous banks.

Morgan tore up the bridges behind him, and took position in the woods beyond on a high hill. Shackelford's force dashed through the stream on both Morgan's flanks, and again he was obliged to seek safety in flight, burning all bridges as soon as his column had crossed them. All through Friday night pursuers and pursued clung to their jaded and famishing horses, which could hardly be urged out of a walk. Daylight dawned upon both columns moving upon parallel roads a mile from Athens. Half a mile beyond, the roads formed a junction. Shackelford pressed on and gained it first. Morgan turned back and sought refuge in the woods. Meantime re-enforcements under Maj. Way, of the Eighth Michigan, and Maj. Rue, with a detachment of the Ninth Kentucky cavalry, joined Shackelford, who, with fresh horses, gained the advance of Morgan and brought him to bay, enabling Shackelford to feed his horses. After doubling upon his track, and practicing every ruse known to the skillful raider, Morgan surrendered to Gen. Shackelford, with the remainder of his command, on July 25th. When Morgan found that capture was inevitable, he surrendered first to a militia captain with whom he was riding, and who, overjoyed at the prospect of capturing Gen. Morgan, offered him any terms he might name, promising to parole the entire command. Shackelford declined to acknowledge the right of the militiaman and took his prisoners to Cincinnati, where Gen. Burnside sent the enlisted men to military prisons and the officers to the penitentiary at Columbus. The stragglers who managed to make their escape were collected by Cols. Johnson and Grigsby and marched through western Virginia to Morristown in east Tennessee, where they joined the command of Gen. J. S. Williams.

Left to their own devices the thoughts of the prisoners naturally turned upon the subject of the most available means by which to regain their liberty. After canvassing various methods, they finally determined upon

that which proved efficacious at the hands of Col. Streight and his comrades in Libby prison—a tunnel. "But to tunnel," says Duke, "through the stone pavement and immense walls of the penitentiary, concealing the work as it progressed, required a bold imagination to conceive such an idea." Bold as it was in conception and hazardous in execution, the work was actually accomplished, and on November 26th, Gen. Morgan and Cpts. Hines, Hockersmith, Shelden, Taylor, Bennett and McGee emerged from their prison and started in couples on their way to Dixie. Gen. Morgan and Capt. Hines went straight to the depot, where Hines bought tickets for Cincinnati, and when near the city pulled the rope, applied the brakes and sprang off the train. A boy was found, who for \$2 set them across the river, where they were among friends. In Boone County the fugitives were provided with good horses, upon which they at once set out for Tennessee. After twelve months of confinement in various military prisons, Cols. Duke, Ward, Morgan and Tucker, and Maj. Webber, Steele and Higley were exchanged at Charleston, S. C.

Col. Adam B. Johnson, who escaped at Buffington, on arriving in east Tennessee, under instructions from Gen. Buckner issued orders for all men belonging to Morgan's command to report to him at Morristown. Many had been left behind when the Ohio raid was undertaken on account of disability to make the trip, and others had been sent off in detachments, while passing through Kentucky, and found their way back to the Confederate lines. These were collected and organized into two battalions under command of Cpts. Kirkpatrick and Dortch. The occupation of east Tennessee by Gen. Burnside caused these detachments to move southward with Gen. Buckner, where they took part under Gen. Forrest in the battle of Chickamauga.

In the spring of 1864, Gen. Morgan was sent to take command of the district of southwestern Virginia, including a portion of east Tennessee. The forces at his disposal were two Kentucky cavalry brigades and the militia

of the region. One of these brigades was commanded by Gen. George B. Hodge, and the other by Col. Giltner. The latter had served for a year under Gen. John S. Williams, and was mentioned by Gen. Sam Jones, the former commander of the department, as the best regiment in his command.

In the latter part of May, Morgan organized his command for a raid into Kentucky. His division consisted of three brigades, under command of Col. Giltner, Lieut.-Col. Alston and Col. D. Howard Smith, about 1,800 strong. He took no artillery. The column reached Pound Gap on June 2d, and, brushing away a small party of Union cavalry, pushed rapidly forward toward Mount Sterling, sending detachments in advance to destroy the railroad bridges north and west of Lexington. Two companies were sent forward, as the column neared Mount Sterling, to take position on the Lexington and Paris turnpikes. The town was easily captured, there being but a small force in occupation, and Morgan pushed forward at once for Lexington.

Gen. Burbridge, in command of the district of Kentucky, was absent on an expedition against the salt works in West Virginia, and this fact had seemed to invite Morgan to occupy the State during his absence. He entered Lexington without opposition, burnt the government depot, and captured sufficient horses to remount his dismounted men. Col. Giltner, who was left at Mount Sterling, had a severe fight in which he lost 14 officers and 40 privates killed, 80 severely wounded and over 100 captured. From Lexington Morgan moved through Georgetown to Cynthiana, where, after a short engagement, a garrison 400 strong surrendered. Gen. Hobson, in command of 1,500 men, on his way by cars to re-enforce the garrison, was met by Col. Giltner and held until the arrival of Morgan, when his entire force was captured.

While Morgan was thus moving from point to point capturing everything that came in his way, Gen. Burbridge reached Mount Sterling, and started at once in pursuit of

Morgan. He reached Cynthiana on the 12th, after a rapid march, and meeting Giltner's brigade first, on the Paris Road, engaged it. Morgan came up to his support with the remainder of the division, but was soon defeated and driven toward Augusta. Collecting all the force possible in a rapid retreat, Morgan made the best of his way to Virginia. Moving through Flemingsburg and West Liberty, he passed over the mountains and reached Abingdon on the 20th of June. In justice to Morgan's old command Duke says: "On this raid great and inexcusable excesses were committed, but except in two or three flagrant instances they were committed by men who had never before served with Gen. Morgan. The men of his old division and Giltner's fine brigade were rarely guilty."

Returning to his old headquarters at Abingdon, Va., Morgan collected a force of some 1,600 men, and on the 28th of August set out for Jonesboro to assume command in person for an expedition against Gen. Gillem's cavalry division, then posted at Bull's Gap. Reaching Greenville at night he went into camp, intending to attack Gillem the next day. Morgan stopped at the house of Mrs. Williams. A daughter-in-law, Mrs. Lucy Williams, an ardent Union woman, determined to apprise Gen. Gillem of the presence of Morgan, and the position of his forces. This she did, riding through the Confederate lines and on through the darkness to Gillem's camp, ten miles distant, where she at once communicated with that officer, who lost no time in putting his command in motion for Greenville. Leaving Bull's Gap at midnight, he reached the vicinity of the town before daybreak, where, his men being thoroughly conversant with the topography of the country, he succeeded in eluding Morgan's pickets, and the first notification the latter had of their presence was given by a party of 100 cavalymen, who dashed into Greenville, followed by Gillem's whole force. It was the party that came in first which rode at once to Mrs. Williams' house. Maj. Garrett of his staff and Gen. Morgan left the house together and sought



to make their escape, but every avenue was cut off. Taking refuge in the garden of the house, Morgan was shot through the heart.

With the death of their leader, this sketch of the cavalry which bore his name will close. The long lines of railroad connecting the Army of the Cumberland with Louisville, its base of supplies, were the lawful prey of the daring leader and his rough riders, while many an outpost, slumbering in fancied security, were awakened at unconscionably early hours by his summons to surrender. The rapidity of his movements, the boldness of his attacks and the audacity of his raids, will long render his name a household word in his native State.

Recruiting for the Confederate army commenced in Kentucky before any attempt had been made on the part of Union men to organize under the United States flag. Two battalions under Cols. Duncan and Pope served under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston in the Army of the Shenandoah, at the battle of Bull Run.

Early in the summer of 1861, several hundred men repaired to Camp Boone, at which place Gen. Simon B. Buckner had made his headquarters, and enlisted in the army of the young Confederacy. Most of these had been members of the State Guard, and the advantages of scientific training soon became apparent and bore its legitimate fruit in the subsequent efficiency of the first (Confederate) "Kentucky Brigade."

They were organized into three regiments, of infantry known as the Second Kentucky, Col. J. M. Hawes, succeeded soon after by Col. Roger Hanson; the Third, Col. Lloyd Tilghman, succeeded by Col. Thompson; and the Fourth, Col. Robert H. Trabue. As recruits came in, two more regiments were formed, the Fifth, commanded by Col. Thomas Hunt, and the Sixth, under Col. Joseph Lewis. Two batteries of artillery, Cobb's and Byrnes', were assigned to the brigade.

On the 14th of November, 1861, Hon. John C. Breckinridge, recently commissioned brigadier-general in the Confederate army, was ordered by Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston

to duty in the Second Division, commanded by Gen. Buckner, who at once assigned him to command of the Kentucky brigade. Gen. Breckinridge assumed command on the 16th of November, and with his brigade soon after took position at Oakland Station on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, where, in connection with Gen. Hindman's brigade, it remained in observation of the movements of the Union troops on the north bank of Green River, whose daily augmenting strength excited lively apprehensions that a forward movement would result in the evacuation of Kentucky by the Confederate army. Under cover of these brigades, however, the fortifications at Bowling Green were pushed forward to completion, and by the latter part of January they were regarded as quite formidable.

The flank movement by which the position at Bowling Green was turned, resulting in the surrender of Fort Donelson and the evacuation of Kentucky, took place in February, and re-enforcements being demanded, a portion of Buckner's division, in which the Second Kentucky was included, moved to Fort Donelson, where, after a brave fight, it was surrendered to Gen. Grant on the 16th of February, and consequently took no part in the subsequent operations of the brigade during the ensuing summer.

In the retreat from Bowling Green, Breckinridge's brigade constituted the rear guard, and notwithstanding the demoralization consequent upon a retreat in presence of the enemy, the Kentucky brigade, even though each hour's march took it farther from home and kindred, reached Nashville without the loss of a man from its ranks. On the 13th of February, 1862, in the midst of a driving storm of rain and sleet, the brigade crossed the line into Tennessee, while their comrades of the Second Regiment were lying in the trenches on the right of the line of defense in front of Fort Donelson. Gen. Hardee bivouacked his army in line of battle on the night of the 15th, within ten miles of Nashville, in anticipation of an order to embark for the relief of Donelson, but the morning of the 16th brought news that chilled the

hopes of the commander, and sent a thrill of despair to the stoutest heart in his army. Fort Donelson had surrendered. Hardee at once moved forward through Nashville, and on the night of the 16th encamped on the road leading from Nashville southward to Murfreesboro, Tenn. Here Johnston's army was joined by the forces under Gen. George B. Crittenden, which had retreated from Mill Springs, and the masterly retreat commenced that ended at Corinth, Miss., where a junction was made with the troops under Gens. Bragg and Beauregard, and much needed rest given to the weary troops.

On the 21st, the Kentucky brigade, under its accomplished commander, was sent with its battery, ammunition and baggage, to take position at Burnsville, within fifteen miles of Corinth, where it was soon after joined by Statham's and Bowen's brigades of Crittenden's division. This force, consisting, on the 5th of April, of 7,211 officers and men, was called the "Reserve Division," and the command was assigned to Gen. Breckinridge, Col. Trabue assuming command of the Kentucky brigade.

At 5 o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, Gen. Hardee's advance drove in the pickets of Gen. Prentiss at Shiloh, and the terrible battle began. The second line of battle, under Gen. Bragg, had been pushed forward and intermingled with the front line, and Gen. Breckinridge being called upon to re-enforce the left sent Col. Trabue with his brigade. During the whole of that bloody day the brigade sustained the reputation of Kentucky for martial spirit.

The scene of wild confusion, that reigned on Shiloh battlefield for three hours after the assault upon Prentiss, was never again witnessed by the Army of the Tennessee. Like a pack of hungry wolves upon a sheep-fold the yelling Confederates closed upon the Union camps. The air, sulphurous with the smoke of powder, was rent with the crash of musketry, the roar of artillery, and the shouts of officers striving to make themselves heard above the din of battle, in the vain attempt to restore order to their commands. Wounded horses, maddened with

pain and wild with fright, rushed across the field or, falling prone upon the ground, crushed their hapless riders beneath their struggling forms. To add to the terror of the scene, and to convince even the coolest and bravest of the hopelessness of the struggle, a never ceasing column of Confederate troops, emerging from the woods, deployed in constantly accumulating force into line of battle in support of those already engaged.

Pressing forward over their fallen comrades, closing the wide gaps torn in their ranks by repeated volleys of artillery and musketry, yelling like demons, they seemed utterly reckless of the leaden hail that strewed the ground with the quivering forms of the dead and dying. Driven back again and again, they rushed forward to the assault with redoubled fury after each bloody repulse. "Cheer, boys, cheer. March away to battle," sang the boys of the Kentucky brigade, as with arms at "right shoulder shift" they moved rapidly to the left to take a hand in the fray. Far away to their right were two other Kentucky regiments, who had covered themselves with glory, fighting under the stars and stripes at Fort Donelson, and now sadly depleted in numbers under the gallant McHenry were holding their ground in Hurlbut's division under a murderous assault. They were the Seventeenth Kentucky, commanded by Lieut.-Col. A. M. Stout, and the Twenty-fifth, under Lieut.-Col. B. H. Bristow. Both of these officers were wounded during the progress of the battle while bravely cheering their men in action.

It was not the fate of these contending Kentuckians to meet at the battle of Shiloh. Soon after entering the woods, Col. Trabue found the ground broken and covered with dense underbrush, compelling him to move cautiously while he covered his front with skirmishers. He soon encountered the left of Gen. Sherman's line, which had fallen back to the Purdy Road, and engaging it drove back a brigade and captured several prisoners from a Missouri Regiment. On his right Col. Tuttle, with his Iowa brigade, in connection with Prentiss on his left, had for hours held the "Hornet's Nest" against



repeated attacks from Gen. Cheatham, reinforced by other troops.

Johnston says: "Here, behind a dense thicket on the crest of a hill, was posted a strong force of as hardy troops as ever fought. It was nicknamed by the Confederates the 'Hornet's Nest.' No figure of speech would be too strong to express the deadly peril of an assault upon this natural fortress, whose inaccessible barriers blazed for six hours with sheets of flame, and whose infernal gates poured forth a murderous storm of shot and shell and musket fire, which no living thing could quell or even withstand. Brigade after brigade was led against it, but valor was of no avail. Hindman's brilliant brigades, which had swept everything before them from the field, were shattered into fragments in the shock of the assault and paralyzed for the remainder of the day. A. P. Stewart's regiments made further assaults, but only to retire mangled and disheartened."

During all this time Tuttle's right had been "in the air," with no troops in sight. Gens. Sherman and McClernand were separated from him by a wide interval, and in the absence of the commanding general there was no one to order the closing of the gap. Through this interval in the Union line marched the Kentucky brigade, and closing to the right cut off retreat in the direction of Sherman. Gen. Wallace, who had a few moments before come to this portion of his line, at once gave the order to Tuttle to fall back. In the execution of this order Wallace was killed and a portion of Tuttle's brigade captured. Prentiss' command was soon captured, and the division of Gen. Breckinridge was reunited on the ground where the surrender of 2,000 Union troops promised victory to the Confederate arms. The separate brigades had been for hours fighting toward each other from opposite ends of the Confederate line.

Trabue's brigade formed the extreme left of Bragg's line of defense on the following morning, when, after having withdrawn his troops from the bluff overlooking the Tennessee, Beauregard found himself confronted

by a fresh army of 25,000 men under Gen. Buell, and a division of Grant's army newly arrived upon the field. Bragg says in his report "For the gallant and obstinate defense of our left flank, which the enemy constantly endeavored to force, we are indebted to Col. Trabue's small brigade in support of Capt. Barne's battery. Against overwhelming numbers this gallant command maintained its position from the commencement of the action until about 12 o'clock, when, our forces on the right falling back, it was left entirely without support far in front of our whole army. Safety required it to retire. The commanding general ordered a retrograde movement, commencing on the right. This was gradually extended to the left, now held by Ketcham's battery. The enemy evinced no disposition to pursue."

In the subdivision of his department, after the evacuation of Corinth, Miss., Gen. Bragg assigned the Kentucky troops to the district of southern Mississippi and east Louisiana, commanded by Gen. Earl Van Dorn. Baton Rouge, La., had been seized and occupied by Gen. Williams with six regiments of infantry and three batteries of artillery, and the Union fleet had no sooner withdrawn from the bombardment of Vicksburg than Gen. Van Dorn determined upon the recapture of Baton Rouge.

Gen. Breckinridge was assigned to the command of the expedition, which consisted of two divisions under Gens. Clark and Rugles. The Fourth and Fifth Kentucky served in the First, and the Third, Sixth and Seventh Kentucky in the Second Division.

The troops rendezvoused at Camp Moore, Miss., where they lost a number of men from disease. On the 30th of July, the column, 3,000 strong, commenced the march from Camp Moore. Unaccustomed to the climate, many of the Kentucky and Tennessee troops fell by the wayside, where, under a midsummer sun, tortured with thirst, they experienced the most terrible suffering. The column pushed forward, however, and reached the vicinity of Baton Rouge on the morning of the 5th of August, the ram "Arkansas" having passed Bayou Sara in time to join in

The action. A detachment of infantry with Semmes' battery was sent around by the Clinton Road to drive in the pickets and attack as soon as firing opened in front. The attack upon the front was made by Gen. Ruggles with the Third, Sixth and Seventh Kentucky, and Thirty-fifth Alabama, in one brigade, and three Louisiana regiments in the other, in support of Semmes' battery. Col. Thompson, in command of the Kentucky brigade, held his position with great gallantry after the Louisiana troops had been driven back, and pushed steadily forward toward the center of the town. Col. Thompson was wounded early in the action, and the command of the brigade devolved upon Col. Robertson of the Thirty-fifth Alabama. Col. Hunt of the Fifth Kentucky commanded the brigade in which his own and the Sixth Kentucky were incorporated and led it with great intrepidity. On the right, as on the left, the Confederate line advanced steadily until after several hours' fighting they were massed in a grove in rear of the penitentiary, where in the heat of the contest both Gen. Clark and Col. Hunt fell severely wounded. Capt. John A. Buckner, a skillful officer of the staff of Gen. Breckinridge, here assumed command of Hunt's brigade, which began to fall back, stubbornly contesting the ground. In a few minutes, however, the Kentuckians advanced with a cheer, supported by Smith's brigade. Thompson's brigade, having exhausted its ammunition, had retired to a convenient railroad cut, where reforming they were ordered to charge with the bayonet. In executing this order they were met by a terrible storm of shot and shell from the gun-boats, and were withdrawn after heavy loss.

It was now 10 o'clock A. M. The commanding general had listened in vain for the guns of the "Arkansas," not knowing the misfortune that had befallen it. Not more than 1,000 out of 2,600 men remained in the line. Tortured with thirst they obstinately held their positions under fire from the land batteries and gun-boats, which had a raking fire through the streets, waiting vainly for the appearance of the ram, which was relied upon to sweep the river of the Union gun-boats.

The suburbs of the town in which the military camps were located were in their possession, and the work of destroying camp equipage was continued until late in the afternoon, when information reached Gen. Breckinridge that the ram was lying helpless against the right bank of the river, when he at once retired with the remnant of his command. The attack was conducted with spirit by the Confederates, but the Union troops, after a hotly contested fight, finding themselves outnumbered, wisely withdrew under the cover of the gun boats, and from this coigne of vantage witnessed the destruction of their assailants. Gen. Williams fell mortally wounded when the battle was at its fiercest.

Port Hudson was soon after occupied by Gen. Ruggles, and strongly fortified. Gen. Breckinridge moved with his division to Jackson, Miss. His command had been greatly reduced by battle and disease during the ineffectual attack upon Baton Rouge, and time was imperatively demanded to restore the health of the exhausted troops. The Kentucky brigade bore no part in Bragg's Kentucky campaign, but preceded his army to Murfreesboro a short time previous to the battle of Stone River.

By exchange of prisoners, the Second Kentucky, with its gallant commander, Col. Roger Hanson, now brigadier-general, was restored to the service. This regiment, with the Fourth under Col. Traube, the Sixth under Col. Lewis, and the Ninth under Col. Hunt, with Cobb's battery, participated in the battle of Stone River. Gen. Hanson's brigade, the Fourth of Breckinridge's division, occupied the extreme right of Bragg's line in front of Murfreesboro. In the fight of the 31st of December, the brigade performed no other service than to hold its position, which was not attacked, Gen. Rosecrans finding ample occupation for his troops on the right of his line.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 2d of January, Gen. Bragg sent for Gen. Breckinridge to come to his headquarters for final orders for an attack upon the Union left, that he had decided should be made at once. The



two officers met near a large sycamore tree close to the banks of Stone River not far from where it is crossed by the Nashville Pike. Gen. Breckinridge was opposed to the attack as ordered by Gen. Bragg, and tried to dissuade him from it, predicting disaster, as the ground occupied by the main portion of the Union troops on the bluff on the opposite bank of the river, was considerably higher than that over which the attacking force must march, and it was possible for Rosecrans to mass artillery and sweep the whole field. In urging his opinions he drew with a stick on the ground the position of the contending forces. Considerable time was occupied in the discussion, but Bragg remained firm, and finally ended the discussion by an imperative command to move at once to the attack. As Gen. Breckinridge rode forward toward his command, he met Gen. Preston, commanding his Third Brigade, and said: "This attack is made against my judgment, and by the special orders of Gen. Bragg. Of course we must all do our duty and fight the best we can. If it should result in disaster, and I be among the slain, I want you to do justice to my memory, and tell the people that I believed this movement to be very unwise, and that I tried to prevent it."

Among the regiments of Van Cleve's division, occupying the ground between Breckinridge's advance and Stone River, were four Kentucky regiments—the Ninth, Col. B. C. Grider; the Eleventh, Maj. E. S. Motley; the Eighth, Lieut.-Col. R. May, and the Twenty-first, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Evans, the last two mentioned in the brigade commanded by that brave and accomplished soldier, Col. S. W. Price. Promptly at 4 o'clock the artillery in Polk's front gave the signal for the attack, and the movement began. Breckinridge's division, with bayonets fixed and guns loaded, marched with steady step to the assault.

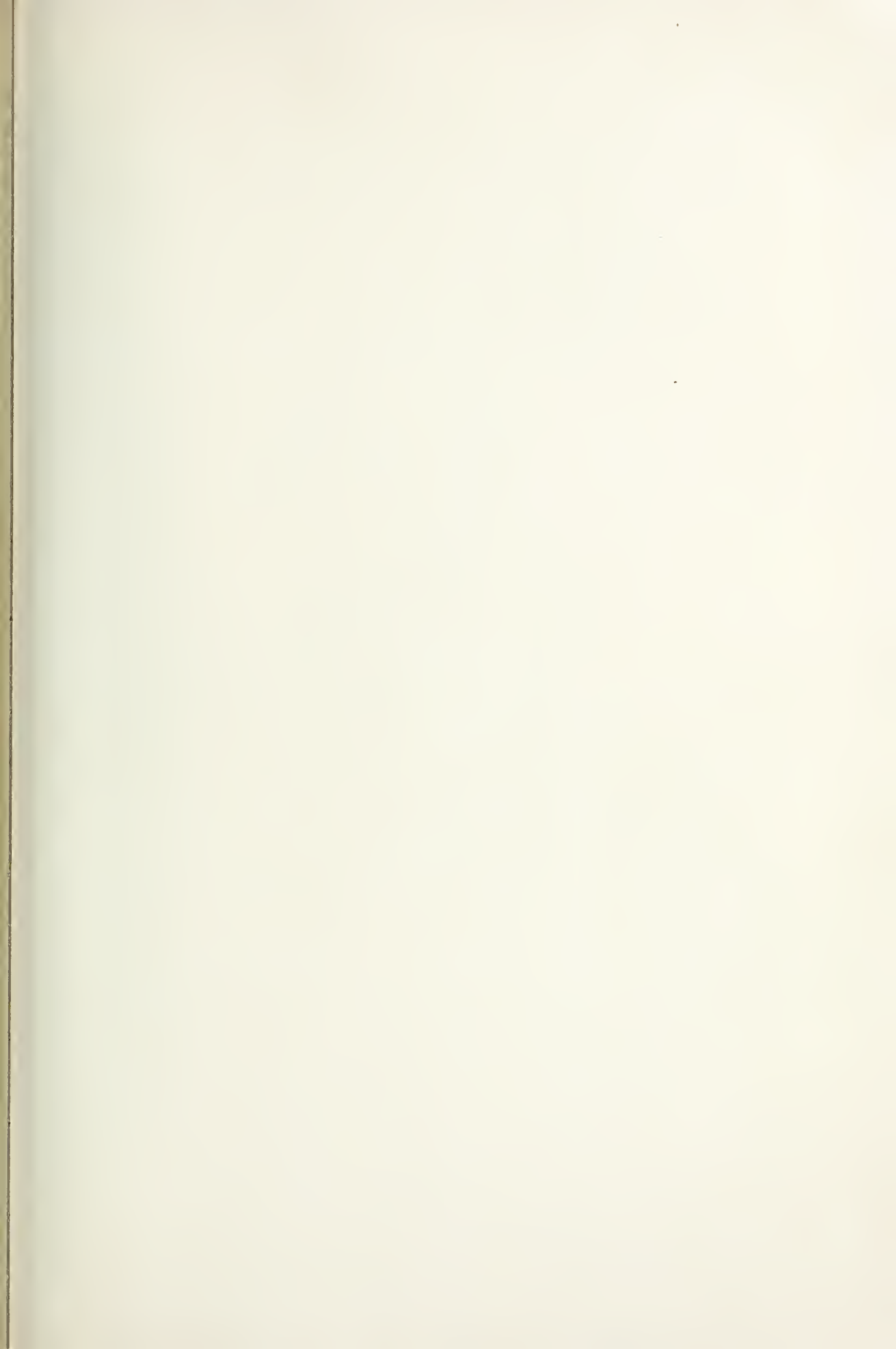
Owing to irregularities in the ground the lines of the two front brigades were crowded together at the center, and when they reached the ground where Price's brigade was posted in line, the Sixth and part of the Second on the left of Hanson's brigade were entirely

crowded out by the river; whereupon these troops waded through it and commenced the ascent of the opposite bank. The line moving rapidly forward came upon Drury's battery, under command of Lieut. Livingston, supported by the Eighth Kentucky and the Fifty-first Ohio, which gave it shell and canister as fast as possible, but, finding that with all his efforts to break the line it continued to advance, he limbered up and withdrew his battery across the river. As the guns withdrew Hanson's men charged with a cheer upon the supporting regiments, and here, for the first time, the Kentucky Brigade met Kentuckians in the shock of battle.

The Eighth Kentucky and the Fifty-first Ohio held their ground so well that Col. Gibson, in command of Adams' brigade, deemed it best to ride forward and consult with Gen. Hanson as to when the second line should move to his support. As he approached he saw the general fall from his horse with a mortal wound. His troops wavered, and Col. Gibson instantly gave the command to his brigade to move forward. The overpowering strength of Breckinridge's division soon forced Van Cleve's division, greatly depleted in numbers by the battles of the two preceding days, to fall back across the river.

Maj.-Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, commanding the left wing of Rosecrans' army, to which this division was attached, observed the retrograde movement from his position on the summit of the bluff on the opposite bank, and turning to his chief of artillery, Lieut.-Col. John Mendenhall, said, "Colonel, can't you do something for those fellows?" "I think so," said Mendenhall, and, turning his horse in the direction of his batteries, limbered up, and, without orders, soon had fifty-four pieces of artillery playing upon the Confederate line.

The deafening roar of artillery, the hoarse shouts of officers, the shrieks of the wounded, and the fall of branches torn from trees by the hissing shells, formed a scene of wild confusion that once witnessed can never be forgotten. There was but one course to pursue, and that was to retreat. The north bank







GEN. BEN HARDIN HELM.

was lined with a superior force ready to receive them upon the points of their bayonets, men were being mowed down in swaths, the bodies of the wounded were torn to pieces by the iron hail that nothing could withstand, and reluctantly, yet in verification of his own prediction, Gen. Breckinridge gave the order to retreat. Meantime Col. John F. Miller, commanding a brigade in Gen. Negley's division, had crossed the river on the right of Breckinridge's line, and, followed by the division of Gen. Jeff. C. Davis and other troops, opened fire upon the retreating Confederates. The pursuit continued until dark, and the field was won by the Union troops. Murfreesboro was evacuated on the 3d, and the Army of the Cumberland moved in on the following day.

At the battle of Chickamauga the Kentucky brigade, under command of Brig.-Gen. Ben Hardin Helm, on the morning of September 29, 1863, occupied the left of Gen. Breckinridge's division, which division held the extreme right of Bragg's line of battle. Stovall's brigade was in the center and Adams' on the right. The Kentucky Brigade, under command of Gen. Helm, was composed of the Second Kentucky, Col. J. W. Hewitt; the Fourth Kentucky, Col. Joseph P. Nuckols; the Sixth Kentucky, Col. J. H. Lewis; the Ninth Kentucky, Col. J. W. Caldwell, and the Forty-first Alabama, Col. M. S. Stansel.

The artillery brigade of this division comprised Cobb's, McCune's and Slocumb's batteries.

The position of the division was on the left of a country road leading from Reed's bridge and striking the Lafayette and Chattanooga Road at Widow Glen's House, at which point Gen. Rosecrans had his headquarters. Adams' brigade extended across this road. The country was wooded, and the front, well protected by a heavy skirmish line, was parallel with the Chattanooga and Lafayette Road. Opposed, was a continuous line of Union skirmishers in advance of the main line, the strength of which remained to be tested. The division formed a portion of the force under Longstreet, which pierced the right center of Rosecrans' line, and contributed to

the disaster which compelled the Army of the Cumberland to retire from the field.

Gen. Breckinridge, in his official report, refers as follows to the action of the Kentucky Brigade:

At 9:30 A. M., by order of Lieut.-Gen. Hill, I moved my division forward in search of the enemy. At the distance of 700 yards we came upon him in force, and the battle was opened by Helm's brigade with great fury. The Second and Ninth Kentucky, with three companies of the Forty-first Alabama, encountered the left of a line of breastworks before reaching the Chattanooga Road, and, though assailing them with great courage, were compelled to pause. From some cause the line on my left had not advanced simultaneously with my division, and in consequence, from the form of the enemy's works, these brave troops were, in addition to the fire in front, subjected to a severe enfilading fire from the left. Twice they renewed the assault with the utmost resolution, but were too weak to storm the position. The rest of Helm's brigade, in whose front there were no works, after a short but sharp engagement, routed a line of the enemy, pursued it across the Chattanooga road, and captured a section of artillery posted in the center of the road. This portion of the brigade was now brought under a heavy front and enfilading fire, and being separated from its left and without support, I ordered Col. Joseph H. Lewis, of the Sixth Kentucky, who succeeded to the command upon the fall of Gen. Helm, to withdraw the troops some 200 yards to the rear, reunite the brigade, and change his front slightly to meet the new order of things by throwing forward his right and retiring his left. The movement was made without panic or confusion.

This was one of the bloodiest encounters of the day. Here Gen. Helm, ever ready for action, and endeared to his command by his many virtues, received a mortal wound whilst in the heroic discharge of his duty. Col. J. W. Hewitt, of the Second Kentucky, was killed, acting gallantly at the head of his regiment. Capt. Aston Maderia, Capt. H. B. Rodgers and Capt. Gustavus Dedman, of the Second; Capt. P. V. Daniel, of the Ninth Kentucky, and many other officers and men, met their death before the enemy's works, while Col. Joseph R. Nuckols, of the Fourth Kentucky; Col. J. W. Caldwell, of the Ninth, and many more officers and men, were wounded.

The loss in Helm's brigade during the two days' battle of Chickamauga as reported by Col. Lewis were 63 killed and 408 wounded out of an aggregate present for duty of 1,413 officers and enlisted men.

In the assault upon the ridge held by portions of Crittenden's corps re-enforced later by Granger's reserves, the division of



Gen. William Preston bore a part. In the Third Brigade of this division commanded by Col. J. H. Kelly was the Fifth Kentucky under Col. H. Hawkins. Between 4 and 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th the brigade moved forward to the attack. Col. Kelly reports the attack as follows:

Finding that my ammunition was almost exhausted I sent to the rear for re-enforcements or a supply of ammunition. At this juncture I met Col. R. C. Trigg, commanding brigade, and informed him of the position of the enemy, asking him at the same time to co-operate with me in his capture. He agreed, and formed his line on my left with the intention of swinging the whole force to the right. Just as this movement was begun I was notified by one of his staff that the brigadier-general commanding division wished to see me, and I repaired at once to where he was stationed in the field. During this temporary absence the enemy surrendered to Col. Trigg. Immediately after the surrender a force, supposed to be of the enemy, opened a heavy fire, which created considerable confusion, in which a large number of the enemy were making off. Col. H. Hawkins, Fifth Kentucky, here captured 249 prisoners, including two colonels, one lieutenant-colonel and a number of company officers.

Pursuant to an act of the Confederate congress granting medals and badges of distinction as a reward for courage and good conduct on the field of battle the following soldiers of the Kentucky regiments were selected by their comrades in arms:

*Second Regiment of Infantry.*—Private, Benjamin F. Parker, Company A; Corporal, Mornix Virden, Company B; Private, John Conley, Company C; Corporal, Frank B. Buckner, Company D; Sergeant, William Frazee, Company E; Sergeant, Henry Fritz, Company F; Private, Louis H. Paradoe, Company G; Private, Oscar Hackley, Company I; Private, Frank Taylor, Company K.

*Fourth Regiment of Infantry.*—Lieutenant, B. T. Smith,\* Company A; Lieutenant, John L. Bell,\* Company K; Sergeant, R. H. Lindsey (color-bearer), Company D; Corporal, Ephraim R. Smith, Company A; Private, John McCreery, Company B; Private, John R. Brinkley, Company C; Private, Thomas H. Covington,\* Company D; Private, William J. Watkins, Company E; Private, Fredling Skeggs, Company F; Private, Alexander Smith, Company G; Private, William N. Ballard, Company H; Private, John H. Blanchard, Company I; Private, Mathias Garrett, Company K.

*Fifth Regiment of Infantry.*—Lieutenant-Colonel, George W. Connor; Adjutant, Thomas B. Cook; Captain, T. J. Henry, Company C;

Captain, Joseph Desha, Company I; Private, Frank H. Hasank, Company A; Private, Samuel South, Company B; Private, Richard Yarbrough, Company E; Sergeant, F. W. Campbell, Company F; Private, Winlock N. Shelton, Company K.

Companies C, D, and I declined making selections.

*Sixth Regiment of Infantry.*—Second Lieutenant, James H. Cole, Company G; Private, Marcellus S. Mathews, Company D; Private, H. Lowber, Company A; Private, Henry Haman, Company H; Private, John Hinton, Company B; Sergeant, F. P. Randle, Company I.

Companies C, E, and G declined making selections.

*Ninth Regiment of Infantry.*—Corporal, John L. Dunn (since dead), Company A; Corporal, John W. Carrell, Company D; Private, Norborn G. Gray, Company B; Corporal, Nathan Board (since dead), Company G; Private, Andrew J. Kirtley, Co. C. Other selections declined.

At Missionary Ridge the Kentucky brigade formed a part of the force with which Gen. Cleburne repulsed the persistent attacks made by Gen. Sherman on the right of Gen. Bragg's line. When finally the attack by the Army of the Cumberland swept the left and center from the crest of the ridge, Cleburne fell back, covering the rear of the retreating army on its march to Dalton. No casualties occurred in the brigade, but the loss of Cobb's battery, which was left with Bates' division when the brigade was detached and sent to the right, was a serious disaster. The two armies separated by Rocky Face Ridge went into winter quarters with little disposition on either side to disturb the peace of the other.

The forward movement of Sherman's army in May called the Kentucky Brigade into action. It was stationed to the right of Buzzard Roost Gap, and, while the Fourth Corps occupied the opposite slope, the brigade moved about from point to point, skirmishing and sharpshooting, until the night of the 12th of May, when it marched to Resaca and took part in the battle on the 15th. The brigade suffered a loss of forty in killed and wounded during this battle, having borne the brunt of the attack upon Bates' division. At New Hope Church, on the 27th, Gen. Lewis, in command of two regiments of his brigade, supported by two Tennessee regiments, charged a heavy line of Union skirmishers on the right of the Atlanta road and defeated

\*Killed in action.

them with slight loss. On the following day the Kentuckians made a desperate charge, in which many of the most gallant officers and soldiers in the command were killed, while a large number of wounded were taken prisoners.

On the 20th of June, in front of Kenesaw, an attack was made upon the line occupied by Gens. Lewis and Gist, which resulted in driving them back, when both commanders made a counter charge to recapture the works, but failed to carry them. The brigade participated in the fight at Peachtree Creek, but met its severest loss on the 22d of July, when 135 of its best and bravest men were killed and wounded. The brigade was constantly on duty in the various battles and skirmishes between the contending forces until the last of August, when Sherman's movement around Atlanta caused Bates' division to be ordered to East Point. The Kentucky Brigade was detached and sent to Jonesboro, where it participated in the attack and bloody repulse of Hood's army, on the 30th of August. In this action the loss in the brigade was severe in killed, wounded and missing. On the 1st of September, the brigade suffered a loss of 200 in prisoners, and on the next day formed a part of the line drawn up by Gen. Hood at Lovejoy's Station, which Sherman declined to attack.

The campaign had been very severe upon the Army of the Tennessee, and probably few brigades suffered heavier losses in killed, wounded and missing than the Kentucky Brigade. The 5,000 with which the regiments of the brigade entered the service, had dwindled to 120 officers and 1,120 enlisted men in May, 1864. The Atlanta campaign closed with but 278 men in the ranks.

In conformity with an often expressed wish by the men of the brigade, an order was

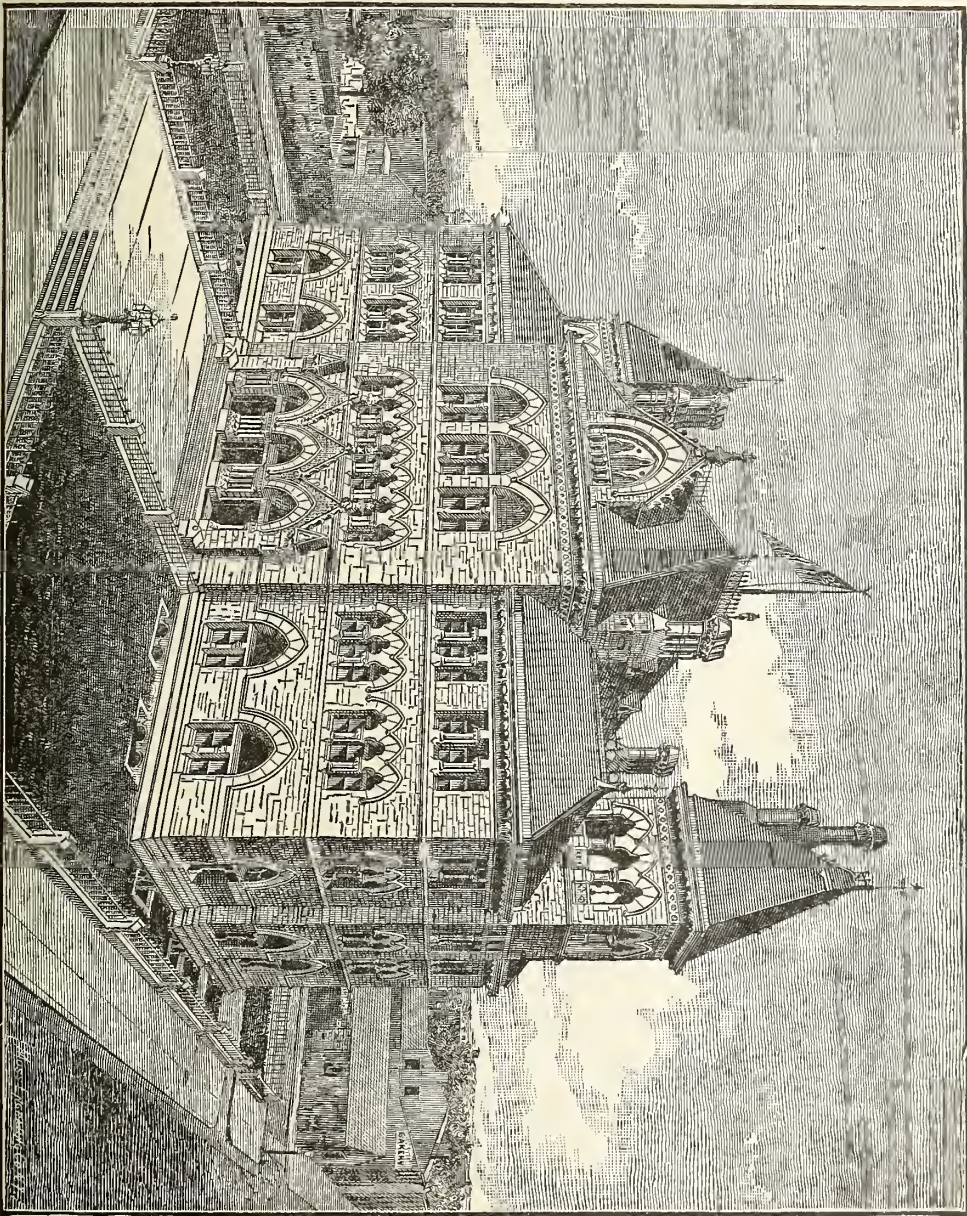
issued at department headquarters authorizing Gen. Lewis to mount his brigade, and, in accordance with this order, the command marched to Barnesville, where 200 horses were obtained. The brigade began at once to increase in numbers; 200 captured at Jonesboro were exchanged and joined the brigade; wounded men came hobbling into camp and by the 19th the aggregate swelled to about 900, 200 of whom, however, were never mounted. The next two months were spent in constant scouting, and on the advance of Sherman's army in November, the brigade joined Gen. Wheeler in harassing the army of Gen. Sherman, as, under the lead of the great commander, it marched down to the sea.

At Savannah the brigade was dismounted by order of Gen. Hardee and placed in the works, where spurs and sabers were thrown aside, and, with their trusty Enfields, the men resumed their infantry tactics. On the evacuation of the city the brigade was again mounted, and performed arduous service in South Carolina until the surrender of the two main armies of Lee and Johnston.

Edward Porter Thompson, from whose interesting "History of the First Kentucky Brigade," much of the foregoing sketch has been compiled, says: "After it was definitely ascertained that the armies under Lee and Johnston had surrendered, Gen. Lewis proceeded to Washington, Ga., where he was met by Gen. Wilson's provost-marshal, prepared to receive surrender of such troops as should report at that point. The arms were laid by on the afternoon of Saturday, May 6, 1865. Paroles were received, the survivors of many trials and many conflicts separated, and the First Kentucky Brigade as an organization was no more."

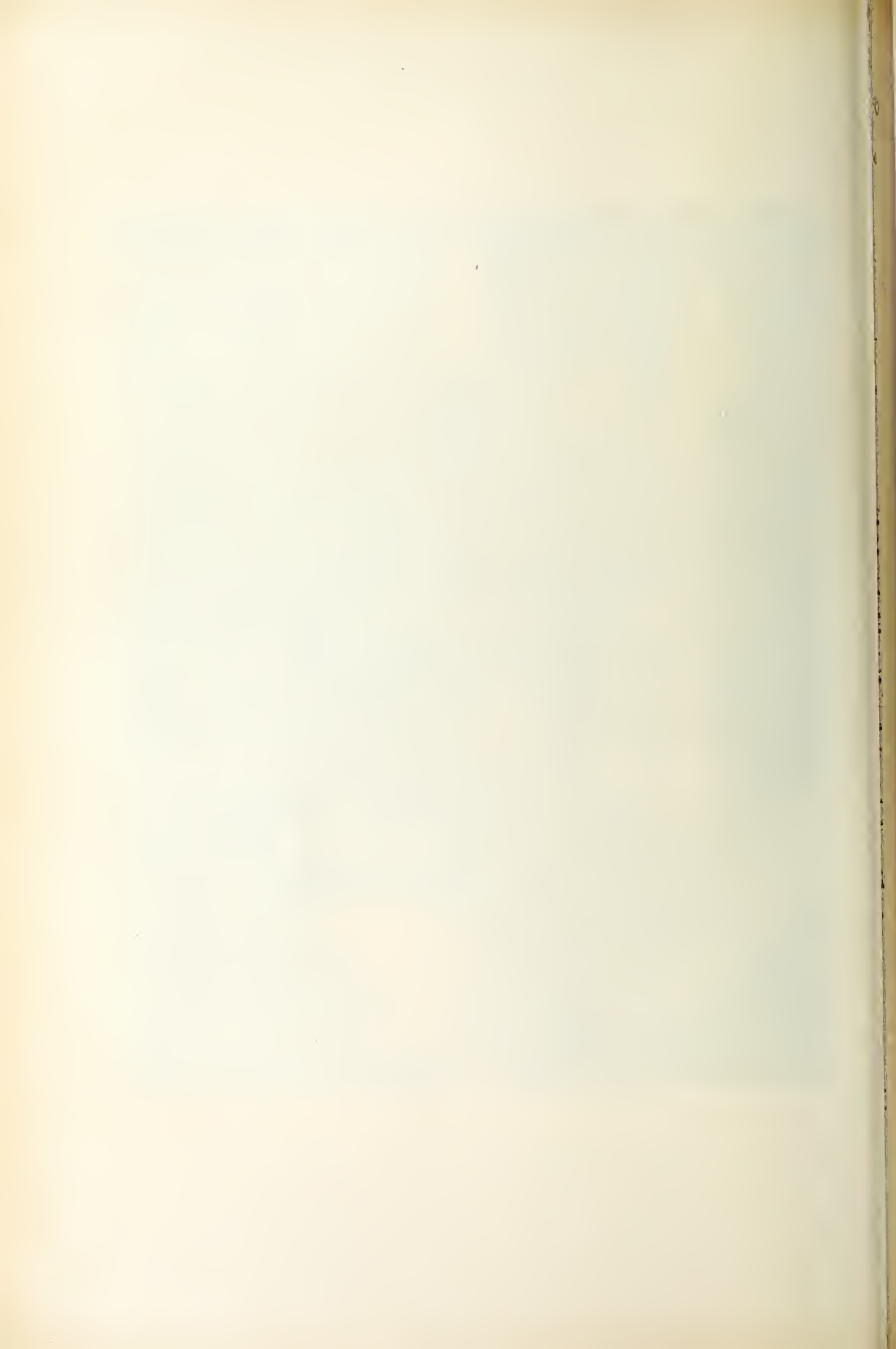






CUSTOM HOUSE, COVINGTON, KY.





## CHAPTER XIX.

## PEACE PROBLEMS, RECONSTRUCTION, ETC., ETC.

THE surrender at Appomattox was the beginning of the end, and the surrender of Gen. Johnston, which followed shortly after, virtually closed the war. The dawn of peace found Kentucky in a less deplorable condition than most of the Southern States. Affairs here, however, were bad enough. The State was overrun with guerrillas, whose depredations were confined to no particular class of victims, but who preyed upon all coming in their way with the same relentless cruelty. These robber bands were independent of any military organization, and acknowledged allegiance to neither Federal nor Confederate government. Many of them had never seen regular military service, but had banded together for the purposes of pillage and the gratification of revenge upon actual or imagined enemies. Toward the close of 1864, there was scarcely a county in Kentucky wholly free from their predatory incursions, and to such an extent did they carry their outrages, as to evoke summary action on the part of the State government, and arouse in the army a bitter spirit of revenge. Known guerrillas captured by regular soldiers, in a majority of cases, met with a short shrift. If honest soldiers were sometimes mistaken for these outlaws, and caused to suffer as such, it was one of the misfortunes of war, and directly attributable to guerrilla indignities. The condition of the State at that time may be compared with that which came with the "Thirty years' war in Germany," and the latter stages of the war between king and parliament in England. The ravages of these outlaw bands continued until the establishment of peace. But with the final suppression of guerrilla warfare, the general state of society still was

anything but tranquil. Says a writer of that period:

By the 1st of July, 1865, the State was so secured in its position that with perfect safety the Federal troops could have been withdrawn, and the civil government left to go its appointed way. This was, unhappily, not to be. The armies came home, and went again to their fields and firesides, or, where these were no more, began again to create for themselves places in the world. There were no better and more peaceful citizens than the veterans of the two armies, and no relations were ever more friendly than those between the men who learned to respect each other's manliness in a war that tried them well. Yet it suited the purposes of a political body that had fattened on the system of passes and permits, and the other profitable complications of the civil war, to maintain in time of peace a system that had its only justification in the hard conditions of war, if it can find any justification at all.

If Lincoln had survived, we may well believe that his admirable good sense, which enabled him to help his native State wherever he could see her trouble, would have removed these barriers to the tide of peace and good will that came like a flood upon the people. His death and his replacement by a cheap and small-minded man brought on the last and most painful stage of the struggle, that in which a disarmed and war-worn people were driven to fight for the elementary rights of good government against the tyrannous exactions of a political junta which was insensible to the nobility of the victory.

Fortunately for Kentucky it was not possible for the party in power to sink the State to the depths of degradation into which all the rebellious States were at once plunged. There was no valid pretense at hand for overthrowing the machinery of the State government, though there was every evidence of a desire to do so. Her sufferings were trifling compared with those of the States in that hell on earth, the reconstructed South; still, as we shall see, even Kentucky had a time of purgatorial existence, which delayed the period of quiet, and left a mass of painful memories that will hardly ever be forgotten.

The August election of 1865 showed something of the existing state of affairs. The election was for congressmen, members



of the legislature and State treasurer. To the latter office James H. Garrard was elected over his opponent, William L. Neale, by a small majority. Garrard represented the Conservative party, and Neale the Radical party. Five Conservative and four Radical members of congress were elected; twenty Conservatives and eighteen Radicals were elected to the State senate, and sixty Conservatives and forty Radicals to the house of representatives. There was "very serious interference in many counties with the election by the military. In some cases soldiers prevented voters from going near the polls, and in others arrested and took them off to prison. In Lexington 'citizens stood in front of the polls, and indicated to the soldiers those who were not entitled to vote, and all thus pointed out were not allowed to present themselves to the judges,' so telegraphed the sheriff, W. W. Dowden, to Gov. Bramlette. Negro soldiers were sent as guardians of the polls in several precincts in Mercer County. \* \* \*

In Campbell County the board of contested elections decided that on August 7th 'there was such an interference at the different voting places, by armed soldiers, who so governed and controlled the elections as to render it invalid, null and void,' they judged Thomas Jones, the incumbent, not lawfully elected clerk of the circuit court, and declared the office vacant. \* \* \*

The grand jury of Powell County indicted Henry C. Lilly, senator-elect, and John N. B. Hardwick, county judge, for obstructing the freedom of elections."\*

The vote for State treasurer stood: for Mr. Garrard, the Conservative candidate, 42,187 to 42,082 for the Radical candidate, a vote, the smallness of which shows that the ex-Confederate element did not vote. Interference with elections were not the only indignities the people of the State suffered. Nearly every form of civil life was more or less disturbed. An example is found in the case of Rev. Lorenzo D. Huston, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) in Newport. He was imprisoned because he

had opposed the proposition of the Kentucky conference withdrawing from the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in order to join the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States. He was detained in confinement until October, 1865, without trial, and was finally liberated by order of Gen. Grant, "requiring his immediate and unconditional release." The war was over and peace established, but martial law still prevailed in Kentucky. "Every petty officer commanding a post," says a writer, "had summary jurisdiction over the persons of the people, which he could exercise to gratify private malice or to increase his sense of personal importance." The long continuation of martial law in Kentucky is thus explained in the political history of that stormy time:

The Republican party secured substantial control of the other border States, while Kentucky, though she had been the only one of the slaveholding States that had shown a very decided loyalty to the Federal cause, had eluded all efforts of the Republican leaders to cajole or coerce her into its fold. They chose to assume that Kentucky was at this time disloyal, hostility to their party and disloyalty being then, to their minds, synonymous terms. At this time the Republican party was principally in the control of men who had no knowledge of the war, no sympathy with its sufferings or its nobler emotions. They had received great political, and often great pecuniary, profit from its events. Unhesitatingly they stigmatized as disloyal the commonwealth which had given as large a share of its life and treasure to maintain the Union as any other State, which had borne patiently and unflinchingly the most grievous burdens of the struggle, and had in fact clung more closely to the traditions of the Union than any other part of the country.

All this is quite true. While Kentucky was not desolated like some of the more extreme southern States, yet lying as it did, on the dividing line between North and South, it was exposed to the fire of both sides, and suffered from the indignities of both armies. Not the least of its troubles and perils were in the numerous raids made through every part of the State, as already noticed, by the squads of guerrillas who claimed to belong either to the Federal or Confederate cause, but, who, in reality, were only robbers and freebooters, subject to no

\*Collins' History, Vol. I, p. 163.

ilitary laws or control. Both governments isowned these lawless gangs, but that did not put a stop to their outrages, which were perpetrated almost daily during the last year or two of the war.

The Freedman's Bureau, one of the most offensive engines of reconstruction to the white people of Kentucky, and of the whole South, and, as it eventually proved, a curse to the colored people, developed new evils, and that too, of a most exasperating type. There never was any necessity for the Freedman's Bureau in Kentucky, however much its operation, may have been needed in those States that had been in rebellion. Its organization here was but another of the indignities heaped upon a loyal State that "had given as large a share of its life and treasure to maintain the Union as any other State." Its first indignity was committed under a recent act of congress, which provided that the wives and children of negro soldiers should be free. As this was prior to the adoption of the constitutional amendments upon the subject of slavery, or the freedom of the slaves, its gross injustice is seen at a glance—the injustice of depriving people of their property without due process of law. The families of Kentucky colored soldiers comprised thousands of women and children, and the Freedman's Bureau undertook to compel their owners to pay them wages for all the time that had elapsed since the enlistment of their fathers and husbands. Of course this brought confusion, and produced serious difficulties; it caused numerous suits to be filed against slave owners, and entailed upon them endless annoyances. The Hon. Garrett Davis, United States senator from Kentucky, and one of the most unconditional and unswerving Union men of the State during the war, was the first victim of this species of prosecution. A suit was brought against him for wages of former slaves, and many other suits of a similar character were instituted against other citizens of the commonwealth. These suits, however, amounted to nothing, except to still further exasperate the people, and indeed, this seems to have been the original intention of them. The

following upon negro testimony in the courts is to the point:

The last important problem left by the war was the question of negro testimony in the courts. The old slavery laws of Kentucky limited the testimony of the negro in many ways; white men could not be convicted of grave crime by their evidence. These laws should have been at once repealed, and it is to the discredit of the State that they remained upon the statute books until 1872. There is, however, some excuse for this delay. The Freedman's Bureau had constituted itself the keepers of the whole negro population, and had in an unfortunate way removed them from the control of the ordinary civil law of the State. To the appeal for the abrogation of the statute the people answered: "Do away with this interference with the negroes, and we will give them equal position before the law." When, in 1872, the end of this system of supervision of the negro population by the Freedman's Bureau was abandoned, the resistance to the complete assimilation of the negro with the white race in all matters of the law came about. The negro has been found to be a very trustworthy witness, and none regret his full admission to the courts.

The negro, it is an indisputable fact, was the great question involved in the civil war. His emancipation from slavery entailed a heavy pecuniary loss to the people of the State, and yet, when his freedom was brought about, society felt the relief of a patient, whose life is saved at the expense of a limb. Slavery had become somewhat unprofitable, and was yearly growing more so, to an extent more marked in Kentucky than in the far South. The institution was hedged about by humanizing conditions and laws of Kentucky that were unknown in the cotton and sugar-growing States; black labor, considering the total capital involved and the small returns received, was growing unprofitable in a rapid ratio, while the vast irreducible expense of the institution, the growing impoverished condition of the land, and its utter lack of adaptability to other pursuits, rendered ruin near and inevitable. And so, while the opposition to emancipation was unanimous and determined, when once it was effected the relief was immediately apparent and rejoiced in. The agricultural system has been greatly improved under the new order of things, farm labor is more profitable, the dominant class is more enterprising and vigorous, and the old slave caste is now broken down and the



last vestiges of it fast disappearing. The conditions effected by this radical change have been met with a creditable spirit by both races. Freedom found the negroes destitute of everything but the meager clothing in their possession. A number anticipated the final abolition of slavery in the border States by going into the army, but those who remained found themselves wholly improvident and without resources. In this condition the greatest misery might have followed had the masters cherished a vindictive spirit. A few of the liberated slaves tried their new found wings only to fail utterly in their first flight, and begged to be taken back on the old place. It is undoubtedly true that the physical condition of the freedmen for the first year or two was worse than during the period of slavery (and with many it is still worse), but the masters, partly through sympathy and partly because they needed them, allowed their former slaves to remain. There was no necessity for so great a number, however, and many found it to their interest to emigrate to Kansas and elsewhere. Those who remained found ready employment and considerate treatment generally. Many are doing well, making a good living and educating their children, many are doing but little better than under the old *regime*, and some are doing worse.

The freeing of a large number of ignorant negroes, whose whole training taught them to lie, pilfer, to live improvidently and unchaste, has imposed upon society a heavy burden of responsibility. Twenty years have passed since the war which set them free, but society has not yet adjusted itself completely to the new order of things. Neither race adequately appreciate the full extent of the change that has been wrought, and the responsibilities which it imposes upon each. The negroes, trained to an utter disregard of personal character in themselves, have not yet learned that this must now be cultivated. The whites fail in the same respect. Negroes convicted of felony lose caste with neither race, and find employment at the hands of the whites as readily as the honest black. Women notoriously unchaste are employed

by the whites as cooks or servants, and lose no standing in colored society. This fatal lack of self-respect is encouraged by the heedless action of the whites, and so long as it exists is a menace against society, and successful hindrance to the elevation of the race. Education to such a people is a dangerous power, and religion a sham, and yet nothing but education, liberal, practical education, will ever raise the colored people to the standard of respectable citizenship. It is the duty of every good citizen to heartily co-operate with well-directed effort to this end, and with better methods, backed by such co-operation, much may be done for the betterment of this helpless ward of the nation.

The indignities perpetrated upon the people by the Freedman's Bureau, as might naturally have been expected, produced results inimical to good order. It bred a spirit of lawlessness that culminated in 1866 in the disturbances of the Ku Klux Klan. This secret tribunal, whose name became as terrible almost as that of the Spanish Inquisition or the Holy Vehme of Germany in the middle ages, was common to the whole South, but its acts were fewer and less serious in Kentucky. The motives for its organization and the results of its existence, have been discussed by a prominent author,\* as follows:

The sudden closing of the war left a considerable amount of social rubbish within the State, both white and black. The negroes, as a rule, behaved exceedingly well in their unaccustomed condition, accepting their new lot of citizenship in an excellent spirit; but a portion of them, especially those who had been employed in the army as teamsters and as camp servants, proved very troublesome. Nearly the whole of this part of the negro people had gathered into small separate settlements away from their original homes, and were under the influence of a bad class of white leaders. This demoralized condition of the lower classes of blacks led to a large amount of stealing; no farmer could keep his sheep or pigs from their furtive hands; usually the thieving was not accompanied by violence, but in some cases the trouble was more serious. In many counties the negroes organized themselves into marauding bands; there were a number of outrages upon women, an offense that had always been particularly abhorrent to the people of Kentucky, and which they have always visited with condign punishment when the perpetrators could be found. In

\*American Commonwealths, p. 369.

beginning, at least in Kentucky, the Ku Klux Klan was probably designed to restrain and punish these transgressions. It doubtless did in the outset certain rude acts of justice. Its cheap mystic accompaniments were certainly well designed to strike terror to the superstitious blacks. When it had accomplished the little good that was possible to a system so fundamentally evil, it fell into the hands of the most wretched class of the population, the very element it was designed to overthrow, and became a great curse to society. For a time the organization defied the civil law; the secrecy of its action and the terrorism exercised on witnesses, made it impossible to apply adequate punishment through the courts.

Beginning in 1866, this evil system continued in intermittent action until 1873. Like most social evils in a vigorous State, this system finally brought about its own remedy. For years the country folk tolerated the outrages for the profit they brought to them; their pigs were safer even if the common people of the realm did suffer a bit. The old dislike of lawlessness, common to well organized societies, was lessened by the long time of strife. For several years the Ku Klux vented its outrages upon the essentially criminal class; the rough justice of many of their actions made the mass of the people pardon their worst crimes. Finally, there came a general sense that they were going too far, and that they should no longer be tolerated. When this feeling became general they were speedily crushed out. With the Ku Klux disappeared the last remnant of the greater ills that came in the train of the war. Regarding, then, the Ku Klux system and the Freedmen's Bureau as the closing evils of the war, we may accept 1873 as the last year of that great revolution which began in 1860, moved swiftly to the state of war, raged for four years with a fury of thought, words and actions unequaled in any struggle of the race, and then for eight years left its wreckage to trouble men weary with the nobler part of their great labor.

That part of the development of Kentucky, which can be in any proper sense termed historic, ended in 1873 with the sweeping away of the last cloud left by the war; all the rest of its life is still in the process of evolution. Before we turn to consider the present condition of the State, let us bring before our minds the outline of these years of rapid change through which this people had just passed. In 1860, when, after infinite debate, Kentucky slowly came to the remarkable resolution that she would bar her doors to the great storm that was about to move heaven and earth about her, the commonwealth was still a mediæval society in all its essential qualities; the institution of slavery had acted like a pickle to preserve unchanged much of the notions that belonged in other centuries of the race's life. Her very resolution to stand aloof in a war in which the nineteenth century fought against the seventeenth, shows that the people, despite an

intense interest in politics, had not come to a point of view whence they could see where their social life stood in the world. They were as much out of the world of their day as if they had been shut in on every side by mountain heights; a clean-blooded, land-loving, fairly thrifty lot, they had, through their activities, not suffered any of the degradation that comes to other races from their connection with slaves.

Kentucky suffered less, as stated, than her sister States of the south, but the "shock to the commonwealth, arising from the conjoined loss of life and property, defies expression in words, nor do the ordinary accidents of society supply any analogy." Her loss of property was proportionately as great as the loss of life among her soldiers. In 1860 the slave property of Kentucky was estimated at over \$100,000,000. This, in 1865, had disappeared, and other elements of wealth had greatly diminished. Describing the condition of the State at the close of the war, it was said that, "although the war as carried on in Kentucky had been, on the whole, a singularly decent struggle, the actual destruction of property was very large. Nearly all the live stock was swept away. A considerable part of the houses had been burned; fences were gone, and the forest, quick to recover its grasp on the rich soil, had changed vast districts of fertile fields into thickets that had to be re-won to the plow. \* \* \* \* \*

When a city is burned its men remain; a commercial crisis destroys neither the men nor the productive power of a State; a pestilence leaves the real property untouched; but the destruction of a long continued civil war is a thing by itself combining all the evils which an ordinary society can suffer, and adds to those a new element of ruin in the overthrow of the precious trust in civil government."

After the close of the war political parties in Kentucky were reorganized on new lines. The extreme to which the "civil rights" had been carried, disgust at the emancipation of the slaves, the irritation resulting from the acts of the Freedmen's Bureau, and other proceedings "hostile to the governmental integrity of the State," all combined



to make Kentucky an overwhelmingly Democratic State. Pertinent to the subject is the following:

Perhaps the most satisfactory feature in the close of the civil war was the really quick restoration of the civil order in the State and the perfect reunion of the divided people. The prompt and complete abrogation of the severe penalties laid upon the Confederate soldiers and sympathizers, greatly contributed to this speedy return to the conditions of peace. In this course the people of Kentucky set an excellent but unheeded example to the Federal government. By this action they avoided all risks of having a large part of their citizens parted in spirit from the life and work of the commonwealth. This reconciliation was helped by the fact that both Federals and Confederates had played a manly part in the struggle. Not only had the soldiers in both parties shown themselves to be brave and manly men in the field, but the Kentucky troops on both sides had done all in their power to make war decent and honorable, and to lighten its burdens on non-combatants. They could wear their laurels and live their lives together without shame. What was left of the 40,000 who went away into the southern service, came back to their place in the State sadder and wiser men, yet the better citizens for their dearly bought experience. We search in vain for any evidence of hatred or even dislike among these men who were lately in arms against each other. In all the walks of life, in the courts and in the legislature, as well as in the relations of kindred, we find these old enemies going together to their work of repairing the ruin that war had brought on the State—fighting at times their battles over again in good-natured talk, but each dearer to the other for the fearful parting of the war.

The session of the legislature of 1865-66 repealed the laws that disfranchised Confederate soldiers. An act had been passed, during the war, consigning to the penitentiary those Confederate soldiers who had invaded the State. This act was repealed by a vote of twenty-one to fifteen in the senate, and sixty-two to thirty-three in the house. By a similar vote the expatriation act was repealed, as were all other laws which had been passed to "disqualify or punish persons for sympathy with the rebellion." The returned Confederate soldiers comprised a large and valuable portion of the male population of the State, and their restoration to citizenship was an act of wisdom on the part of the legislature. "The dangers arising from the animosities of the war," says one

versed in the politics of the time, "were at once done away with, and the breaches that were made in the society of the rebellious States by the continued disfranchisement of its citizens were avoided. It was an absolutely safe measure, considered even from the point of view of Federal politics. The experience of the Confederate soldiers in the years gone by had destroyed all desire of resistance to the Federal authority. It is doubtful if these men had been polled after their return to Kentucky whether they would have voted for a peaceable secession of the Confederate States. The problem of secession had been worked out to the end; the result was generally accepted by the soldiers of the Confederacy as final. To have maintained the isolation of these returned Confederates would have been an act of political madness, and in receiving them in friendliness, the State of Kentucky did an act that unfortunately was not imitated by the Federal government. When, in the centuries to come, the historian looks over the graves of all those who took part in the civil war, and sees their acts cleared of the cloud of prejudice that even now envelops them, we must believe that these acts of reconciliation will stand forth as the noblest features in the history of this commonwealth. He will see in them the best possible evidence of the civil strength, of the State making and State preserving power, of this people. He will certainly note the fact that the Union party in a border State, where passions were infuriated in the presence of immediate war, had a higher element of reason in their action than was found in the whole Federal Union, the greater and dominant part of which saw nothing of war except in the mind's eye."

At the August election in 1867 there were three tickets presented to the voters of the commonwealth, viz.: "Democratic," "Conservative Union," and "Union" or "Republican." John L. Helm, the Democratic candidate for governor, and John W. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor, were elected, by an overwhelming majority, over William B. Kinkead and Harrison Taylor,

conservative Union, and Sidney M. Barnes and T. Baker, Union Republican. John Rodman, Democrat, was elected attorney-general over Gen. John M. Harlan (now of the Supreme Court of the United States) and Col. John Mason Brown; Col. D. Howard Smith, Democrat, was elected auditor, over Col. J. J. Hurtt and Silas Adams; James W. Tate, Democrat, was elected treasurer over Alfred Allen and M. J. Roark; James A. Dawson, Democrat, was elected register of the land office over Col. J. J. Craddock and J. M. Fidler; Z. F. Smith, Democrat, was elected superintendent of public instruction over Benjamin M. Harney and Rev. Daniel Stevenson. The legislature bore the following complexion: Senate, twenty-eight Democrats, three Union Democrats, and seven Union Republicans; house of representatives, eighty-five Democrats, five Union Democrats, and ten Union Republicans. This shows pretty conclusively how strongly Democratic the State had become under the policy of reconstruction. Gov. Helm was lying very ill at his home in Elizabethtown when the election came off. He never recovered, but died on the 8th of September following. He had been inaugurated governor on the 3d, at Elizabethtown, being too ill to go to Frankfort. Lieut.-Gov. Stevenson was inaugurated governor, as the successor of Mr. Helm, on the 13th of September. In August, 1868, Mr. Stevenson was duly elected governor, a special election having been called, over R. T. Baker, receiving 115,560 votes, to 26,605 for Baker, Republican.

In the presidential election this year Horatio Seymour carried Kentucky by a vote of 115,889 to 39,566 for Gen. U. S. Grant, the Republican candidate. Gen. Grant was elected president by a majority of 134 electoral votes. Nine Democratic congressmen were elected in Kentucky. The Eighth Congressional District gave Gen. Grant 1,259 popular majority, but notwithstanding elected a democratic congressman. Four years later (1872), the presidential candidates were Horace Greeley and Gen. Grant, with a fifth wheel to the political wagon, entitled Charles O'Connor. The vote of Kentucky was as follows: Horace Greeley, nominee of the Democratic party,

100,212; Gen. Grant, Republican, 88,816; Charles O'Connor, Bourbon Democrat, 2,374; Greeley over Grant, 11,396 majority. A full Democratic delegation was elected to congress. Two years previously (in 1870), Kentucky elected a Democratic delegation to congress. With the exception of one or two districts, Kentucky has ever since elected Democrats to congress; also to State offices.

In the State election of 1871, Preston H. Leslie, the Democratic candidate, was elected governor over Gen. John M. Harlan, by a vote of 126,455 to 89,299. By similar majorities the Democrats elected John Rodman, attorney-general; D. Howard Smith, auditor; James W. Tate, treasurer; J. A. Grant, register of the land office; Rev. H. A. M. Henderson, superintendent of public instruction. To the State senate thirty-five Democrats and three Republicans were elected, and eighty-two Democrats and eighteen Republicans to the house of representatives. In 1875 James B. McCreery was elected governor by the Democrats; in 1879, Dr. Luke P. Blackburn was elected governor, and in 1883, J. Proctor Knott, the present executive, was elected by the usual Democratic majority.

The presidential election of 1876 will long be remembered in Kentucky, as well as in national history. The cry of fraud attaching to it, and the excitement aroused, will not be forgotten for generations to come. From a Democratic standpoint, the popular vote stood: Samuel J. Tilden, 4,300,590; Rutherford B. Hayes, 4,036,298, a popular Democratic majority of 264,292. The elections of South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida were contested, and in the final settlement of the contest the result arrived at presented some novel facts, the most important of which were majorities for the Republican national ticket, and for the Democratic State ticket. Years hence it may be a matter of interest to know how this (notorious) election was finally settled. As both parties claimed South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida, congress passed an act providing for an electoral commission to pass upon all matters in dispute, the decision to be final. This commission was composed of five sena-



tors, five representatives and five justices of the supreme court. The senate selected George F. Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen (Republicans), Allen G. Thurman and Thomas F. Bayard (Democrats). The house of representatives chose Eppa Hunton, Henry B. Payne, Josiah E. Abbott (Democrats), James A. Garfield and George F. Hoar (Republicans). Four justices of the supreme court designated by the act, were Nathan Clifford and Stephen J. Field (Democrats), and William Strong and Samuel F. Miller (Republicans). They chose as the fifth justice Joseph P. Bradley, a Republican. The natural choice would have been David Davis, but he had been elected a senator from Illinois only five days before. The commission divided in voting on the main issues on a party line, the eight Republicans overruling the seven Democrats, and the result was the admission of the Republican electoral votes from the States in contest and the seating of the Republican candidates.\*

As finally counted, the electoral vote was as follows: Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana—184 votes for Tilden and Hendricks. Main, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Nevada, California, Oregon—185 votes for Hayes and Wheeler, a majority of one electoral vote. Had the three States, South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, claimed for Tilden, been given him, he would have had a majority of thirty-nine votes in the electoral college.

The presidential campaign of 1880 placed four tickets before the voters of the country, viz.: James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur, Republicans; Gen. Winfield S. Hancock and William E. English, Democrats; James B. Weaver, Greenbacker; and Gen. Neal Dow, Prohibitionist. The vote in the

electoral college was 214 for Garfield and Arthur, and 155 for Hancock and English. In 1884 the Democratic party triumphed, and elected Grover Cleveland and Thomas A. Hendricks, president and vice-president, over James G. Blaine and John A. Logan, Republicans.

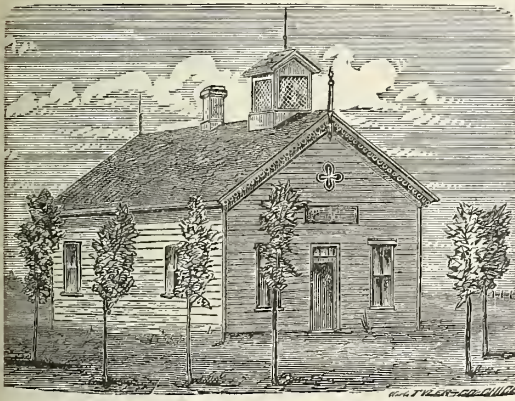
The progress of public education in Kentucky since the close of the war far exceeds that of any other period in the history of the State. But its system of public schools, as compared with those of the northern and western States, is still lamentably deficient. One reason for this has been the unfortunate pride of caste which prevailed among the southern people—to a greater extent prior to the war than now—and which led to the organization and support of hundreds of seminaries, academies, and other high grade schools. These educational institutions were established mainly by private enterprise, and for pecuniary advantages to the projectors. They have greatly retarded the growth of the public schools and the cause of public education, and the majority of them, though rejoicing in the high-sounding name of "colleges," are as incapable of giving the pupil a collegiate education as the ordinary graded school of a country village—more so than the graded public school of a northern or western village of 1,000 inhabitants. Since the war, however, the people are growing out of this foolish idea of caste, and it is to their credit that it is so. The late superintendent of public instruction, Rev. Mr. Henderson, very pertinently said:

Ten years ago, a man in the blue grass country, worth \$10,000, would as soon have thought of sending his children to the poor-house as to the public school. The public school was generally regarded as a charity, devised for the education of paupers, but not to be countenanced by the rich, save as a benefaction to the poor. The schools were common in the sense of low, vulgar and inferior. The very accent with which the adjective was pronounced, indicated the contempt in which men of means regarded it. But our citizens have now learned to regard it as common, in the sense of a community of interest, as the laws are common, the common law; as the State is common, the commonwealth, etc. Now the idea of conferring a benefit upon the indigent has "given place to the true one, namely, to prepare citizens for the intelligent exercise of their

\*History of Presidential Campaigns, by Edward Stanwood.

suffrages, and to protect society from the penalties of ignorance.

The public schools, form the true foundation of our educational system. Colleges and universities are proper in their place, and should be carefully fostered and liberally endowed. They are essential to a higher education, and we could no more dispense with them than with any other branch of education, or of the government. But the public schools, schools for the education of the masses, should be equally fostered. "With what scrupulous care," says a zealous friend of public education, "does England foster her great universities for the training of the sons of the nobility, for their places in the house of lords, in the army, navy and church. What, then, should be the character of citizenship in a country where every man is born a king and sovereign, heir to all the franchises and trusts of the State and repub-



MODERN COUNTRY SCHOOLHOUSE.

lic? An ignorant people can be governed, but only an intelligent and educated people can govern themselves."

The interest being manifested of late years, in the public schools, is ample proof of the intellectual development of the State, under the new order of things brought about by the war. Illustrative of their increasing popularity, is the following extract from the State superintendent's report, a few years ago:

The wealthiest counties are becoming the best friends of the public schools, and tax payers are voting levies upon themselves to improve their quality, and extend their terms. Half a million dollars are annually raised, by the election of the

people, to supplement the public bonus. Tasteful and comfortable schoolhouses are fast taking the places of those old shams and shames, in which the children of the poor erstwhile were corraled. Eighteen hundred have been built within the last eight years. A home supply of teachers, furnished from our best young men and women, are taking the place of impecunious tramps and shiftless natives. The system is no longer an infirmary for the lame and halt and feeble, incompetents to be provided for, no more are pensioned upon the bounty afforded by the school fund. It is not now a "stepping stone" to professions, a temporary expedient, accepted until something better turns up or is turned up. Men and women among us are choosing it for their life work, and emulating each other in their aspirations and achievements of a profession which confers honor, and whose prizes are to be coveted, and whose badges are to be worn with pride. Cities and towns vie with each other in maintaining graded schools better than our average western colleges, with their half-starved faculties. School examinations and teachers' institutes have become occasions looked forward to with anticipations of pleasure, and enjoyed as feasts of soul. Communities bid for these convocations, and rival each other in the tender of hospitalities to their members. At these sessions teachers take on power and inspiration for practical work, when they return to their school-rooms, loaded with valuable suggestions and methods. Discriminating patrons witness the exercises, to determine who among the instructors is best fitted for the post of district teacher. Citizens crowd to the polls to elect the officers of the system, and men are aspiring for the dignities of the trustees office. Aspirants for the county commissionership are as eager for its honors as candidates for county judgeships. Calls for the superintendent are loud and frequent from every part of the State.

He who fails to see these tokens of interest is wilfully and wantonly blind. These and other signs of the times argue that an auspicious period is at hand, when the benefits of education will crush out ignorance, and intelligence hold the ballots that fall in the nation's urn of fate. The importance of our common school system is apparent, when it is remembered that there are only 35,000 pupils in all the universities, colleges, seminaries and private academies of our State, while a quarter of a million of children flock to our 7,000 public schools. In half the counties no schools are taught but common schools. In some of our counties of wealth and refinement, the public schools have absorbed all private educational enterprises, because co-operative effort furnishes a superior quality of education. If our colleges decline in the number of matriculates, the cause is not to be found in diminished interest in education, but in the fact that our public schools are affording at home advantages formerly sought abroad.

This is but proof of the advance made by



the State in educational development since the close of the war. This intellectual advancement is still increasing and improving every year. And there is still room for further improvements. Education alone will stop the lawlessness that stalks abroad in some portions of the State. The refining influence of a good school upon the society of any neighborhood, hitherto without one, has never failed to show happy effects. But a few years ago official statistics showed that Kentucky had 40,000 white voters who could not read. Add to this the negro voters, estimated at 55,000, but few of whom can read, and the majority of whom are far more ignorant than the illiterate whites, and we have 95,000, nearly one-third of the entire electoral population of the State, who are "ignorant of the very means by which to acquaint themselves with the merits of the questions submitted for their decision at the polls." Let this mass of ignorance increase until it rises into a majority, and what will be the result? It requires no prophet to foretell the doom of the State in such an event. This ignorance must and will increase if left to itself, without State encouragement for its own improvement. Citizenship can only be improved, lawlessness lessened, and intemperance driven from the community by education, and the sooner the people awake to this fact, the better it will be for the credit and prosperity of the commonwealth. Competent legislation is required, and, if need be, a reorganization of the entire school system. "It is a singular phenomenon," says Mr. Collins, "of the history of the internal economy of our State for seventy years, that our main attempts at internal improvement and public education, at State expense, and under State superintendence, have been embarrassed or defeated, almost wholly by the misdirection and mismanagement of incompetent legislation." There is too much truth in this to gainsay. If the average legislator has not been criminally neglectful, he has certainly been lamentably indifferent to legislation for the benefit and improvement of public education.

The colored schools are increasing in im-

portance each year. It is highly commendable in the colored people that they evince so great an interest and enthusiasm in the cause of education, and proves that they are desirous of improving themselves, and of becoming good and respectable citizens. In some sections of the State they are taking really more interest in the public schools than the whites. Said Mr. Henderson, in one of his annual reports as State superintendent: "Their system has more than met the expectation of its projectors and friends, and is rapidly, by gratifying development, disappointing the prophesies and hopes of its enemies. The colored people are now taking hold of it with that enthusiasm and earnestness so characteristic of the race, when their interests are at stake, and their claims to notice recognized by authority. They are exhibiting a most commendable zeal in supplementing the fund, and are really doing more to make the most of the opportunities tendered them by the State, than the whites."

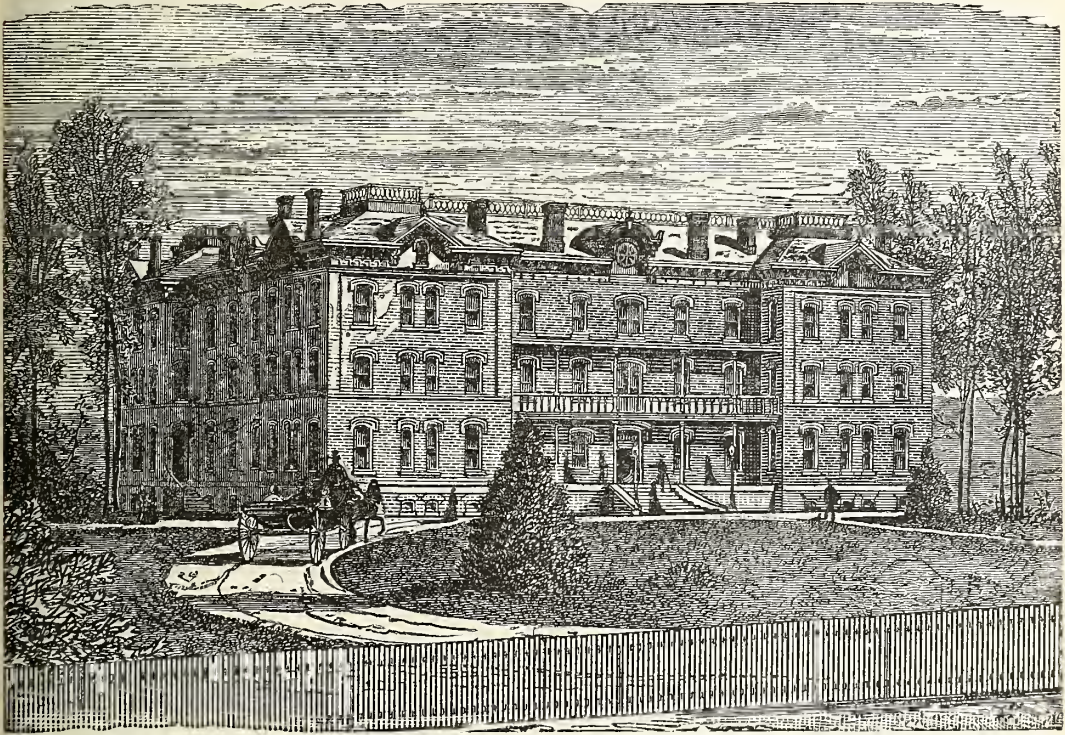
The colored people receive a school fund direct from the State, to which is added the taxes paid by themselves. In some localities they have built comfortable houses; in the city of Louisville, and in some of the other larger cities of the State, their school buildings compare favorably with those of the whites, and they are supplied with teachers well qualified for the stations they fill. A gratifying fact, in connection with the education of the colored people, is the interest in the matter, "manifested by representative white men throughout the State, and their earnest disapproval of the policy of bitter antagonism of those who still cherish hereditary prejudice, instead of rising to the level of an intelligence which respects the issues that the changed relations of this race have introduced into the policies of the State." The negroes are now all *freemen*, but their future, without education, would be little better than actual slavery. The older ones, who were brought up and educated to work, are rapidly passing away, while a new generation is coming on—reared without restraints, and to look upon work as one of the relics



of slavery. For these there is no hope but in education. The following may be a little severe, but is not wholly without truth:

The greatest crime of the century was the sudden enfranchisement of 4,000,000 of unlettered Africans. Those who perpetrated this outrage upon our republican institutions, did it in the face of all the social science they had propagated. The North had emphasized the doctrine, that "virtue and intelligence are essential to the perpetuity of the republic;" and yet, in an ill advised hour of heated passion, rendered hot by the fires of civil war, they made a horde of ignorant slaves the peers of their intelligent masters, and thus provided the condi-

origin back to 1855—a time when it required an indomitable will and unbounded courage to establish such a school in a slave-holding State. It may, in some degree, be termed an offshoot of Oberlin College, Ohio, as the first teachers, employed in the Berea School, William E. Lincoln and Otis B. Waters, were students who had been educated at that institution. It was the cause of much excitement throughout the surrounding country, and more or less mob violence was exercised against the zealous founders of the school,



LADIES' HALL—BEREA COLLEGE.

tion that prostrated the South, and subjected its people to the most destroying despotism that ever ground into the dust a free citizenship. The only indemnity for this stupendous wrong is their education at the national expense. To require the people they impoverished by this act of folly to bear the burden of their education, would be a continued piece of injustice, which no political casuistry can justify, no species of sophistry disguise, and no maudlin philanthropy dignify with a decent apology.

Berea College is a liberal educational institution located in Madison County, and is open to the education of the colored people on equal terms with the whites. It dates its

and also the church which had been established in the same vicinity. Rev. John G. Fee, who was the originator of the school, has been pastor of the church at Berea for nearly a third of a century, and is a native Kentuckian, received many indignities during his early ministrations in this and the adjoining counties, from the rough elements of society, spurred on by those who opposed "abolitionism."

The third teacher of the Berea school was Prof. J. A. R. Rogers. The second term of the school under his administration was opened in



September, 1859, with two additional teachers—John G. Hanson and his wife. It was during this term that the question of admitting colored pupils was discussed in the young men's literary society of the school. After considerable discussion it was decided that, "if any one made in God's image comes to get knowledge which will enable him to understand the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, he can not be rejected." This sentiment was obnoxious to the slave-holding families, and many of them withdrew their children from the school.

Efforts were made, in 1858, to transform the school into a college, by the adoption of a constitution, at a meeting held on September 7th, of that year, at the residence of Rev. Mr. Fee. The following clauses from the document will show the grand object of Berea College:

This college shall be under an influence strictly christian, and, as such, opposed to sectarianism, slave-holding, caste, and every other wrong institution or practice.

The object of this college shall be to furnish the facilities for a thorough education to all persons of good moral character, at the least possible expense to the same, and all the inducements and facilities for manual labor which can reasonably be supplied by the board of trustees shall be offered its students.

Many difficulties still remained to be surmounted by the friends of the institution, but they persevered. A tract of land containing something over a hundred acres was purchased for \$1,800, and Mr. Fee went east to raise funds for the college. But political influences disturbed its peace, and on the 23d of December, 1859, a "committee of safety" visited Berea, and delivered notice to some dozen of those most zealous in the school to leave the county within ten days. They petitioned the governor for protection, but he informed them he could not afford them protection, owing to the excitement caused by the John Brown raid in Virginia, which had just occurred. The families who were forced to leave the place numbered about forty persons. The war soon opened, and with the beginning of hostilities the institution closed temporarily.

In 1865 the school was reopened. A

charter for a college was obtained under a general law of the State, the board of trustees reorganized, and other lands were purchased. The admission of colored pupils caused considerable excitement, and half the white pupils deserted the institution. But their places were soon filled, and the requisite qualifications for admission into the institution still remained—"a good moral character." Temporary buildings for the accommodation of the increased attendance were erected in 1866-67. Howard Hall was erected in 1869 by the Freedman's Bureau at a cost of \$18,000. It is a three-story wood building with a tin roof. In 1870-71, "Ladies' Hall," was erected. It is a superb building, three stories high, built of brick, and has two fronts of 120 feet each. The Ladies' Hall at Oberlin, Ohio, was taken as a pattern, and "its excellencies, if possible, were improved, and its defects remedied." It is furnished with every modern convenience, and is a very model of excellence in every respect. "All other college buildings, including Howard Hall, Recitation Hall, Office Building, Grammar School, Intermediate School, Primary School, very good buildings, and the chapel, a very fine building, costing \$9,000, are situated in the college campus, consisting of two large and beautiful groves of forest trees embracing about forty-five acres. The larger grove, in which the buildings are, is on the high land, and the other in the plain, fifty feet below."

The college owns, besides the buildings, which are estimated at \$82,000, 300 acres of land, not including the grounds about the buildings, and worth about \$15,000; it owns about twenty-five good business lots, 25x125 feet, and worth \$125 per lot. The college has an endowment of \$95,000, not including the land.

The following extract, from an article by Prof. A. P. Peabody, of Harvard, on the co-education of the races, will present an appropriate conclusion to this sketch of Berea:

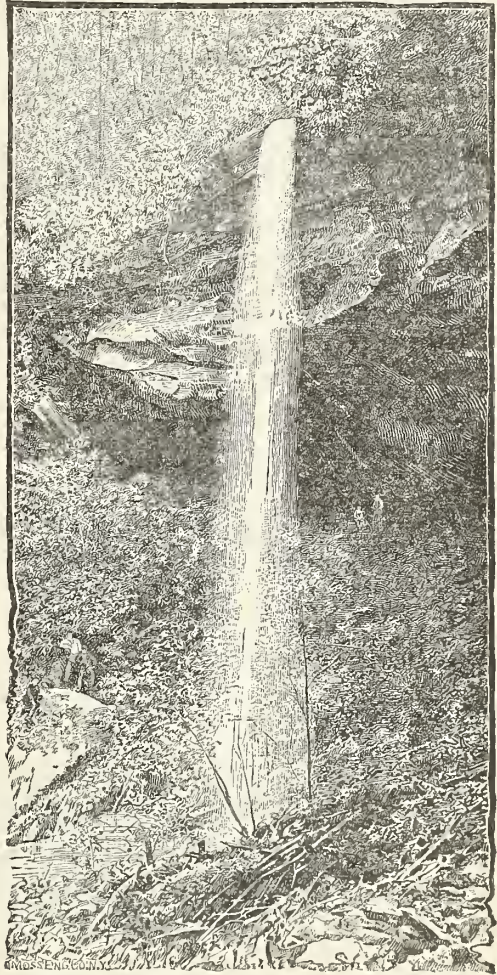
Of all the experiments in co-education that have been instituted, we regard Berea College, in Kentucky, as the most important in its sphere of influence and in its prophecy of enduring benefit to the

colored race. It has carried the war into the enemy's camp, and has brought its whole Christian panoply and armament into the immediate encounter with the surviving spirit of slavery—a spirit made all the more virulent by the destruction of its body. At other institutions, black students are admitted to an equality with the white; at Berea, white students are admitted to an equality with the black. The trustees and professors at Berea can not invite their white neighbors to unite with them in throwing the doors of their institutions wide open to all that choose to come. They must first gather their little flock of black pupils, with a very few white youths from their own or friendly families, and then they must make their light shine bright enough and far enough to win the regard and confidence of a distrustful and scornful public; and to demonstrate to that unwilling public that it is for their own and their childrens' interest that they patronize this institution. This has been effected. The college has shown its large educational capacity. Its public exercises have been attended in successive years by persons of established reputation as educationists and literary men, and have received their unqualified commendation and praise. There is, for many miles around, no institution of learning that does nearly so much or so well for its pupils. The consequence is that those at first vehemently opposed to it are fast falling into the ranks of neutrals or friends. Many who deemed it a nuisance have already sent their children to it. Its sterling value as a seminary of education is now recognized on all hands. But it is of much more worth for its silent, yet most efficient propagandism of the due relation between the races; for co-education includes within itself or involves as its necessary consequence, equality in all civic and social rights, immunities, duties and obligations.

Kentucky has never encouraged foreign immigration as some other portions of the republic have done. But, on the contrary, the State has opposed it more or less, until within the past few years. The tide of immigration, however, flowing by her northern border to the west and north, enriching the great Northwest, has aroused her to action, and brought the question of foreign immigration to the consideration and attention of the people, and also of the legislature. Within the last five years, a bureau of immigration has been established and facts and statistics and other important intelligence concerning the material resources of the State, have been profusely distributed far and wide. The result of this judicious dissemination of knowledge of Kentucky's material wealth has been the planting of a number of

colonies of English, German and Swiss people in the State. Their prosperity shows conclusively that the State affords fine opportunities for immigrants.

The accumulation of aliens from all lands and countries, within a new American State, has been considered by many to be somewhat perilous. Upon this subject a late writer



VIEW IN SWISS COLONY—LAUREL COUNTY.

says: "Kentucky has had the good fortune to inherit a nearly pure English blood. Aside from the diminishing negro population, the blood of the people is of a singularly unmixed origin. Her success in meeting the strains of the civil war could not have been secured if its people had not had this singular unity of race and the solidarity of motive that it brought with it. While there are, doubtless, evils that come from this



predominance of English stock and the consequent uniformity of the motives of the people, leading as it does to a certain acceptance of existing conditions, there are other dangers, and graver, which come from the confusion of motives in the States that have a large foreign population, that are much more menacing to society."

There have been several influences that have retarded foreign immigration to Kentucky. The strongest of these influences, perhaps, is the competition with negro labor. The European immigrant is not willing to enter into competition with this species of labor, and the result is they seek those States where slavery never existed. Kentucky has but a small negro population, and it is

diminishing in numbers, and there are large tracts of country within the State where there are no negroes, yet the name of a "slave State" clings to it as a plague, driving immigration to other and less fertile regions. This objection to Kentucky must soon pass away, and when it does, and the fine climate and fertile lands of Kentucky become better known to immigrants, then will the tide of immigration turn within her borders. The advantages of Kentucky only need to become well known to induce immigration. The Swiss colonies in Laurel and Lincoln Counties, with the air of prosperity that prevails about them, demonstrate unmistakably the fine field Kentucky presents to the colonist.



## CHAPTER XX.

## INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE.

THE late war developed a new phase in every form of life as well in the political history of Kentucky. Everything has changed—much for the better—and a new era has been inaugurated that in intellectual advancement bids fair to surpass the hopes and expectations of the most sanguine friends of the commonwealth. While it cannot be claimed that the scriptural dispensation, when “old things are to pass away,” and “all things become new,” has dawned, yet the vast changes and improvements seem to indicate an approach to that period. The people emerged from the horrors of war purified “like gold tried in the fire,” and at once entered into the work of improving their social and literary institutions, and in restoring peace and tranquility to their State. The press has borne no inconsiderable part in achieving this triumph, and has done more, actual education perhaps excepted, than any other influence brought to bear to reach this grand result.

The press, as an institution, when it happens to fall into the hands of men competent to make it discharge its duty fully and properly, is a most important factor in the advancement of any community. One of the best things that can be said of our nation is, that it has a free press. No man has to be licensed or selected by the government either to print a book or publish a newspaper. It has been circumscribed by no law except natural selection. Any one who wished could start a paper at any time, say almost anything he desired to say, and if he chose not to be suppressed, there was no power to suppress him—except a “military necessity,” and once in a great while mob violence. The government foresaw the eventual wants of

mankind, and committed the wisest act in all its history in unbridling the press. It was the seed planted in good ground for its own perpetuity, and the happiness and welfare of its people. Says a late writer: “To make the press absolutely free, especially after the centuries of vile censorship over it, was an act of wisdom transcending in importance the original invention of movable types. This enjoyment of a free press, means free speech, free schools, free religion, and, supremest and best of all, free thought. If our government endure, and the people continue free, here will be much of the reason thereof, for freedom, though well established, will not maintain and perpetuate itself, because by the laws of heredity that lurks in every man, more or less, the latter customs or habits or mental convictions of a barbarous ancestry, leave the seeds of monarchy and despotism. The Americans have this (speaking in reference to a Republican form of government) less than any other people in the world; they are further removed from an ancestry that worshiped under kingly rulers: and yet even here it is as true now as when uttered, that ‘eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.’ The press is, therefore, essential to the perpetuation of free institutions in America.”

That the press can do no wrong, it would be idle to assert. So great an institution, so varied its interests, so numerous its controllers and guides—he would be a foolish man, indeed, who would even hope that it would ever become infallible. It has committed wrongs against the public quite as often as wrongs have been perpetrated against it. The averages, say, are even. Then, if two wrongs can make a right, a reasonable just-



ice has been done, and the "great palladium" remains to us as the drudge and pack-horse, and at the same time "the crowned king of all mankind." Another, and an able authority,\* says of the press: "The grandest temporal blessing God has given to the nineteenth century is the newspaper. We would have a better appreciation of this blessing if we knew the money, the brain, the losses, the anxieties, the wear and tear involved in its production. Under the impression that almost anybody can make a newspaper, scores of inexperienced capitalists every year enter the lists, and, consequently, during the last few years a newspaper has died almost every day. With more than 6,000 dailies in the United States and Canadas, there are but thirty-six a half century old. Newspapers do not average more than five years' existence. \* \* \* Newspapers make knowledge democratic and for the multitudes. The public library is a hay-mow so high up that few can reach it, while the newspaper throws down the forage to our feet. Public libraries are the reservoirs where the great floods are stored high up and a great way off. The newspaper is the tunnel that brings them down to the pitchers of all the people. The chief use of great libraries is to make newspapers out of. Great libraries make a few men and women wise; newspapers lift whole nations into the sunlight. Better have 50,000,000 people moderately intelligent than 100,000 Solons. A false impression is abroad that newspaper knowledge is ephemeral, because periodicals are thrown aside, and not one out of 10,000 people files them for future reference. Such knowledge, so far from being ephemeral, goes into the very structure of the world's heart and brain, and decides the destiny of churches and nations. Nearly all the best minds and hearts have their hands on the printing-press to-day, and have had since its emancipation. Adams and Hancock used to go to the *Boston Gazette*, and compose articles on the rights of the people. Benjamin Franklin, De Witt Clinton, Hamilton, Jefferson, were strong in newspaperdom. Many of the immortal

things that have been published in book form, first appeared in what may be called the ephemeral periodical. All Macaulay's essays first appeared in a review; all Carlyle's, all Ruskin's, all Sidney Smith's, all Thackeray's, all the elevated works of fiction in our day are reprints from periodicals, in which they appeared as serials. The poems of Tennyson, Longfellow, Emerson, Burns, Lowell, Whittier, were once fugitive pieces. You cannot find ten literary men in Christendom with strong minds and great hearts but are, or have been, somehow connected with the printing-press. \* \* \* It is sometimes complained that newspapers report the evil when they ought only to report the good. They must report the evil as well as the good, or how shall we know what is to be reformed, what guarded against, what brought down? A newspaper that pictures only the honesty and virtue of society is a misrepresentation. That family is best prepared for the duties of life, which, knowing the evil, is taught to select the good. Keep children under the impression that all is fair and right in the world, and when they go out into it they will be as poorly prepared to struggle with it as a child who is thrown into the middle of the Atlantic and told to learn to swim. \* \* \* Another blessing of the newspaper is the foundation it lays for accurate history of the time in which we live. We, for the most part, blindly guess about the ages that ante-date the newspaper, and are dependent on the prejudices of this or that historian. But after a hundred or two years what splendid opportunity the historian will have to teach the people the lesson of this day. Our Bancroft got from the early newspapers of this country, from the *Boston News Letter*, the *New York Gazette*, and the *American Rag Bag*, and *Royal Gazetteer*, and *Independent Chronicle*, and *Massachusetts Spy* and *Philadelphia Aurora*, accounts of Perry's victory, and Hamilton's duel, and Washington's death, and the oppressive foreign tax on luxuries which turned Boston harbor into a tea-pot, and Paul Revere's midnight ride, and Rhode Island's rebellion and South Carolina's nullification.

\*Rev. T. De Witt Talmage.

But what a field for the chronicler of the great future when he opens the files of a hundred standard American newspapers, giving the minutiae of all things occurring under the social, political, international, ecclesiastical, hemispherical. Five hundred years from now, if the world lasts so long, the student looking for stirring and decisive history will pass by the misty corridors of other centuries, and say to the librarian: 'Find me the volume that gives the century in which American presidents were assassinated, the civil war enacted, and the cotton-gin, the steam locomotive, the telegraph and telephone, and Hoe's cylinder presses were invented.' It is not more what newspapers do for to-day, than the fact that they make a storehouse of history. \* \* \* More than all, the blessings of a good newspaper is in its evangelistic influence. The secular press of this country discusses all religious questions, scatters abroad religious intelligence and multiplies sermons until the gospel comes every week within reach of every intelligent man and woman in America. The good newspaper is to be the right wing of the apocalyptic angel. On the Sabbath the minister preaches to a few hundred or thousand people, and on Monday morning and evening, through the printing-press, preaches to millions. The telegraph gathers for it matter on one side, and the express railway train waits to be loaded with the tons of folded sheets on the other. I set it down as the mightiest force for the world's evangelization."

These lengthy extracts require no apology. Like everything emanating from the great preacher, though couched in his peculiar style, they are full of wisdom. The press is the great power of the present age. This is indisputable. In any community it is an influence for good, admitting of not a single doubt. Thomas Jefferson, who penned the Declaration of Independence, one of the grandest documents that ever fell from the pen of mortal man, wrote also: "If I had to choose between a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should prefer the latter." Another sage re-

marks: "If man should, from childhood to old age, see only his Bible, Webster's dictionary and his newspaper, he could be prepared for all the duties of this life, or all the happiness of the next." Daniel Webster said: "I care not how unpretending a newspaper may be, every issue contains something that is worth the subscription price." Of all the blessings that man can have in this world, the newspaper is the one "whose rose need have no thorn, whose sweet need have no bitter." Thanks, then, a million thanks, to our revolutionary sires for giving us the great boon of a free press.

When the war closed there had been completed a revolution in the newspaper publishing business. The telegraph had been utilized, and men had been taught to look for news, and not for the opinions and fine writings of certain individuals. The business of writing for the paper had to adjust itself to circumstances, and short, crisp editorials, and the news of the hour; and instead of the long "thundering leader," came the wit, that largely consists of slang and bad spelling. The metropolitan press, through the telegraph, and the perfected Hoe press began to absorb from the country, first its talent among writers, and then to monopolize the business itself, until the country paper found no other avenue to walk in except the purely local news, gossip and chit-chat of its immediate locality. But notwithstanding this the local press is not to be despised, nor denied credit for its part in elevating the standard of civilization. Far from it. It contributes as much, in its humble way, as the more pretentious city daily. The improvement in the art of making newspapers is not surpassed by that made in any institution, or other branch of business, of the present century. *The Courier-Journal*, with its corps of editors and reporters and correspondents, and its attaches and employes, its improved printing presses and magnificent building, the pride of Kentucky's metropolis, is a sample of the modern daily newspaper, and strikingly illustrates its great power and influence. Compared to the *Kentucke Gazette*, the first newspaper in the west, it shows the wonderful



advancement made by the press within the past hundred years.

The first newspaper published west of the Alleghany Mountains, with a single exception,\* was established at Lexington. It is

present time. A few words, however, of some of the early newspapers of the State, and some of the leading ones, cannot very well be avoided. The first paper was established in 1787, almost 100 years ago, by John Brad



COURIER-JOURNAL BUILDING.

not intended to go back to the beginning of the newspaper history of Kentucky, and follow it through all its vicissitudes to the

present. It was christened the *Kentucke Gazette*. The final *e* of Kentucky was afterward changed to *y*, in consequence of the Virginia Legislature requiring certain advertisements to be "inserted in the *Kentucky Gazette*." The

\*The first paper west of the Alleghanies was published at Pittsburgh.



efforts to separate Kentucky from Virginia and form it into a distinct State, necessitated the establishment of this paper. The convention that met at Danville, in 1785, to discuss the subject of separation, adopted the following resolution: "That to insure unanimity in the opinion of the people respecting the propriety of separating the district of Kentucky from Virginia, and forming a distinct State government, and to give publicity to the proceedings of the convention, it is deemed essential to the interests of the country to have a printing press." Arrangements were finally made with John Bradford to establish a paper at Lexington, then the principal town in the district, and in 1786 he sent to Philadelphia for the necessary outfit. It did not arrive until late in the summer of 1787, and on the 11th of August he issued the first number of the *Gazette*, the pioneer newspaper of the western country. His editorial surroundings would contrast strangely with the princely style of the great metropolitan journals of the present day. His steamboat, railroad, telegraph and mail-carrier was a pack-mule; his office a log-cabin. His rude and unwieldy hand-press was of the old-fashioned style, that for years and years had not been improved; and, in addition, it was a second-hand one. He daubed on the ink by hand with two ancient dog-skin inking balls, and probably managed to get sixty or seventy copies printed on one side in an hour. If he wrote at night it was by the light of a rousing fire, a bear-grease lamp, or a buffalo-tallow candle. An editorial desk, made of a smooth slab, supported by two pairs of cross-legs, a three-legged stool, ink-horn and a rifle, composed the rest of his office furniture.\*

John Bradford, the pioneer editor of Kentucky, was a native of Virginia, and was born in Fauquier County, in 1749. He came to Kentucky in 1785, and settled on Cane Run, but the next year located in Lexington. He was a practical printer, as was his father before him, and he brought up his sons to the same business. The next year after starting the *Gazette*, he published

the *Kentucky Almanac*, the first pamphlet printed west of the mountains, and the annual publication of which he continued for twenty years. From all the biographical record left of Mr. Bradford, it is evident that he was not especially brilliant as an editor, but, what was better for the times in which he lived, he was a man of sound practical sense and sterling honesty. He was chairman of the board of village trustees, and delivered the address of welcome to Gov. Shelby in 1792, upon his arrival in Lexington, then the capital of the new-made State. He was the first State printer, and received from the State government £100 sterling, as the emoluments of the office. He printed books as early as 1794, and some of his early publications are still to be seen in the Lexington public library. He served for a time as chairman of the board of trustees of Transylvania University, and held other positions of honor and trust. His mind was so well stored with useful and valuable information that he was considered the town oracle, and from his decisions on local topics there was no appeal. So great was the confidence of the people in his judgment that he won the *sobriquet* of "Old Wisdom." He was high sheriff of Fayette County at the time of his death, which occurred in March, 1830. Circuit court was in session, and the distinguished Jesse Bledsoe, who was the presiding judge, alluded to his death in eloquent terms, and adjourned court in respect to his memory.

The *Kentucky Gazette* was conducted by Mr. Bradford with great energy and success until early in 1802, when he turned it over to his son, Daniel Bradford, and took charge of the *Kentucky Herald*, the first rival paper in the State. He kept up a watchful supervision, however, of the *Gazette*, and, after seven years, he again assumed editorial charge of it. In 1814, his son, Fielding Bradford, Jr., became its proprietor and continued his connection with it until 1825, when it again passed into the hands of the senior Bradford. In 1835, it again reverted to Daniel Bradford, who, in March, 1840, sold it to Joshua Cunningham of Louisville, foreman of the *Advertiser*, a paper edited by Shadrach Penn,

\*G. W. Ranck, in *History of Fayette County*, p. 364.



the brilliant rival of George D. Prentice. Under the management of Mr. Cunningham, who was in bad health, the paper declined, and in 1848 its publication ceased. So ended the first paper published west of Pittsburgh.

The second newspaper in Kentucky was also established at Lexington. It will be borne in mind that for a number of years after settlements began to be made in Kentucky, Lexington was the metropolis of the State. It was the first capital, and being the leading town, not only of Kentucky but all the western country, it drew within its limits the majority of the wealth, intelligence and business of the entire community. Thus it became the seat of learning and business enterprise. Its second newspaper was started in 1793, the next year after the admission of Kentucky as a State into the Federal Union. It was called *Stewart's Kentucky Herald*, and was established by James H. Stewart. Its publication was continued for about ten years, when it was absorbed by the Bradfords and the *Kentucky Gazette*. Mr. F. L. McChesney, editor of the *Western Citizen*, in a sketch of Paris written a few years ago, mentioned a paper—the *Kentucky Herald*—as started in that town in 1797, by James Stewart, and which existed for about a year. In the same year, William Hunter established the *Kentucky Mirror*, at Washington, a town situated about four miles from the present city of Maysville. In 1798, Hunter established a paper in Frankfort called the *Palladium*, and was annually elected State printer for ten years. In 1803, the *Western Messenger*, and in 1806, the *Republican Auxiliary* were established at Washington. The first paper in Louisville was called the *Farmer's Library*, and dates back to 1807. Its history is comprised in an act of the legislature requiring certain laws to be published in its columns. Not even the names of its owners or publishers are known. The next year (1808) another paper—the *Gazette*—made its appearance in Louisville, but its record, like that of the *Farmer's Library*, is obscure. In this year also was established the *Western Citizen*, at Paris. Mr. McChes-

ney in his sketch of Paris, says the *Citizen* was started by Grimes & Johnson; Collins in his history of Kentucky, says by Joel R. Lyle. The Lyles (Joel R. and William C.) were long connected with it, but it was purchased, Mr. McChesney says, by Joel R. Lyle early in 1809. It is one of the early papers of Kentucky that has survived the storms of adversity and is still flourishing and prosperous. It opposed the old Federalist party and warmly advocated the war of 1812. In the great conflict between the old and new court parties, it adopted the side of the former, and supported Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay in opposition to Gen. Jackson. When politics divided, under the name of Whigs and Democrats, it espoused the cause of the Whigs, and ever continued a zealous advocate of that party. F. L. McChesney became the owner of it after the war, and during the reconstruction period it changed its politics to the Democratic faith, and has since remained true to those principles.

The *Lexington Observer and Reporter*, originally the *Lexington Reporter*, was established in 1807, by William W. Worsley and Samuel R. Overton. It was continued uninterruptedly as the *Reporter* until 1832, when it was purchased by Bryant & Finnell and consolidated with the *Observer*. The *Observer and Reporter* existed until 1873, when its publication ceased. During its long career it had many able and brilliant editors and contributors, among whom were Edwin Bryant, Robert N. Wickliffe, William A. Dudley, Daniel C. Wickliffe, William C. P. Breckinridge, Thomas E. Pickett and others. No paper in central Kentucky, perhaps, wielded a greater influence than the *Observer and Reporter*, and when discontinued it was the oldest paper in the State, having been established the year before the *Western Citizen*.

The first paper in Louisville that attained to any prominence, and of which there is any authentic history, was established in 1810 by Nicholas Clark. It was called the *Western Courier*, and was conducted with considerable ability. Mann Butler, the historian, and an able writer, was connected with it as associate editor in 1814, but he did not

remain long in the position. S. H. Bullen and A. G. Meriwether became interested in the paper in 1821, and the name was changed to the *Emporium and Commercial Advertiser*, and from a weekly, it became a semi-weekly. Clark and Meriwether retired in February, 1822, transferring their interest to S. H. Bullen and F. E. Goddard, and the latter gentleman finally became the sole owner. While under his management (in 1832) the paper was discontinued. The *Louisville Correspondent*, a weekly paper, was started in the same year as the *Western Courier*. Its owner and publisher was E. C. Barry, who continued it until 1817, when it passed from the public gaze.

The *Advertiser*, the first daily paper published in Kentucky, was established in 1818, and soon became a formidable opponent to the *Western Courier*. It was founded by Shadrach Penn, the ablest editor ever in Louisville until the appearance of George D. Prentice. Mr. Ben Casseday, in a sketch of the Louisville press, says: "Mr. Penn was an experienced politician, a forcible writer, and a man of extraordinary tact. His paper soon took the position of political leader, not merely in its local circle, but all over the west. It was the acknowledged Jackson organ, and both city and State recognized its power and influence. It was without a rival, and if it did not create, it represented, the dominant party for over twelve years. Until 1830 (the birth of the *Journal*) Penn found 'no foeman worthy of his steel.' His adversaries had, one by one, fallen before him. He was supreme in his position, and a few years previous to the date above referred to was confirmed in it by a great victory over the old court or anti-relief party, and his acknowledged championship of a party victorious in a political struggle as bitter as had ever agitated the State."

Shadrach Penn was a native of Kentucky, and had been a soldier in the war of 1812. He was a large man, a fine specimen of the typical Kentuckian, six feet high, weighing over 200 pounds, and one of the best hearted men that ever lived. He was well educated, was a statesman and a leader naturally, and a

politician from choice. Although rival editors for many years, and often on bad terms and indulging in bitter controversy, yet a warm friendship grew up between him and Prentice, that continued until the death of Penn in 1853. Mr. Penn left Louisville in 1842, went to St. Louis, and took editorial charge of the *Missouri Democrat*, which position he filled until the close of his life.

In 1826 the *Focus* was established in Louisville by W. W. Worsley and Dr. Buchanan. Worsley was an experienced newspaper man, and had been one of the original owners of the *Lexington Reporter*, and was a man of some ability. The *Focus* opposed Gen. Jackson, the *Advertiser* and Shadrach Penn, but being more of a literary and scientific journal than a partisan organ, it was unable to stand before the political projectiles hurled at it by Penn. After a fitful existence of a little more than three years it was purchased by Cavins & Robinson, and shortly after was merged into the *Louisville Journal*.

The *Kentuckian* was a newspaper established at Lancaster in 1821, and was published by Albert G. Hodges, who afterward became widely known as a newspaper publisher throughout the State. He published the *Kentuckian* only about three months, when he left Lancaster, and went back to Lexington. There he became foreman of the *Reporter* office, a place he filled acceptably for several years. He next went to Louisville, and, in 1824, in connection with D. C. Pinkham, purchased from S. H. Bullen the *Louisville Morning Post*. Pinkham proved an unprofitable partner, as he got away with most of the profits of the paper, and in about a year, William Tanner, who had attained some prominence as an editor, succeeded him. Hodges and Tanner did not agree well on politics, the latter advocating, on one side of the paper, the fallacies of the new court, while Hodges on the other side championed the old court party. It was literally "a house divided against itself," and to prevent its fall, the proprietors "threw heads and tails" for its ownership. Tanner won, and Hodges sold out to him on favorable terms, returned to Lexington, and started



the *Kentucky Whig*. This paper had a brief existence, less than a year. He then went to Frankfort, and together with James G. Dana published the *Commentator*, and served as State printer until 1832, when he sold out to Dana. In 1833, Hodges was elected State printer, and shortly after started the Frankfort *Commonwealth*. It was thoroughly a Whig paper, and when that party became extinct, it came to the support of the Know-nothing, and then of the American party. During the late war, it was for the Union unconditionally, and after the war Republican in politics, until its suspension in April, 1872, at the age of thirty-nine years. Col. Hodges, although a stanch Union man, and later an ardent Republican, discontinued the publication of his paper, which he had established more than a third of a century before, rather than to support President Grant for renomination, in 1872, to a second term as chief magistrate. In refusing to support the hero of Appomattox, he found his "occupation gone," and retired permanently from the newspaper business.

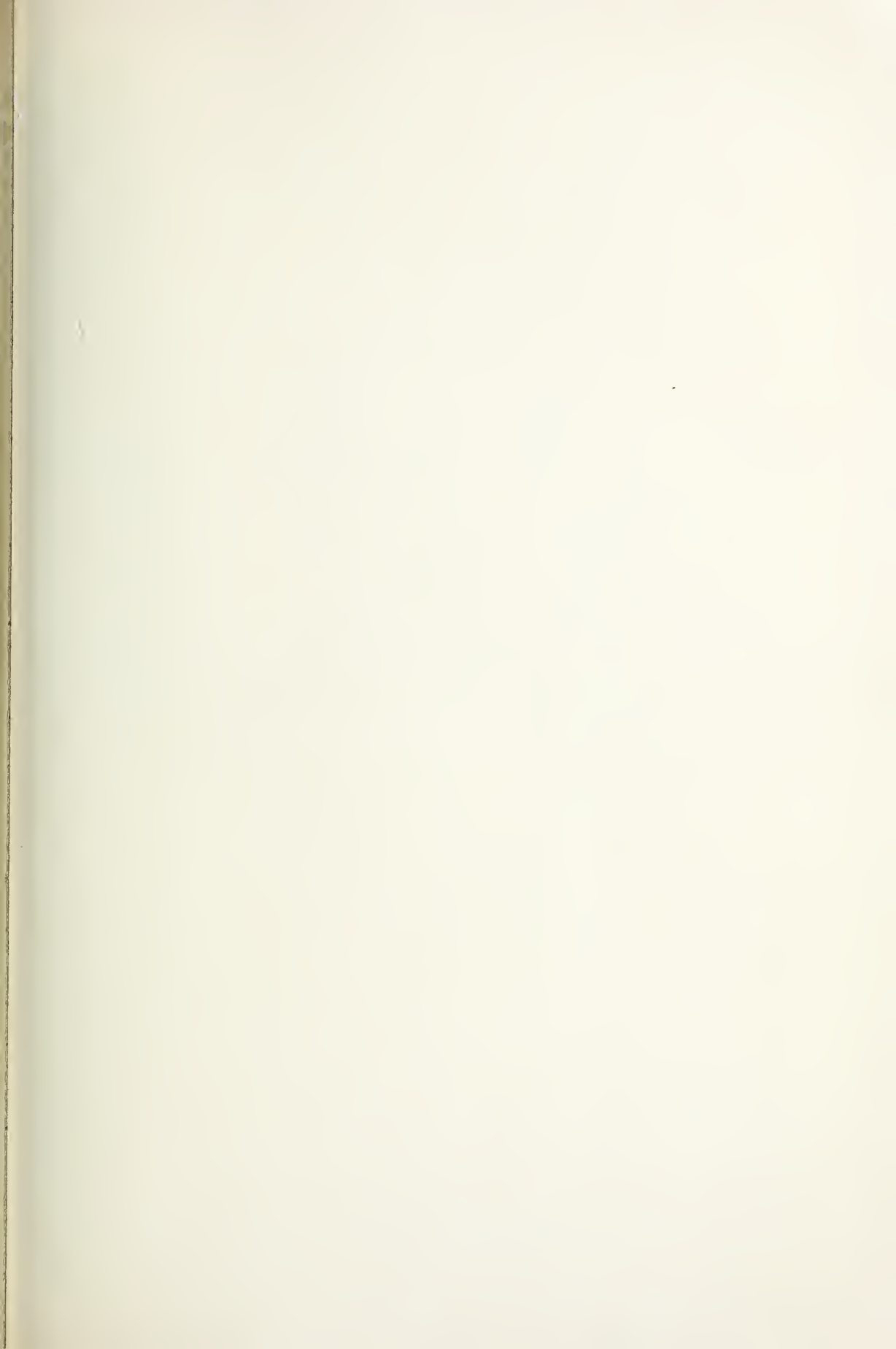
Col. Hodges was a true type of the old Kentucky gentleman, a race that is rapidly passing away. He was born in Virginia, in 1802, and when but eight years old, his mother (his father having died) brought him to Fayette County. At the age of twelve he was apprenticed to the printing business with Worsley & Smith, the proprietors of the *Lexington Reporter*. After the suspension of the *Commonwealth* in 1872, Col. Hodges removed to Louisville, and accepted the position of secretary and treasurer of the Masonic Temple Company. He was one of the most prominent Masons of Kentucky, and from 1845 to the time of his death was grand treasurer of the Grand Lodge. When he died (a few years ago) he was the last officer of the Grand Lodge, who, in 1845, witnessed his election as grand treasurer of that body.

The Louisville *Journal*, whose influence for more than a third of a century was equaled by few American newspapers, was established on the 24th of November, 1830, by George D. Prentice. His business part-

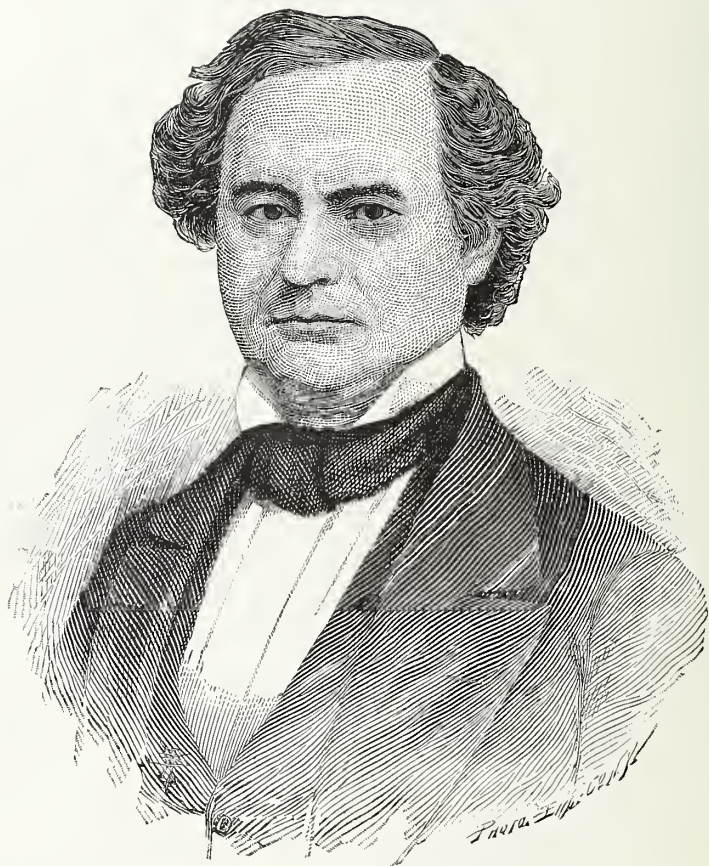
ner was A. S. Buxton, a practical printer of Cincinnati, who had a joint interest in the paper, but Prentice was sole editor. The success of the *Journal* was assured from the circulation of its first issue, and in four weeks from its birth it was the most extensively read paper that had ever been published in the State. Prentice immediately crossed swords with Shadrach Penn, and the contest between these rival editors, often sharp and bitter, is still vividly remembered by the older citizens of Louisville and Kentucky. Prentice's pen bristled like the "fretful porcupine," and he shot the pointed quills in every direction, regardless of who might stand in the way. In his writings he frequently made people laugh, sometimes stare and often squirm, and he seemed ever equally indifferent as to which result flowed out from his pen. The *Journal* soon obtained political ascendancy, but the editorial warfare between Prentice and Penn was kept up as long as Penn remained in Louisville.

The *Journal* was born of the exigencies of the time. Political excitement, growing out of one of the most bitter party conflicts that had occurred in the State, was violent, and partisan strife was raging at white heat. Parties were dividing on the questions of the time, and to the bitterness of conflicting interests was added the enthusiasm which the rival claims of two great party chieftains everywhere excited. An historical sketch of the *Courier-Journal*, published in 1876, says: "Henry Clay and Gen. Jackson were the opposing candidates for the succession, and Kentucky having voted two years before for Jackson, the *Journal* threw all its energies into the conflict in favor of Mr. Clay, whose political friends were then known as national Republicans. Its appearance was cordially and even enthusiastically greeted by its party, another national Republican paper, the Louisville *Focus*, having failed, although skillfully edited, to satisfy the party's demands for vehemence and spirit."

A history of the *Journal* is a history of George D. Prentice. From the origin of the paper, Mr. Buxton continued his business relation with Mr. Prentice in its publication,







GEORGE D. PRENTICE.

until 1833, when he sold his interest to John Johnson, and two years later Mr. Johnson sold to George W. Weissinger. The latter continued his connection with the paper until his death in 1849, when his interest was purchased by Isham Henderson, long a well known citizen of Louisville, and but recently dead. During all these years, Mr. Prentice had been editor of the *Journal*, and had given it a world wide reputation, but about this time he called to his editorial aid Paul R. Shipman, a writer of unusual force and brilliance, and who remained with the paper many years. In a short time after purchasing Weissinger's interest, Mr. Henderson sold one-half of it (a quarter interest in the paper) to his kinsman, John D. Osborne, and the firm became Prentice, Henderson & Osborne—the last named gentleman the business manager. This arrangement continued until after the close of the war, when the firm changed into a stock corporation, under the title of the "Louisville Journal Company." In the winter of 1867–68, Mr. Henderson purchased the stock of Mr. Osborne, who retired from the business management of the paper. A few months later, Mr. Henderson bought Mr. Prentice's interest, and during the summer sold an interest in the paper to Mr. Henry Watterson, the present brilliant editor of the *Courier-Journal*. Thus the editorial and also the business control of the *Journal* passed from the hands of its founder. From its origin in 1830, to its purchase by Mr. Henderson in 1868, a few months prior to its consolidation with the *Courier*, its history and that of its editor had been inseparable. Dr. Theodore S. Bell, the life-long friend of Mr. Prentice, said: "Mr. Prentice impressed the conviction on the public mind that he and the daily *Journal* were one and the same thing, and I am not sure that he was not himself impressed with that conviction. He regarded the *Journal* as a part and parcel of his own being. An insult thrown at the *Journal* was promptly accepted as a personal insult, and as such punished in his own way—a way well known to many to their sorrow. It is, indeed, questionable whether he would have regarded with complacency any personal

triumph in which the *Journal* was not a participant.

Mr. Prentice was a native of Connecticut, and was born in New London County, December 18, 1802. After preparing for college, he entered Brown University at the age of eighteen, and in 1823 graduated with honors. Upon completing his education, he spent some time in teaching, and wrote occasional articles for the local press. His writings attracted considerable attention, and in 1828 he was offered the position of editor of the *New England Review*, which he accepted. He came to Kentucky in 1830, at the instance of the Whigs of Connecticut, for the purpose of writing the life of Henry Clay. When John Quincy Adams, in 1828, failed in his re-election to the presidency, Mr. Clay, who held the first place in his cabinet, retired (the following March) from public life, and to bring him again prominently before his party was the object of the biography. It more than accomplished its purpose, for it led to the establishment of the *Louisville Journal*, and served to make Mr. Prentice a citizen of Kentucky. His biography of Clay was written from the standpoint of strong partisanship, and scarcely had he finished it than he was persuaded by prominent party leaders in Kentucky to establish a new daily paper at Louisville, in opposition to the Jackson Democracy.

Few men have attained fame as editors equal to that of Prentice. In a memorial address on the great journalist, Hon. Henry Watterson\* said: "From 1830 to 1861 the influence of Prentice was perhaps greater than the influence of any political writer who ever lived; it was an influence directly positive and personal. It owed its origin to the union in his person of gifts which no one had combined before him. He had to build upon an intellect naturally strong and practical, and this was trained by rigid scholarly culture. He was brave and aggressive, and though by no means quarrelsome, he was as ready to fight as to write, and his lot was cast in a region where he had to do a good

\*An address delivered by Mr. Watterson before the Kentucky legislature at the request of that body shortly after the death of Mr. Prentice.



deal of both. By turns a statesman, a wit, a poet, a man of the world, and always a journalist, he gave the press of his country its most brilliant illustration, and has left to the State and to his progeny by odds the largest reputation ever achieved by a newspaper writer."

During the late civil war Mr. Prentice was an unswerving Union man, and all his great energies were enlisted to avert the calamities of war and preserve the government. He failed in his efforts, but there can be no doubt that the vast influence he wielded through the *Journal* prevented the secession of Kentucky. In all the long and desperate struggle that ensued between the North and South his fidelity to the cause of the Union never once faltered. Notwithstanding his two sons, his only children, had entered the Confederate army, and numbers of his life-long friends were arrayed under the "Southern Cross," he stood firmly by the old flag and made a gallant fight. When the war closed he was pretty well broken down; his health and spirits were gone, and the great battle he had fought had left him a feeble old man. His wife, the companion of his youth, died in 1868, and shortly after her decease the *Journal* passed into other hands, and in November following it was consolidated with the *Courier*, the name changed to the *Courier-Journal*, on which Mr. Prentice did excellent editorial work on a salary up to the time of his death. His work now seemed done; he stood alone; he had outlived his day and generation. He died on the 22d of January, 1870, at the country residence of his son, Col. Clarence J. Prentice, ten miles below Louisville, on the Ohio River, whither he had gone to spend the Christmas holidays. Upon the announcement of his death great respect was paid to his memory throughout the country. The legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee, in session at the time, adopted appropriate resolutions, pronouncing his death a "public bereavement." He was buried with Masonic honors in Cave Hill Cemetery.

No newspaper published in Kentucky, perhaps none published south of the Ohio River,

ever wielded an influence equal to that of the *Louisville Journal*. It built the city of Louisville, and gave an importance to the whole State it had never before known. When the *Journal* was established Louisville was a straggling village of a few thousand inhabitants. In describing it at a time when the *Journal* was in the full tide of its glory, the correspondent of a New York journal said: "Louisville is situated on the south bank of the Ohio River, at the falls but it is significant for nothing except as the place where the *Louisville Journal* is published." Its consolidation with the *Courier* formed a new era in journalism in Kentucky and the South.

The history of the *Journal* would not be complete without an extended notice of the *Courier* and also of the *Democrat*. The *Courier* was established, in 1844, by Mr. W. N. Haldeman, now president of the *Courier Journal Company*. A paper had been started in March, 1843, by a company of practical printers, called the *Daily Dime*. This enterprise was not a financial success, and on the 11th of February, 1844, the *Dime* passed into the hands of Mr. Haldeman, who demonstrated the fact that the right man had taken hold of it. He changed it on the 3d of June following, into the *Morning Courier*. Casseday's sketch, already quoted from, says, "Haldeman brought to his task inflexible will and indomitable energy. In the hands of almost any other man, the paper would soon have emulated the example of so many of its immediate predecessors. Haldeman did not know the meaning of failure; adversity only fixed his determination more firmly, and urged him to increased effort. He fairly conquered success in the face of all difficulties. He started out with the idea of making a newspaper, and his enterprise in this direction soon woke up the sleepy old journalists, not only in Louisville, but all over the West. As there were few railroads reaching his city, and as the telegraph was yet unborn, the securing of news at the earliest possible moment was a matter of energy, enterprise and expense. Haldeman spared none of these, and from the very start

its paper was what is now called a 'live institution.' As an instance of his determination to spare no expense for the benefit of his readers he sent (in 1849) H. M. McCarty to Frankfort, as resident correspondent, to remain during the constitutional convention, which framed the present constitution of Kentucky. No paper in the State had ever before incurred the expense of a daily correspondent during the whole session of a legislative body."

In January, 1852, Mr. Haldeman sold a small interest in the *Courier* to F. B. French, but it soon passed back to him. The next year William D. Gallagher purchased a half interest, but in June, 1854, Mr. Haldeman again became sole owner. In October, 1857, he sold a half interest to Reuben T. Durrett, who continued his connection with the paper until in September, 1859, when he sold out to Walter G. Overton. Haldeman & Overton published the *Courier* until the commencement of the civil war in 1861, when it was suppressed by the United States military authorities for "disloyalty." Mr. Haldeman made his escape to the Confederate lines, and during the war he continued to publish the *Courier*, whenever time, opportunity and the "fortunes of war" would permit. At Bowling Green he was requested by Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston to resume its publication; such being considered a necessity at that time. Kentucky was trembling in the political balance, and it was still a little uncertain upon which side of Mason and Dixon's line she would fall. In order to influence her decision, and to retain its own Kentucky identity, the *Courier* was dated at Bowling Green, but the typesetting and printing were done in Nashville, owing to the impossibility of securing the proper mechanical facilities at the former place. Col. Robert McKee was stationed at Bowling Green as editor, while Mr. Haldeman took up his headquarters in Nashville to superintend publication. When the Confederate army fell back to Nashville, the *Courier* fell back with it, and continued to make its regular appearance. "The Louisville-Bowling Green-Nashville *Courier*," as

it was facetiously called by the papers in the Federal lines, was probably as brilliant a success as journalistic annals afford. It at once became the favorite of the army and of the people of the South, and immediately attained a circulation limited only by its mechanical ability to supply the demand. Extraordinary efforts were made to procure northern papers, which were not then easily accessible, and voluminous extracts were made from them daily. No outlay was considered too great to secure these papers, and, so perfect were the arrangements, that up to the evacuation of Nashville scarcely a day but full files of papers from all the northern cities were received at the *Courier* office. Several active men were constantly employed in this service, and their adventures in running through the military lines to secure papers and news were often exciting and dangerous. So perfect was the system that the military relied on the *Courier* for the most important intelligence outside of their lines. Mr. Haldeman had been for many years a most indefatigable and laborious newspaper man, and was considered perfectly familiar with the business, even to the minutest details, but during the four months he published the *Courier* in Nashville he acquired a knowledge of the business, and an insight into its workings, of which he previously had no conception. To this experience may be largely attributed his remarkable success as the business manager of a great newspaper.\* Upon the restoration of peace Mr. Haldeman returned to Louisville, and at the urgent request of many of his old friends and prominent citizens of the city and State, he, on the 4th of December, 1865, recommenced the publication of the *Courier*. Its success was almost unparalleled from its revival to its consolidation with the *Journal*.

The Louisville *Democrat* was established, in 1843, by Phineas M. Kent, of New Albany, Ind. He was aided by subscriptions from James Guthrie and other leading Democrats of Louisville, Ky. The object of the paper was to advocate the claims of the democracy in

\*Historical sketch of the *Courier-Journal*.



the presidential campaign of 1844, then opening, and it went vigorously into the contest. Mr. Kent did not fulfill all the requirements of the party leaders, and in a short time the paper was purchased by John H. Harney, who remained its editor until his death, which occurred soon after the close of the war. Shortly after the purchase of the paper, Mr. Harney took into partnership William E. and Thomas P. Hughes. The latter soon retired, but William Hughes remained with the paper, and, under the firm title of Harney & Hughes, published it until absorbed by the *Courier-Journal* combination.

Mr. Harney was a man of fine scholarly attainments, and broad and statesman-like views. He had no experience in journalism when he took charge of the *Democrat*, but he soon became a prominent politician and recognized leader of his party. His style was strong, forcible, and correct, and he wrote to convince, and went about it in the most direct manner. His party acknowledged his services, and he held his leading position without any attempt at rivalry from any source. A wordy warfare sometimes prevailed between him and Prentice, but it was more good-natured than otherwise, and never characterized by extreme bitter partisan feeling, and when Mr. Harney died (in 1868) Mr. Prentice wrote a beautifully touching and generous eulogy of him.

Such is a brief sketch of the three papers comprised in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, a newspaper recognized as the ablest south of the Ohio River, and as one of the most influential published in the United States. It probably controls the general sentiment throughout a larger extent of country than any other newspaper in existence. In the South and Southwest it wields a power never before reached in the history of the press, except by Prentice's *Journal*. The limits of this article will not permit a sketch of all the gentlemen who have filled editorial chairs on these three newspapers, and who are now dead, or have retired from the field of journalism. A just tribute to each would comprise a volume of itself. Of the names that should not be forgotten, are those of the

accomplished Edwin Bryant; the fair-minded politician, Thomas H. Shreve; the poet-editors, William D. Gallagher and Will Wallace Harney; the talented Reuben T. Durrett, the witty "Wat" Overton, the brilliant and scholarly Paul R. Shipman, the sparkling correspondent, Charles D. Kirke ("Se De Kay"); the able Charles O. Faxon, the humorous and tenderly pathetic John E. Hatcher, and many others of talent and genius.

No event in the newspaper history of Louisville or Kentucky created the surprise and interest involved in the consolidation of the *Journal* and the *Courier*. These papers, although of the same political faith, were apparently bitterly hostile, and each was striving for party leadership. The consolidation took place, without any preliminary notice, on the 8th of November, a few days after the presidential election of 1868. A brief extract from the sketch already quoted from, will more fully explain the matter: "Each paper was sustained by a large and influential class, but the business of the city did not justify the outlays which both were forced to make, in order to sustain a rivalry so ambitious. It was not until the presidential campaign was well-nigh ended that the matter was seriously canvassed. There could hardly be a doubt of its expediency in the minds of any experienced journalist cognizant of all the facts, and the only points difficult to be settled, because complicated, related to details. These were, however, finally adjusted in a manner much to the satisfaction and advantage of all parties."

The history of the *Courier-Journal*, under its present title, is well known. It has had a brilliant existence, and a long career of usefulness is before it. Its editor, Mr. Waterson, is one of the ablest in the South or West, and he is a worthy successor of the talented Prentice. Mr. Haldeman, the president of the *Courier-Journal* Company, has few equals in the business management of newspapers. Few men living, perhaps, except himself, could have taken the *Courier-Journal* at the time of the consolidation, and carried it through the many difficulties that

surrounded it, and made it the successful newspaper it is to-day. He is a writer of more than ordinary ability, but it is as a financier, and a practical business man, that he has been most useful to the *Courier-Journal* in obtaining for it the prosperity it enjoys, and the prominent position it occupies among the great newspapers of the country.

The only paper or periodical ever published in the West that attained any renown as a literary paper exclusively, was issued by Prentice & Weissinger, from the office of the *Louisville Journal*. It was called the *Literary News-Letter*, and was established in December, 1838, and its publication continued until in November, 1840. Dr. E. S. Crosier, in a sketch of it, written a few years ago, says: "It was under the editorial control of Edmund Flagg until December 14, 1839, when it went into the hands of the lamented Leonard Bliss. It may safely be said that no periodical at the West, professing to be exclusively literary, has ever proved so successful, or around which have so many delightful associations clustered. The aim was not entire originality, but the contributions and selections exhibited a degree of excellence rarely found in older and more pretentious periodicals."

Many who attained fame and renown in the world of letters furnished original articles for the *Literary News-Letter*, or was represented in its columns by selections from their best productions. Of the number were Bryant and Longfellow, whose writings will live as long as pure literature is admired; and Albert Pike, the poet and scholar, and Francis S. Osgood, and Washington Irving, and George P. Morris, and N. P. Willis, and John G. Whittier, "the good Quaker poet of Amesbury," and others well known in the fields of literature, among whom were Mrs. Laura J. Thurston ("Viola"), Amelia B. Welby ("Amelia"), Mrs. R. S. Nichols ("Ellen"), Mrs. S. J. Howe ("Egeria"). There was also an occasional contribution from J. Ross Browne, the "artist traveler," as he is sometimes called. But with all the genius and brilliancy that sparkled in its

columns, the *News-Letter* enjoyed but a brief existence, and in a little less than two years it became extinct.

A number of other newspapers were started in Louisville, previous to the war, but most of them were short-lived and none attained any great importance. The *Times* was established about 1851, and existed for three or four years. In 1852 a paper called the *Union* was established, but like the *Times*, its existence was brief. About the same time the *Evening Bulletin* made its appearance, and the *Anzeiger*, the leading German paper ever published in Louisville or in the State. The latter is still in existence, and is a live and enterprising journal.

The *Daily Commercial* is the only English morning paper—in addition to the *Courier-Journal*—published in Louisville. It was established soon after the close of the war as a Republican paper, and was conducted several years as such. Recently, however, it has changed into an independent organ. It has been greatly improved and enlarged, and is an able, first-class popular newspaper, but still too young for an extended notice. The *Post* and the *Times* are evening papers, and are much superior to the average of that class of journals in ability and importance. Several religious and secular weekly papers are published in Louisville, and form no inconsiderable part of the city press.

The country press of Kentucky is equal in merit and ability perhaps to that of any other State. Nearly every county has one or more newspapers. The large majority of them are ably conducted, and wield a large influence for good in their respective counties. While the great dailies furnish national and foreign news, the country press, equally important in its particular sphere, gathers up and preserves the local news. The papers of Frankfort, Lexington, Paris, Covington, Cynthiana, Maysville, Newport, Richmond, Danville, Bowling Green, Russellville, Hopkinsville, Owensboro, Henderson, Paducah, etc., are excellent samples of the State and country press.

An era in the newspaper history of Kentucky was the establishment of an abolition



or anti-slavery paper at Lexington. The author of what was then considered a very questionable enterprise was Cassius M. Clay, and he published the first number of his paper, which was called the *True American*, on the 14th of June, 1845. It was devoted to the "overthrow of slavery," and was bold and defiant, and even aggressive in the advocacy of that then unpopular doctrine. Mr. Clay published his paper until in August, when public indignation was aroused, and the people arose in their might, and from all parts of central Kentucky assembled in a great mass meeting in Lexington. A resolution was adopted which will show the temper of the meeting: "*Resolved*, that the press and materials of the *True American*, an anti-slavery newspaper conducted by Mr. Cassius M. Clay, shall be sent beyond the confines of the State." A committee consisting of sixty prominent citizens was appointed by the meeting to carry out the spirit of the resolution. They quietly proceeded to the office, took possession, boxed up the material and presses, had them conveyed to the depot, and shipped to a responsible house in Cincinnati, subject to the order of Mr. Clay. Nothing was destroyed or even injured, nor was there the least mob violence displayed, but there was a calm determination to rid the town and State of the obnoxious journal.

Mr. Clay was a man of courage—was brave even to rashness—and had he been present when his office was invaded there doubtless would have been bloodshed. But he was confined to a sick bed at the time, and was thus prevented from defending his property. The establishment of an anti-slavery paper at that time in a Southern or slave State was little less than the act of a madman, notwithstanding the venture was made in a free country, priding itself upon having and fostering a free press. The time had not come to tolerate the free expression of such political sentiments, and this was the first and last effort made to establish a paper of that cast of politics in Kentucky until an administration came into power of similar principles, and thereby rendered the enterprise a safe investment.

Kentucky has produced many persons, both male and female, of high literary talent. Additional to those whose names have been mentioned in connection with the press, some of the most distinguished are William Ross Wallace, Fortunatus Cosby, Jr., James Birney Marshall, Theodore O'Hara, Mrs. Mary R. McAboy, James R. Barrick, Mrs. Sarah T. Bolton and Joel T. Hart, the "poet sculptor." Others of less extended fame are Mrs. Sophia H. Oliver, Mrs. Mary E. Nealy, Granville M. Ballard, Mrs. Mary E. T. Shannon, Mrs. Alice McC. Griffin, Mrs. Nellie Marshall McAfee, Ben Casseday, Mrs. Annie C. Ketchum, Miss Laura C. Ford, Mrs. Sallie M. B. Piatt, Mrs. Helen Truesdell, Miss Lila Va. Johnston, etc. The following, though not natives of Kentucky, were and have been citizens, some of them for many years, of the State: Noble Butler (the author of a popular English grammar), James G. Drake, George W. Cutter, Mrs. Catherine Ann Warfield, Lewis F. Thomas, William W. Fosdick, Mrs. Rosa Vertner Jeffrey, Henry T. Stanton, Mrs. Florence A. Clark and Mrs. Alice Smith Winston.

Education in Kentucky, in the last decade or two, has reached a degree of perfection never before attained in the history of the State. Kentucky has not the well organized system of common schools prevailing in the Northern and Western States—in those known as the "non-slaveholding States," but of the higher grade of schools she stands side by side with the foremost States of the Union. The majority of her seminaries and academies and colleges and universities are of no mean order, but will compare favorably with the best in the land. Since the close of the civil war they have greatly improved and their facilities been enlarged in order to adapt them to the new state of affairs inaugurated in what may be termed the "new commonwealth." The power and influence of these institutions form one of the greatest sources of moral and intellectual development of the State.

Transylvania University, whose history extends back more than a hundred years, was the first public institution of learning estab-

lished west of the Alleghanies. It is scarcely possible to sketch all the schools and colleges of the State, but only to glance at some of the earliest and also of the most important of these institutions of learning, by way of contrasting the old with the new order of things; and a history of Kentucky would hardly be complete without considerable notice of Transylvania University.

The general assembly of Virginia in May, 1780, passed the following act:

An act to vest certain Escheated Lands in the County of Kentucke\* in Trustees for a Public School:

Whereas it is represented to this General Assembly that there are certain lands within the County of Kentucke formerly belonging to the British Subjects, not yet sold under the Law of Escheats and Forfeitures, which might at a future day be a valuable fund for the maintenance and education of youth, and it being the interest of this commonwealth always to promote and encourage every design which may tend to the improvement of the mind and the diffusion of knowledge, even among the most remote citizens, whose situation in a barbarous neighborhood and a savage intercourse might otherwise render unfriendly to science. Therefore,

Be it enacted that eight thousand acres of Land within the said County of Kentucke, late the property of Robert McKenzie, Henry Collins and Alexander McKee, be, and the same is hereby vested in William Hemming, William Christian, John Todd, John Cowan, Stephen Trigg, Benjamin Logan, John Floyd, John May, Levi Todd, George Meriwether, John Cobb, George Thompson, and Edmund Taylor, Trustees, as a free donation from the Commonwealth for the purpose of a public school or seminary of learning, to be erected in said County as soon as the circumstances of the County and the state of the funds will admit, and for no other purpose whatever, saving and reserving to the said Henry Collins, Robert McKenzie and Alexander McKee, and every one of them and every person claiming under them, all right and interest in the above mentioned Lands, to which they may be by law entitled, and of which they shall in due time avail themselves, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

This was the original charter of Transylvania University. The general assembly of Virginia in 1783 passed another act formally chartering the school under the name and title of "Transylvania Seminary." This act gave the school all the powers and privileges of a university. It required that the officers

of the institution should take a special oath before a judge of the supreme court; invested in a new board of trustees 12,000 additional acres of escheated lands in the district of Kentucky, exempting the whole from taxation; empowered the trustees to receive land and other property from various sources and donors, and providing in its last clause "that no land or other property that may hereafter be vested in said trustees as an inalienable endowment to said seminary, shall ever be sold or otherwise transferred from the special purpose to which it was appropriated by the donor." \*

No institution was ever founded from nobler impulses than Transylvania, but its early career was clouded with adversities. On the 10th of November, 1783, the trustees elected Rev. David Rice, a Presbyterian clergyman, chairman. The outlook was not encouraging. But by way of cheering the friends of the institution, the Rev. John Todd donated to the school a small library. This formed the nucleus of what became one of the most extensive public libraries of Kentucky—a library still in existence in Lexington. When Mr. Rice was elected chairman of the board of trustees, the indications for a flourishing school were unpromising in the extreme. The pioneers, surrounded by difficulties and dangers, with prowling bands of hostile Indians roaming through the country, could devote little time to classical education. But amid these discouraging circumstances, the trustees persevered, and in spite of all obstacles the seminary was opened in February, 1785, for pupils. The first term was taught in the house of Mr. Rice near Danville, and he was the first teacher. The endowment at the time was so small as to afford a scanty salary for one professor.

The original acts pertaining to Transylvania were passed while Kentucky was a county of Virginia, but soon after its admission as a State into the Union, the legislature enacted laws exempting lands from escheat. This legislation served to deprive Transylvania of all the escheated lands with which it had been endowed by the State of Virginia, ex-

\*Kentucky was a county of Virginia, and still retained the Indian pronunciation.

\*Ranck, in History of Fayette County, p. 292.



cept 8,000 acres, from the sale of which the sum of \$30,000 was realized. This transaction proved unfortunate. The money was invested in stock of the Bank of Kentucky, and shortly after the investment was made, the legislature repealed the bank's charter, by which, it is alleged, the seminary lost \$20,000. This misfortune not only discouraged the friends, but seriously crippled the resources of the institution. It, however, continued to struggle on.

Transylvania was not originally intended to be denominational, yet it was opened under the auspices of the Presbyterians, and, indeed, it was mainly owing to a few prominent members of that church that it was established. The Rev. Mr. Rice, the first principal of the school, was perhaps the first Presbyterian minister to cross the mountains into the wilderness of Kentucky. He took an active part in building up the institution. The school was opened near Danville, but the arrangement was temporary, and its permanent location was left to future considerations. The matter provoked considerable discussion, and, in the fall of 1788, it was removed to Lexington, but it was not until 1793, that the question of location was definitely settled. The Transylvania Land Company pledged a donation of a lot of ground for the buildings on condition that the school be permanently located at Lexington. The trustees accepted the offer in the following resolution: "*Resolved*, that the permanent seat of the seminary be established on the lot of ground in the town of Lexington, adjoining Messrs. January's, and which is the same mentioned by the company of gentlemen calling themselves the Transylvania Company." On this lot was erected, about 1794, the first building used by the Transylvania Seminary in Lexington, a plain, two story brick edifice.

Upon the removal of the school to Lexington, Elias Jones was elected principal, in place of Rev. Mr. Rice, resigned. The terms of this pioneer institution would present a rather amusing contrast to some of our great colleges and universities of the present. They were, as published in the Ken-

tucky *Gazette*, as follows: "Five pounds a year, one-half cash, the other in *property*. Boarding nine pounds a year, in property, pork, corn, tobacco, etc." The grammar school department was added in 1789, and Isaac Wilson appointed "professor" at a salary of "£100 sterling per annum."

In the early history of Transylvania, its career was often disturbed by the yell of the Indian, and the crack of his rifle. Troops were almost constantly needed for defense, and even the women and children had to bear their part in defending the settlements against the savages. The roll of the drum called many a youth from the quiet of the schoolhouse, and the turbulence of the times forced them to exchange books for rifle and tomahawk. The unsettled state of the country was a serious drawback to the school, and from thirteen pupils in attendance at the beginning of the session, in 1790, the number was reduced next year to five. Its finances were correspondingly low. The trustees, however, did not despair, but set about raising £500 for current expenses. The fees from the county surveyors\* had not been sufficient to support it, and landed property was still too nearly valueless to be available. So low was the treasury that the Rev. James Moore, who had succeeded Mr. Wilson as principal, was forced to carry on the school in his own house, and received but £25 for his year's service, with permission from the trustees to charge an extra fee for the "Roman and Greek classics." The school seems to have prospered under all these difficulties, for, in December, 1793, the Lexington *Gazette* announced that "Transylvania Seminary was well supplied with teachers of Natural and Moral Philosophy, of the Mathematics and of the learned Languages." Quite a serious dissatisfaction arose in 1794. The board of trustees elected Rev. Harry Toulmin†, a Baptist minister, principal. Sectarian jealousy was at once aroused, and the usefulness of the institution for a time

\*In 1787 the general assembly of Virginia further endowed the school with one-sixth of the surveyors' fees in the district of Kentucky, which had formerly been given to William and Mary College.

†Mr. Toulmin was a man of ability, and was afterward secretary of State under Gov. Garrard.

seemed in a fair way to be destroyed. The Baptists claimed equal rights in the seminary as a State institution; the Presbyterians claimed control, on the ground that its endowment was due to their exertions. Jealousy and bitterness increased. Rev. Mr. Moore, principal of the grammar department, who belonged to the Presbyterians, resigned his position, and his church finally withdrew its patronage of the institution. In 1796, they established the Kentucky Academy at Pisgah, eight miles southwest of Lexington. The trustees of the new academy comprised some of the leading men of the State, and they went vigorously to work to raise funds for its support. They soon had an endowment of \$14,000, an amount liberal for that early period. About \$10,000 of this sum had been contributed by the friends of popular education in the older States of the east, among whom were George Washington, then president; and John Adams, vice-president; and Aaron Burr, and Robert Morris. The Rev. Dr. Gordon, of London, contributed £80 sterling, toward purchasing books and apparatus. An active rivalry sprang up between the two schools. But fortunately for their influence as educational institutions, good sense and moderation prevailed, and finally led to a consolidation on terms consistent with honor and justice. A petition was presented to the legislature in 1798, in which it was proposed that "the Transylvania Seminary and Kentucky Academy, together with their respective trusts and funds, shall be united, and compose one general institution for the promotion of learning, to be styled and known by the name of the 'Transylvania University.'" The petition was granted, and Transylvania was chartered as a university December 22, 1798. The Rev. James Moore was the first president of the new institution. The next year (1799) it was given the appearance of a regular university, by the addition of law and medical departments.

Transylvania University for two-thirds of a century was the most famous educational institution ever chartered in the west. Its record is as proud as any similar institution within the limits of the Republic, and its roll

of graduates show names of men distinguished throughout the country. Among them are Jefferson Davis, the whilom president of the southern Confederacy; Thomas F. Marshall, the "silver-tongued" orator; Dr. Benjamin W. Dudley, one of the most noted surgeons the State has known; Richard H. Menifee, John Boyle, Rev. James McChord, Dr. Joseph Buchanan, Richard M. Johnson (a vice-president of the United States), John Rowan, Charles S. Morehead (a governor of Kentucky), William T. Barry, Jesse Bledsoe, Charles A. Wickliffe (a governor of Kentucky), Elijah Hise and many others equally pre-eminent. Among its alumni are presidents, vice-presidents, cabinet officers, foreign ministers, governors, generals, physicians, merchants, lawyers, divines, and men of every profession and business of life. There are few towns in the south and west of any note that does not contain one or more graduates of this once renowned institution. It is a matter to be regretted, that its career could not be prolonged and a sufficient endowment secured to insure its perpetuation.

The first president of Transylvania was Rev. James Moore. He was succeeded, in 1842, by Rev. James Blythe, and he, in 1818, by Dr. Horace Holley, one of the most distinguished of all its presidents. In 1828 Dr. Holley was succeeded by the Rev. Alva Woods as president; in 1830 he was succeeded by Rev. Benjamin O. Peers, and he, in 1832, by Rev. Thomas W. Coit, who, in 1840, was succeeded by Rev. Robert Davidson. In 1840 the institutions passed into the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Rev. Henry B. Bascom (afterward a bishop of that church) chosen president. He resigned in 1849, and the school reverted back to the State. It was wholly reorganized in 1856 and a normal department added under State patronage, with an appropriation of \$12,000 per annum for its support. About this time the Rev. Lewis W. Green was called to the presidency, and was the ninth and last president of Transylvania. He held the position two years, and then resigned it to accept the position of president of Centre College, at



Danville. From the time of his resignation, the prosperity of Transylvania waned, and in 1865, it was merged into Kentucky University.

The law and medical departments of Transylvania were ably conducted, and furnished many eminent lawyers and physicians to the country. Among the professors of the law department, was Col. George Nicholas, one of the most profound jurists of Kentucky. Among his pupils, who afterward became distinguished lawyers, statesmen and politicians, were Joseph Hamilton Daviess, John Rowan, Martin D. Hardin, Robert Wickliffe, William T. Barry, Isham Talbott, John Green, etc., etc. He died in Lexington in July, 1799, while still in the prime of life. He was succeeded as professor of law in Transylvania University by Henry Clay. After Mr. Clay, the chair was filled by James Brown, John Pope, William T. Barry, Jesse Bledsoe, John Boyle, Charles Humphreys, George Robertson, Thomas A. Marshall, and A. K. Wooley, all men distinguished in their profession.

The medical department was equally distinguished. Among its professors may be mentioned James Fishback, Benjamin W. Dudley, Elisha Warfield, Joseph Buchanan, James Overton, William A. Richardson, Daniel Drake, Charles Caldwell, Constantine F. Rafinesque, John Esten Cooke, Lunsford P. Yandell, H. H. Eaton, Charles W. Short, etc.

The Kentucky Academy owed its existence, as we have seen, to a spirit of jealousy that sprang up in Transylvania in its early years. It was established in 1796, and soon attained a high reputation. The trustees of the institution comprised some of the leading men of the State, such as James Blythe, James Moore, Andrew Steele, Robert Steele, Andrew McCalla, Samuel and John McDowell, Caleb Watson and James Johnson. But the institution was short-lived, as a separate and distinct school, and a conservative influence led to its consolidation, in the course of a few years, with Transylvania.

Centre College at Danville is the oldest educational institution in Kentucky. It is denominational (Presbyterian) and has had

an uninterrupted existence since 1819. The historical sketch here given was prepared for this work by Prof. Beatty, president of the college. He prefaces his sketch with a synopsis of the facts that led to its establishment as follows:

The Presbyterians were dissatisfied with the course of Transylvania University, and took steps to secure a charter for a school which should be under their own control. Their zeal was quickened by their hostility to the celebrated Dr. Horace Holley, who had been chosen president, and whose theological views they deemed unsound. They were so far successful, as to secure a charter for "The Centre College of Kentucky, at Danville," approved January 21, 1819. But the legislature, jealous of anything looking like a union of church and state, refused to put the school under denominational control, and chartered it as a State college. But while, from the first the Presbyterian influence was predominant in the college, they were unwilling to endow it, unless their control was assured for the future. As the school could not permanently succeed without an endowment, the legislature was induced to amend the charter, and place it exclusively under Presbyterian control, upon condition that they would donate to its funds the sum of \$20,000. The amended charter was approved January 27, 1824. The synod of Kentucky agreed to pay into the treasury of the college \$5,000 a year until the whole sum of \$20,000 was paid. Upon the payment of the first installment of \$5,000 the synod would be entitled to appoint one-fourth of the members of the board of trustees, and a like additional number for each additional payment of the like sum. The full payment was completed, and the right to elect the entire body of trustees was vested in the synod, in 1830. Thus, after fifty years of effort, from 1780 to 1830, the Presbyterians secured the exclusive control of a college of their own. Immediately after the original charter was obtained in 1819, contributions were made by the citizens of the town and vicinity, and a modest building was erected in Danville. The first president elected was the eloquent and dis-

tinguished Presbyterian preacher, the Rev. James McChord, D. D., who was pastor of the church to which he gave his own name in Lexington. He died in the year of his election, 1820; but it is believed, though not certainly known, that before his death, he had declined the appointment. The office having been temporarily filled by Rev. Samuel Finley, the board of trustees, in 1822, elected the Rev. Jeremiah Chamberlain, D. D., the fragrance of whose memory lingers with a few old people about Danville, who remember him as a man of learning, ability and piety. He resigned in 1826, and the office was filled temporarily by the Rev. David C. Proctor, until the Rev. Gideon Blackburn, D. D., was elected in 1827. Dr. Blackburn was distinguished rather for his popular eloquence than for profound scholarship. He resigned in 1830, and was succeeded the same year by the Rev. John Clark Young, D. D., elected October 26th. Some difficulties connected with the resignation of Dr. Blackburn gave offense to his friends and to the students of the college, a number of whom left with their departing president. Dr. Young was thus elected the very year in which the exclusive right to choose trustees was vested in the synod of Kentucky. The money that had been subscribed having been spent in the erection of buildings, purchase of apparatus and books, the support of the faculty and other purposes, the college was without funds and without students. But the times were auspicious. Transylvania had lost her prestige, and no other school in the State had acquired her ascendancy. Dr. Young, now twenty-seven years of age, was supplying the McChord Church of Lexington, from which the board had attempted to take the first president. Upon him his Presbyterian brethren laid their hands and sent him to Danville. While in college, Dr. Young had been the pupil of the great Dr. John M. Mason, of New York. He had received his theological training at Princeton Seminary, and had been a tutor in Princeton College. An eloquent and effective speaker, he brought rare gifts and attainments to the office. His amiable disposition, his large scholarship,

his clear and discriminating intellect, his power of apt illustration, his readiness, his copious and ready flow of correct language, his wisdom, prudence and piety combined to fit him admirably for his work. He soon became a great favorite with the people among whom he lived, with his pupils and his brethren of the synod. He exerted a profound influence, moral and religious, in the community and over his pupils. Those who enjoyed the privilege of his instruction usually ranked him very high, perhaps above every other teacher whom they had known. Under his administration Centre College soon rose to distinction. Students flocked to its halls, and funds were contributed to its endowment. At the age of twenty-seven, he began his work in college, and for another term of twenty-seven years he presided over its destinies until his death, which occurred at the early age of fifty-four, on the 23d of June, 1857. He left, as his monument, an institution whose endowment was greatly enlarged, whose halls were filled with nearly 200 students, and whose fame was spread abroad by 500 graduates whom he had sent forth through the land, especially to the south and west.

Dr. Young was succeeded by the Rev. L. W. Green, D. D., who was one of the two who composed the first graduating class. He was elected August 6, 1857, and died in office May 26, 1863. He was a worthy successor of Dr. Young, and during his administration the college continued to prosper until the unhappy civil war broke out, and the young men of the country left the college halls for military camps.

Upon the death of Dr. Green, the Rev. William L. Breckinridge, D. D., was elected October 18, 1863, and held the office for five years, resigning October 16, 1868. He struggled bravely against adverse circumstances, but the civil war had necessarily greatly lessened the number of students, though it had never entirely suspended the work of the college. But after the termination of the civil strife, the Presbyterians of Kentucky were compelled to witness the sad spectacle of a disrupted and contending church. The synod was divided, and each of the separate parts



claimed to be the true representative of that body to which belonged the exclusive right of appointing the board of trustees. Various unsuccessful efforts were made to heal the schism, or to unite the fragments in support of the college, or to divide the funds. At length the civil power was invoked to determine the rights of the respective parties. The case came before the circuit and appellate courts of Kentucky, and the United States district court. In all of these courts the decision was in favor of the party in control of the college at the time, and who had always steadfastly adhered to the general assembly (northern), with which they were then and still are connected. The college could not fail to suffer under such circumstances. To add to its troubles, it lost about \$60,000 of its funds, by the robbery of the Falls City Tobacco Bank of Louisville, in whose vaults its bonds were kept. About two-thirds of this sum was ultimately recovered. But the friends of the college stood by it in its dark days, and far more than replaced its lost funds. Its property, including about \$70,000 of unproductive real estate, amounts to near a quarter of a million dollars. Its benefactors are numbered literally by hundreds, if not by thousands. Its funds have been contributed in part by many small donations. But it has had many liberal friends who have given much larger sums. Perhaps the largest contributor was Mr. Samuel Laird, of Fayette County, who gave about \$12,000. The next largest donations were made by Messrs. L. L. Warren, Caldwell Campbell, and B. F. Avery, who first and last gave over \$10,000 each. Dr. John W. Scott has given, in different ways, about \$10,000. Mr. A. M. January and Mrs. M. A. Wilson each contributed \$5,000 or over, and a large number \$1,000 or more, and a still larger number have given in smaller sums. Mr. David Sayre erected at a cost of \$5,000 the "Sayre Hall" for a library. Its graduates number 931, and now fill or have filled many posts of honor and trust, especially in the south and west.

Prof. Ormond Beatty, long connected with the college, was chosen to succeed Dr. Breck-

inridge as president, September 1, 1871, and still (1885) holds the office. A new building was completed in 1872; enlarged facilities of instruction in the way of books, apparatus, a larger faculty, and a fuller course of studies betoken increased prosperity and usefulness in the future.

Other colleges were established in Kentucky very early—prior to Centre College, perhaps—but none of them now exist, and some of them are even forgotten. The Southern College, at Bowling Green, was established prior to 1820. In that year the legislature passed an act appropriating "one-half of the profits of the Lexington branch of the Commonwealth's Bank to Transylvania University; one-third of the profits of the Harrodsburg branch, to purchase a library and philosophical apparatus for Centre College, and a like sum from the Bowling Green branch for the like purpose of the Southern College of Kentucky."

Augusta College was founded in 1822. This is claimed as the first college established in the world, under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church. During its career, extending over a third of a century or more, it had among its presidents some distinguished men, viz.: Rev. Martin Ruter, Rev. Joseph S. Tomlinson, Rev. Henry B. Bascom, Rev. Burr H. McCown, and others equally noted. Its library at one time contained about 2,500 volumes. The college building was destroyed by fire in 1852, but was immediately rebuilt, and a few years later the college went down. Since it ceased to exist the building has been used for a high school.

The first school of a high grade established in the State, under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, was St. Joseph's College at Bardstown. It was chartered by the legislature December 24, 1825, and soon became the leading educational institution of that church in the State.

A female academy, the first in the west, and among the first in the United States, was established, in 1806, by Rev. John Lyle. It was a Protestant school and was quite prosperous for several years. Located at Paris,

the heart of the thickly settled portion of the State, it sometimes had 300 pupils or more. But after a few years of prosperity passed out of existence.

Bacon College was chartered in 1836. It was originally located at Georgetown, but in 1840 was removed to Harrodsburg, and in 1865 was merged into Kentucky University. St. Mary's College, in Marion County (Roman Catholic), was incorporated in January, 1837; Louisville College in 1840, and Marshall College at Hopkinsville the same year; Henderson College in 1842, and Maysville College in 1846. Thus seminaries, academies, colleges and universities sprang up in all parts of the State--too many really for the good of the common schools, which, after all, comprise the true system of popular education in America. The common schools languish in proportion to the increase of colleges, academies, and other private schools. No State in the Union is better supplied with educational institutions of a higher grade than Kentucky, but her common school system, although being improved every year, is still very deficient. Among first-class schools, now in successful operation, may be mentioned Kentucky University, and the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Lexington, Centre College at Danville, Kentucky Military Institute near Frankfort, Central University at Richmond, Cumberland College at Princeton, with a college, academy, seminary, or other private school in every town of any importance in the State.

The Kentucky Military Institute, situated six miles from Frankfort, was incorporated under the State laws in 1847, and placed under the control and direction of a board of visitors, appointed by the governor, who, by virtue of his office, is *ex-officio* inspector of the institute. The superintendent, faculty and cadets are constituted a *quasi* military corps. The officers are commissioned under the seal of the commonwealth, and are responsible to the board of visitors for the faithful performance of prescribed duties. The institute is a private enterprise, and has always been self-sustaining. The State furnishes the military equipment and assumes

supervision over the military organization, but contributes nothing to its support.

The location of the institute is a beautiful one, and is reached by an hour's ride by stage from the State capital over the Frankfort & Harrodsburg Turnpike. The buildings were erected at a cost of \$100,000, and are admirably adapted to school purposes. They are heated by steam and lighted by gas, and the excellent taste displayed in arrangement of buildings and grounds commends the establishment to visitors as a place of unequaled beauty. The following is the true aim of the military feature:

The design of the military organization is not only to bring about a just discipline, but to direct to a high purpose the aimless energies of youth, which would otherwise be wasted in unprofitable sport. A robust frame, a manly carriage, and a graceful bodily development, are objects not less worthy than the acquirement of a soldierly knowledge, which may be of great practical value in the chances of life. The *esprit de corps* excited by this organization creates checks upon willful or thoughtless error, and urges the cadet to an observance of strict propriety, in a degree far greater than would be thought by one not familiar with its workings. The virtues of *truthfulness*, self-respect and self-reliance are the most direct results of a military education. While this is true, it is also true that the military discipline is entirely subservient to the grander purposes of the intellectual and moral development of the youth. It is but a means, and not the end, of earnest endeavor in the inculcation of subordination to rightful authority. An obedience is sought to be attained from the conscientiousness of *right*, and not from the fear of punishment. It is believed that a noble manhood is centered in no other element of character.

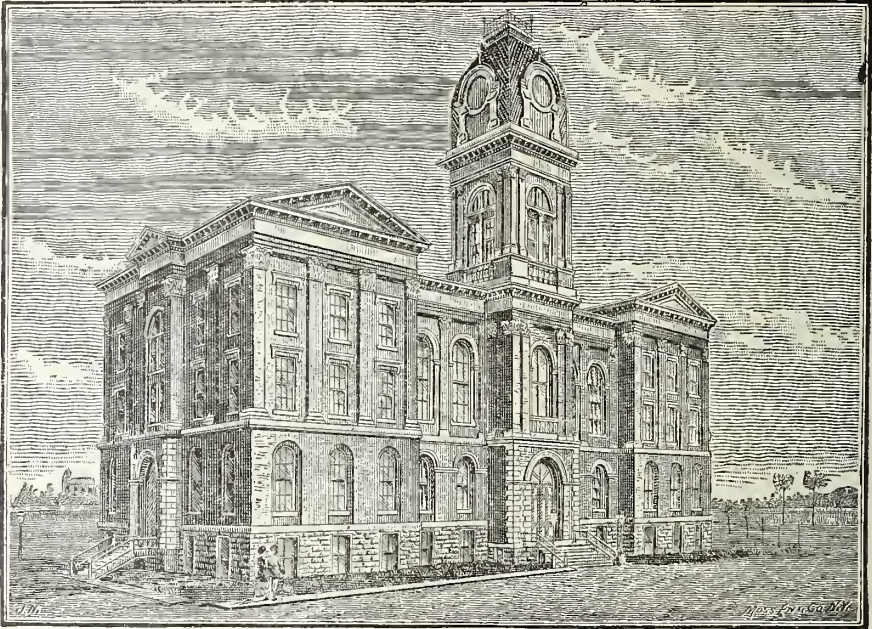
Kentucky University is one of the ablest and most renowned institutions of learning in Kentucky. It is located at Lexington, and is a genuine university, complete in every college, with a liberal endowment. It was incorporated in 1858 as a university, and located at Harrodsburg. It grew out of Bacon College, an institution established by the Reformed or Christian Church at Georgetown in 1836, and afterward removed to Harrodsburg. It finally failed through want of sufficient endowment, and about the year 1850 was virtually abandoned. Upon the incorporation of Kentucky University, the funds and property of Bacon College were



turned over to it, and the identity of the latter was thus lost in the new institution.

Kentucky University owes its origin mainly to the efforts and zeal of Mr. John B. Bowman, a graduate of Bacon College. He conceived the idea of erecting a great university—a university in the full sense of the word—upon the ruins of old Bacon College, and dedicated his life to the accomplishment of this purpose. He abandoned his business aims, and devoted his time and energies to

made to Mr. Bowman to remove the institution to Lexington, Louisville or Covington. The trustees of Transylvania University, in order that Lexington might maintain its character and usefulness as an educational center, proposed to convey the entire property of Transylvania and consolidate it with Kentucky University, on condition that the latter be removed to Lexington, and that it preserve all the Transylvania trusts. This proposition was accepted, and Kentuck



STATE AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE.

the raising of a fund for its endowment, and with such material success that within less than six months he had secured \$150,000. The college of science, literature and arts, the first regular department of the university, was opened at Harrodsburg in September, 1859, with nearly 200 students. Mr. Bowman was not idle. He raised \$5,000 to purchase apparatus, and \$50,000 to purchase, as the site for the buildings, the celebrated Harrodsburg Springs, together with 200 acres of land adjacent. In this last he was defeated through the civil war, and other causes. The college edifice and much of the furniture, etc., were destroyed by fire in 1864. About this time a proposition was

University removed to Lexington in 1865, and permanently located in that city. The next year after its removal, Mr. Bowman purchased "Ashland," the homestead of Henry Clay, for the permanent site of Kentucky University and its different colleges; he also purchased the adjoining estate of "Woodlands," which extends within the limits of Lexington, the two estates containing 433 acres of as fine land as lies in the famous blue grass region.

The Agricultural and Mechanical College was organized in 1866, largely through the instrumentality of its first president, John Augustus Williams, one of the most eminent educators in the west. In the early part of

\$5, congress proposed to donate to the State 330,000 acres of land for the purpose of agricultural and mechanical education. The legislature, astounded at the munificent provision of congress, was somewhat undecided as to the disposal of the donation, when Mr. Bowman came to its aid, and proposed to make the State Agricultural College a department of Kentucky University. He further agreed, if this should be done, to provide an experimental farm, and all the requisite buildings, and to give gratuitous instruction to 300 students, to be selected by the State; and furthermore pledged that the board of trustees would carry out, in the agricultural department, the spirit and intent of the act of congress, encouraging the education of the industrial classes.\* This was agreed upon, and a bill embodying the spirit of the proposal was presented to the legislature, and, after a rather heated discussion, was passed by

a large majority. It was under the provisions of this act that Mr. Bowman purchased "Ashland" and "Woodlands," as already described.

The legislature in 1878 detached the Agricultural and Mechanical College from the University, and established it on an independent basis—the act taking effect on the 1st of July, 1880. A commission had been appointed by the legislature to select a suitable place for the location of the college. Lexington made an offer of the city park, containing fifty-two acres of land, and \$30,000 in city bonds; Fayette County added to this sum \$20,000 in county bonds, for the erection of buildings or the purchase of land. The legislature accepted the offer, and Lexington became the permanent seat of the Agricultural and Mechanical College. It is growing in importance every year, and is fast becoming one of the most famous institutions of learning in the State.

\*History of Fayette County, p. 310.





## CHAPTER XXI.

## RECENT GROWTH AND PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE.

INTERNAL improvement has received the earnest attention of the legislature and the people of Kentucky from the organization of the State. While it never embarked so deeply and recklessly in the system as others of the Western States in their earlier history, yet it involved itself in debt to an extent that required it years to recover from. The surface of the State is not adapted to the cheap construction of roads and canals as are the prairie States, but it affords an inexhaustible supply of material for road building that is not surpassed by any country in the world, and when a road is once made it requires little work or expense to keep it in good order.

The common highway of travel is one of the best signs or symbols by which to understand an age or people. Something can be learned of the status of society, of the culture of a community, of the enlightenment of a government, by visiting universities and libraries, churches, palaces, and the marts of trade; but quite as much by the roads. For if there is any activity in society, or any vitality to a government, it will always be indicated by the highway, the type of civilized motion and prosperity.

Kentucky is noted for having some of the best as well as some of the worst roads in the country. The turnpike system in the central part of the State, so far as pertains to the excellent quality of the road, cannot be excelled, and the abolishment of tolls would render the system well nigh perfect. In other and less favored portions of the commonwealth, where only "mud pikes" are in use, they are no better than similar roads elsewhere.

The first act of the legislature for the opening of a road, passed after Kentucky

became a State, was approved December 14, 1793, and was for a road from Frankfort to Cincinnati. On December 12, 1794, the next act was passed for a road. This was to extend from Madison Court House, or Milford, as it was called, situated about four miles from the present city of Richmond, to the hazel patch, on the road leading from Crab Orchard to Powell's Valley. This was followed by another act in 1795, providing for a road "to commence in the neighborhood of Crab Orchard, and to terminate on the top of the Cumberland Mountain, in the gap through which the present road to Virginia passes." These acts were not always followed by the immediate opening of the roads designated in them. The latter road was not opened for a year after the act was passed, and the road from Madison Court House, etc., was not opened until 1797. The expenses of opening both were paid by State appropriations. The legislature of Kentucky, in 1797, re-enacted a law of Virginia, for the "opening of new roads, and the alteration of former roads, under surveyors appointed by the courts." This act required "that all male laboring persons, sixteen years old, or more, shall work the roads, except those who are masters of two or more slaves over said age; or else pay a fine of 7s 6d for each day's absence, or neglect thus to work." It further provided, "that in the absence of bridges, mill-dams should be built at least twelve feet wide, for the passage of public roads, with bridges over the pier-heads and flood-gates." The surveyors were authorized to "impress wagons, and to take timber, stone or earth, for building roads," the same to be paid for out of the taxes of the different counties. For several years, a number of

imilar acts were passed by each session of the legislature. On December 21, 1821, the first act was passed, making an appropriation of a specified sum for road purposes. The appropriation was \$1,000, and it was for the improvement of the State Road from Lexington, Ky., to Nashville, Tenn., from the Rolling Fork of Salt River, south, over the summit of Muldrow's Hills. As stated in the act, this was "owing to the thinness of the population in the neighborhood, and to the quantity of labor requisite to put in repair that part of the great highway, leading from northwest of the Ohio and upper settlements of this State, to the States of Tennessee and Alabama, and the Orleans country."

Turnpike originally meant a toll-gate, and not a road, but at the present day, the word "turnpike" is usually applied to all macadamized roads. On March 1, 1797, the legislature passed an act, appointing Joseph Crockett "to erect a 'turnpike' at some convenient place, and purchase as much land as may be necessary for that purpose, not exceeding two acres, on the road leading from the Crab Orchard to Cumberland Gap, beyond where the road from Madison Court House intersects said road." To give the reader some idea of the importance of this turnpike (or toll-gate), the act provided that "the turnpike should be farmed out to the highest bidder, who should give bond and security, payable to the governor of the State, for the faithful payment of his bid." When he had complied with this provision, he was allowed to charge the following tolls: "For every person, except post riders, expresses, women, and children under the age of ten years, 9d (12½ cents); for every horse, mare or mule, 9d; two-wheel carriage, 3s; four-wheel carriage, 6s (\$1), and for every head of neat cattle going to the eastward, 3d." After paying for repairing the road, and keeping it in good order, the surplus of tolls went to the keeper of the turnpike, or toll-gate.

The introduction of macadamized roads\* into Kentucky formed a new era in road

building in the State. The first road of this character, authorized by the legislature, was that known as the "Maysville & Lexington Turnpike Road." Gov. Desha was a zealous advocate of turnpikes. In his annual message, December 4, 1826, he recommended the building of a road from Maysville to Louisville, *via* Paris, Lexington, Frankfort, and other towns between the two points. He suggested several other important turnpikes, and closed with the following words: "The subject of common schools and internal improvements may be made auxiliary to each other. Let the school fund now in the Bank of the Commonwealth (\$140,917), the proceeds of the sale of vacant lands, the stock in the two banks belonging to the State (\$781,238), and all other funds which can be raised by other means than taxes on the people, be vested in the turnpike roads; and the net profits arising from tolls on those roads be forever sacredly devoted to the interests of education."

The first macadamized road built in the State was from Maysville to Washington, a distance of four miles. By an act of the legislature, passed February 4, 1817, a company was incorporated to build a turnpike road from Lexington to Louisville, and another to build one from Lexington to Maysville, and the capital stock of each company fixed at \$350,000, in shares of \$100 each. The road from Maysville to Lexington was to pass through Washington, Mayslick, Millersburg and Paris. During the next year turnpike roads were chartered from Louisville to Portland and Shippingport, from Lexington toward Boonesborough, from Lexington to Georgetown, and from Georgetown to Frankfort. In February, a road was chartered from Georgetown to Cincinnati. But with all this legislation on the subject it was not until 1829, that a macadamized road was built in the State.

The legislature, on the 22d of January, 1827, chartered the Maysville & Lexington Turnpike Road Company anew, with a capital stock of \$320,000. At any time, according to the provisions of the act, within three years after complete organization of the

\* The macadamized road was invented by Macadam, and consists, after the road-bed is prepared, in covering it to a certain depth with broken stone.



company, the United States government was authorized to subscribe \$100,000, and the State of Kentucky the like sum. Gen. Metcalfe, a representative in congress at the time, and afterward governor of the commonwealth, induced the secretary of war to order a survey for the location of a leading highway and "mail road" from Zanesville, in Ohio, through Maysville and Lexington, in Kentucky, and Nashville, Tenn., to Florence, Ala., and New Orleans. The survey was commenced at Maysville, in May following, by Col. Long and Lieut. Trimble, of the United States engineer department. On the 13th of February, 1828, the Kentucky legislature recommended congress to extend a branch of the national road from Zanesville, Ohio, to Maysville, and "thence through the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi to New Orleans." The resolution instructed the senators from Kentucky, and requested the members of congress "to use their utmost exertions to effect this object." A bill was introduced into the national congress, with an appropriation for this great enterprise, and passed the lower house, but was defeated in the senate by one of the Kentucky senators, John Rowan. Mr. Rowan's action was severely criticized, on the grounds that, but for his opposition, the bill would have passed in the spring of 1828, at a time when President John Quincy Adams would readily have approved it, and thus have secured the prompt completion of the road by national and State aid.

Maysville, with a spirit of enterprise worthy of emulation, and disgusted somewhat at the "wind-work," that, so far, was all that had been done, went to work, and succeeded in getting a charter from the legislature on the 29th of January, 1829, for "the Maysville & Washington Turnpike Road Company." By April the stock was taken, and the road commenced in July following—the first shovel of dirt being thrown on the 4th. The road was steadily pushed forward, and in November, 1830, was completed between the two points, and ultimately extended to Lexington, under an amended charter, entitling it "the Maysville, Washington,

Paris & Lexington Turnpike Road Company." On the 29th of April, 1830, a bill was passed by the national house of representatives (by a vote of 102 to 84), "authorizing and directing the secretary of the treasury to subscribe, in the name and for the use of the United States, for 1,500 shares (\$150,000) of the capital stock of the Maysville, Washington, Paris & Lexington Turnpike Road Company, to be paid for in the same installments as by the stockholders generally, except that not more than one-third should be demanded during the year 1830." The bill passed the senate by a vote of 24 to 18, one of the senators from Kentucky—George M. Bibb—voting against it, and the other—John Rowan—voting in favor of it, but doing so "under instructions." All the senators from the Southern States voted against the bill, except John McKinley, of Alabama. Of the twelve members of congress from Kentucky, Dr. Nathan Gaither, alone voted against it. But on the 27th of May, twelve days after the passage of the bill by the United States senate, President Jackson vetoed it. Says Mr. Collins:\* "This extraordinary measure (Jackson's veto) gave to the road a fame broad as the Union, but of no avail toward its completion—unless it may have stimulated somewhat or aroused afresh the enthusiasm excited the year before by the spirited and independent course of the brave little city, Maysville (by whose name the road has always been best known), and by the additional fact that, on January 29, 1830, the legislature of Kentucky had made it lawful for the governor to subscribe for not over \$25,000 in the stock of the company—none of which, however, to be paid until three times the amount required of the State had been paid by the stockholders, in gold or silver or its equivalent." During the year (1830) large sums—large for the time—were subscribed at Lexington, Paris, Millersburg, Maysville, and by Nicholas County, and thirty-one miles of the road were promptly put under contract. The State subscribed different sums at different times, until the total amount of State aid aggre-

\*History of Kentucky, Vol. I, p. 540.

ated \$213,200—one-half the cost of the road. The total cost of the road from Maysville to Lexington, a distance of sixty-four miles, was \$426,400, including thirteen toll-houses and six covered bridges.

The first appropriation made by the State to a turnpike or macadamized road was on January 29, 1830. This appropriation, as we have seen, was based on the condition that private stockholders should subscribe for three times the amount. The State made its first unconditional subscription on January 5, 1831, and to the same enterprise—the road from Maysville to Lexington. The State acted with great caution at first, and made its appropriations slowly and in small sums; but in the great internal improvement storm which swept over the country, and well nigh bankrupted some of the Western States, Kentucky became imbued with the spirit of enterprise, and appropriations were made to the different roads and thoroughfares, until the State had invested in such works over \$2,500,000. By the fall of 1837, the subscription of individual stockholders aggregated about \$2,000,000 more. Something of the excess to which the spirit of internal improvement was carried, is shown by the following summary of roads, most of them receiving more or less aid from the State, completed, under contract, or in contemplation, in the fall of 1837: the Maysville & Lexington, 64 miles in length; Lexington, Danville & Lancaster, 42 miles; Lexington, Harrodsburg & Perryville, 42 miles; Lexington & Winchester, 18 miles; Lexington & Richmond, 25 miles; Lexington, Versailles & Frankfort, 27 miles; Frankfort & Shelbyville, 32 miles; Frankfort, Hardinsville & Crab Orchard, 65 miles; Frankfort & Georgetown, 17 miles; Lexington & Georgetown, 12 miles; Georgetown, Williamstown & Covington, 73 miles; Maysville & Bracken, 11 miles; Maysville & Mt. Sterling, 50 miles; Bardstown & Springfield, 18 miles; Louisville, Bardstown & Glasgow to the Tennessee line, 144 miles; Louisville *via* mouth of Salt River to Elizabethtown, 43 miles; Elizabethtown & Bowling Green to the Tennessee line, 96 miles; Logan, Todd & Christian,

76 miles; New Market, Lebanon & Washington, 15 miles; Muldrow's Hill and bridge, 5 miles; Versailles to Kentucky River, 12 miles; aggregating a total of nearly 900 miles of road, and a cost to the State of between \$2,500,000 and \$3,000,000. The cost of building some of these roads was nearly one-third of the cost of building a railroad. The Maysville Road cost \$6,662.50 per mile, including bridges and toll-houses, and the road from Louisville to the Tennessee line *via* Bardstown and Glasgow, cost about \$6,736 per mile. The roads enumerated above, were built on the macadamized plan, and cost, including bridges, etc., from \$5,000 to \$7,350 per mile. In addition to the macadamized roads built prior to 1840, a number of "State roads" were authorized by the legislature; and "ordered surveyed and opened." Most of these were paid for out of the county levies, and received no aid from the State. They were graded, the "dirt thrown from the sides to the center," and had toll-gates on them at intervals; the tolls being used in keeping the roads in good condition for travel.

Next to the building of roads the improvement of river navigation early engaged the attention of the legislature. Indeed, the latter has the right of seniority, as the first river improvement act, or the re-enactment of an old law of Virginia, dates back to December 15, 1792. This law imposed "a fine of \$2 for each twenty-four hours any obstruction was continued to the passage of fish or boats in any navigable stream—except said obstruction were a dam for the purpose of working a water grist-mill or other water-works of public utility." Another act was passed December 19, 1793, which appointed commissioners to raise a fund for the clearing of the south fork of the Licking River, and opening it for navigation, from its mouth to the junction of Hinkston and Stoner, and also that of the latter fork as high as the mouth of Strode's Creek. Mill-dams already erected, were not required to be removed, but the owners were directed to build such locks and slopes as would allow the passage of all boats that might navi-



gate the streams. An act, December 12, 1794, ordered the removal of mills and fish-dams and other obstructions in Licking River and Slate Creek, by May 1, 1795, under a penalty of £30. This law was repealed December 21, 1799, and an act passed permitting mill-dams across the main Licking, with provisos as to height, locks and slopes.

In 1801 a company was incorporated by the legislature for the purpose of improving river navigation. It was known as the "Kentucky River Company," and had a capital stock of \$10,000, divided into shares of \$50 each. The stock was apportioned among the different counties, and commissioners appointed to receive the subscriptions as follows: Franklin County, twenty shares, and Christopher Greenup, Bennett Pemberton and Thomas Todd, commissioners; Woodford County, twenty shares, and Robert Alexander, Thomas Bullock and William Steele, commissioners; Fayette County, thirty shares, and James Trotter, John Jordan and Thomas Wallace, commissioners; Clark County, fifteen shares, and David Bullock, Robert Clark, Jr., and Dillard Collins, commissioners; Madison County, twenty-two shares, and John Patrick, James Barnett and John Wilkerson, commissioners; Garrard County, eighteen shares, and John Harrison, Thomas Kennedy and Abner Baker, commissioners; Mercer County, twenty-two shares, and Gabriel Slaughter, James Birney and James Moore, commissioners; Jessamine County, fifteen shares, and William Price, George Walker and Benjamin Bradshaw, commissioners; Scott County, twenty shares, and William Henry, David Flournoy and Bartlett Collins, commissioners; Lincoln County, eighteen shares, and Isaac Shelby, William Logan and William Whitley, commissioners.

The design of the Kentucky River Company was to clear the Kentucky River of all obstructions from its mouth to the mouth of its south fork, which would impede the passage of boats or might be considered necessary to improve the navigation of the river. According to the charter of the company, when the work was completed, and so long as approved by two commissioners appointed by the gover-

nor to examine the navigation of the river annually in July or August, the company was allowed to collect tolls as follows: "For each boat not more than fourteen feet wide and thirty feet long, \$4; forty-five feet, \$5; sixty feet, \$6; and 9 cents for each foot larger. For each keel-boat, pirogue, or canoe, of over one ton burden,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents for each foot in length. For each 100 hogshead or pipe staves or headings, or each 100 feet of plank or scantling, if floated on a raft, 4 cents, or other timber,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents. Boats loaded with coal, lime, iron or other ore, or household furniture, to pay not over three-fourths of the above rates."

This enterprise proved a failure, and on the 10th of January, 1811, an act was passed which authorized the raising of \$10,000 by lottery, under the supervision of eleven commissioners or directors. The amount thus raised was to be expended in "clearing all logs, brush, trees, rocks, fish traps, 'shrubbing' the points of islands, and removing other impediments from the Kentucky River, and its south fork, and Goose Creek, as high up as the salt-works of Gov. James Garrard and sons." This enterprise was likewise a failure and nothing ever came of it of practical value.

Without going into a detailed account of all the acts, and the various projects inaugurated for the improvement of Kentucky River and its branches, the following summary\* may be given: "In 1836, the total estimated cost of locks and dams was \$1,950,868; to which was to be added for lock-houses \$17,000, hydraulic lime, \$102,000, clearing river banks at \$300 per mile, \$77,250, and 7 per cent for contingences, superintendence, etc., \$150,298; total, \$2,297,416, or an average cost per mile of \$8,922. The increased cost of the five completed locks over the estimate was for construction alone, \$185,226. The actual cost of the 95 miles was \$901,932.70 or an average of \$9,494 per mile; at the same ratio, the entire navigation to the middle fork would have cost \$2,444,705. The outlay for engineering and instruments, land removing snags, and other incidental expens-

\*Collins' History, Vol. I, p. 550.

as, on the 95 miles, was \$72,231 and \$52,416 or hydraulic lime."

The improvement of Green and Barren Rivers, has received considerable attention at various times from the State. The first legislative enactment for the improvement of Green River was February 16, 1808. The act made it obligatory upon the several counties lying along a certain portion of the river, to keep it in a navigable condition, and annually, in July, August and September, "to work it with hands from the neighborhood." To "work it" meant to "remove all fish pots, all dams not erected under authority of the legislature, and all logs, to cut and clear away all projecting timber, to shrub all points of islands, and to remove any other obstructions in the channel." An act of the legislature declared the navigable part of the river to be that below the mouth of Knob Lick Creek, in Casey County. A year later this was changed to that below the Adair County line. An act of the legislature, January 18, 1810, provided for the improvement of the branches of the Green River as follows: Muddy River from its mouth up to its Wolf Lick Fork; Big Barren from its mouth to Bays Fork; Pond River from its mouth to within half a mile of Brier Creek; and Rough Creek from its mouth to Long's Ferry. These improvements were to be made by subscriptions raised along the streams, in the country that would be most benefited by the improvement. Every session of the legislature for years passed acts upon acts for the improvement of small rivers and creeks, and declaring them "navigable streams," and thus often giving them "a dignity and importance they did not merit."

As early as 1833, money was expended by the State upon work, surveys, etc., of the Green and Barren Rivers. In 1834, the sum of \$15,272 was appropriated for engineering work on the locks and dams, and \$40,033 the next year. The State appropriated, for this work, the total sum of \$125,000, most which was expended before the close of 1836. In 1834 the estimated cost of four locks and dams in the Green River, and one in the Barren River, was \$238,988. The system em-

braced the improvement of 180 miles of the Green and Barren Rivers, thirty miles in the Green River above the mouth of the Barren, thirty miles in the Muddy River, nine in the Pond River, and nineteen in Rough Creek—268 miles in all. To November 20, 1837, nearly \$250,000 had been expended upon the Green and Barren Rivers. The total amount appropriated to complete their navigation up to Bowling Green was \$859,126.79. The average cost of the improvement was estimated at \$5,010.73 per mile. The gross expenditures upon these rivers from 1843 to 1865, was \$269,813.66; gross receipts for the same period was \$265,002.59, an excess of \$4,811.07 in expenditures.

A survey of the Salt River, and of the Beech and Rolling Forks (branches), was made in 1837. It was estimated that, with four locks and dams, the Salt River could be made navigable for small boats a distance of about thirty-seven miles from its mouth. The cost of the four locks was estimated at \$282,533. It was also estimated that two locks, from the mouth of Rolling Fork to the mouth of Beech Fork, would render navigable about nineteen miles between those points.

The Big and Little Sandy Rivers, though streams of some importance, especially the former, have never received the attention and appropriations that other streams in the State of really no greater magnitude. A survey of the Little Sandy, made in 1837, developed the fact that the stream was "too crooked for the successful navigation of steamboats." The Big Sandy and its west fork were partially surveyed in 1835, but the work was not completed until 1838. The report of the survey estimated, that for "the removal of rocks, snags and leaning trees, and the excavation of a channel through each of the principal shoals or ripples, so as to admit of descending navigation, the sum of \$25,300 would probably be sufficient." The improvement of this stream is not yet completed, and appropriations are still occasionally made for the purpose. The sum of \$75,000 was appropriated in 1870, and a "chute sufficiently wide, with slope



so as to admit the passage of boats, cut in a solid rock in the falls of the Tug Fork." It was estimated to require seven lock and dams on the main stream and the West Fork, and five on the Tug Fork, costing \$569,100 to render navigation certain for the inexhaustible supplies of the celebrated Peach Orchard, block and cannel coals." These coals are among the best found west of Pennsylvania, and comprise millions and millions of bushels. Statistics show the exports from the Big Sandy Valley for the year ending July 1, 1870, at \$1,219,000 in value. These have greatly increased since that date.

The Licking River received its full share of notice during the rage of internal improvements, and, as we have seen, was one of the first streams coming under legislative enactments, but it did not receive the substantial aid which was given many other streams in the State quite as insignificant. The first survey of the Licking was ordered about 1835-36. In 1837 the survey was continued to West Liberty, a point 231 miles from its mouth. The total ascent in the distance was 310 feet, and to render slack-water navigation feasible twenty-one locks were required, with "lifts varying from nine to eighteen feet." The cost of the improvement up to West Liberty was estimated at \$1,826,481, and the time in which it was to be completed four years. The first five locks and dams on the Licking, between Falmouth and the mouth of the river, were put under contract in October, 1837, and the work pushed on with spirit. But in 1842, owing to the great financial pressure of the times, which had existed for several years, the public works throughout the State were almost entirely abandoned. They came to a dead stop on the Licking River, and the outlay, which, up to this time, was \$372,520, proved a loss to the State.

This does not include all the river improvements of Kentucky. For many years before the era of railroad building, the improvements of inland streams was agitated, and carried on vigorously. Many projects of this kind were inaugurated, that in the present age would appear supremely ridiculous to us, and

that, had they all proved successful, would have cut the State up into water highways, natural and artificial. Enough of the river improvement has been given, to show the extent to which this species of internal improvement was carried in the earlier years of the commonwealth; to notice every individual enterprise of the kind is unnecessary, and would but weary the reader.

Kentucky is not adapted to canals. The uneven surface and the vast beds of limestone underlying it, render canals an "expensive luxury" in the way of internal improvements that the State has not felt able to indulge in to any very great extent. More than one project, however, of this kind, has at different times been agitated, but the canal around the falls of the Ohio, at Louisville, is the only monument to that kind of enterprise in existence in the State. During the internal improvement craze, when the construction of canals became an epidemic in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, similar enterprises were inaugurated in Kentucky. The most gigantic scheme of this kind, was a canal to connect the Ohio River with the Atlantic Ocean. The following report made by Maj. R. P. Baker, chief engineer, to the State board of internal improvements, is from the senate journal of 1835:

From the Ohio up the Kentucky River, by locks and dams, to the three forks of the Kentucky; thence up the South Fork and Goose Creek, to the salt works; thence by a canal thirty-six miles long, with 160 feet of lockage, into Cumberland River at Cumberland Ford; thence four miles in Cumberland River to the mouth of Yellow Creek; thence by canal, in the bed of Yellow Creek, to Cumberland Gap; through Cumberland Gap by a tunnel, probably 700 to 800 yards long, and by canal from thence into Powell's River, five miles below; down that river successively into the Clinch and Tennessee, and up the Hiwassee River, by locks and dams; from the Hiwassee, continue the improvements by a canal to the navigable waters of the Savannah, at the head of steamboat navigation on that river.

Such a canal would outflank the whole chain of the Appalachian Mountains, on the southwest; and in the course of its extent, would cross the various noble rivers, Coosa, Chattahoochee, Oconee, etc., which, taking their rise in the chain of the Appalachians, flow into the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, between the cities of Charleston and New Orleans. This would throw open to the commerce

of the counties bordering on the Ohio River, a choice among the numerous markets presented by the vast extent of cotton country; independently of the facilities it would offer for reaching the northeastern cities or European ports, through the ports of Savannah and Charleston.

The average cost per mile of a lock and dam navigation, upon the most perfect plan, will but little, if any, exceed one-half that of a turnpike road. More than three-fifths of the distance on the route proposed would be in the beds of rivers improved for this kind of navigation. The most perfect kind of canal can be constructed for one-half the cost of the most perfect railroad. The experience of the northeastern States has fully settled the question that the cost of transportation on railroads exceeds that upon canals by 200 to 300 per cent. \* \* \* \* The day would not be distant from the completion of such a work, until the demands of commerce would be equal to all the capacities of the Kentucky River improved upon the largest plan proposed. This remark applies with peculiar force to the projected railroad from Charleston to the Ohio River, now undergoing discussion in the legislature of Kentucky.

At this day, when the people are groaning under railroad monopolies, and are ground down by exorbitant tariff rates required to transport their goods and produce to and fro, there can be no doubt or question but that such a water highway between the Ohio River and the Atlantic Ocean would have proven of incalculable value to the country. At the very least, it would have afforded formidable competition to railroad transportation, and have been an important factor in keeping railroad charges at lower figures than are now maintained. It is a matter for regret that the statesmen of half a century ago could not peer far enough into the future to have foreseen the value of this important enterprise, and not allowed it to fail.

The Ohio Canal Company, organized for the purpose of constructing a canal around the falls of the Ohio at Louisville, was incorporated by the legislature on the 10th of December, 1804. Under the act, "commissioners were appointed to open books in seventeen of the most important towns of the State, for the subscription of \$50,000 in \$50 shares." A clause was added to the charter, authorizing the company to increase their stock to "any amount found necessary to complete the canal." The company was authorized to cut a canal around the falls,

construct the necessary locks and dams, and to charge sufficient tolls to keep the work in proper repair, etc. If the requisite sum was not raised by subscription, the company was allowed to raise \$15,000 by lottery under rather rigid restrictions. This law was not satisfactory, and an amended act was passed December 20, 1805, by which a quorum for the transaction of business must represent, or consist of, the holders of at least 2,000 shares of the capital stock. It also "increased the capital stock to \$500,000; directed the governor to subscribe for 1,000 shares, provided the amount payable by the State should not exceed \$10,000 annually; reserved 1,000 other shares for the future disposition of the legislature; required the canal to be cut on the Kentucky side of the river; made it lawful for the United States to subscribe not over \$60,000, the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia not over \$30,000 each, and those of Maryland, New York and Ohio, \$20,000 each; made the work and canal 'real estate, and forever exempt from the payment of any tax, imposition or assessment whatever;' fixed the toll on ships or other sea vessels of 100 tons or under, down to twenty tons, at from \$6 to \$11.75, and on those exceeding 100 tons, at 12 cents per ton; legalized a lottery to raise not over \$30,000; declared the canal should be sufficient for the passage of boats drawing, in low water, not more than three feet, and at least twenty-four feet wide at bottom; and forfeited this charter unless the canal should be begun before December 20, 1808, and be completed before January 1, 1815." The charter was forfeited. Like the preceeding act, it amounted to nothing, and the construction of a canal around the falls seemed as remote as before. On the 30th of January, 1818, a new company was incorporated by the legislature under the title of the "Kentucky Ohio Canal Company," with a capital stock of \$600,000, and authority to organize when one-half of the amount was subscribed. The new company, like the old one, accomplished nothing. An amended act of February 10, 1820, removed some of the restrictions from the charter, but even this did not serve to



awaken sufficient interest to carry through the proposed improvement.

It was not until 1825, that there seemed a probability of the work being accomplished. The increasing commerce of the west demanded some improvements at the falls of the Ohio, and on the 12th of January, 1825, the legislature chartered the Louisville & Portland Canal Company—a private corporation. The capital stock was fixed at \$600,000, and before the end of the year the full amount was subscribed. A subsequent act (December 12, 1829), increased the capital stock to \$700,000, and an act passed on the 12th of December, 1831, authorized its increase to an amount “sufficient to pay all costs of construction, and interest on all sums expended up to the time the canal is opened.” Work soon commenced, and from 600 to 1,000 men were at once employed and set to work excavating. The work was pushed along as fast as circumstances would permit, and during the year 1831, though still far from being completed, the canal was opened for navigation. The great freshet of 1832 damaged it to an extent that heavy repairs were required. Its total cost of construction, as shown in the report made January 2, 1832, was \$742,869.94. This was merely for construction, and does not include the amount necessary to repair it after the great freshet alluded to above.

For many years after the opening of the canal it paid large dividends on the investment. In 1837 the dividends were thirteen, in 1838 eleven, and in 1839 seventeen per cent. Fifty shares of the forfeited stock were sold in 1837, at \$121 per share, and, in 1838, 200 shares were sold at \$130 per share, the par value being \$100 per share. The United States government, under an act of congress, purchased in 1826, 1,000 shares of stock, and shortly after, 1,335 shares more—the total par value being \$233,500. In lieu of dividend for 1831, it received 567 shares more, and up to 1842 received \$257,778 in semi-annual cash dividends; thus making the total income of the government from this canal, \$24,278, and 567 shares of stock more than it invested.

The canal was too small for the accommodation of all the craft upon the Ohio, and its enlargement was determined on. The work of widening and deepening it was commenced in 1860, and continued through the period of the war, and up to 1866, when the funds being exhausted the work ceased. Major Weitzel, United States engineer, in charge of the work, estimated at that time, that \$1,178,000 would complete the enlargement. Congress, in 1868, appropriated \$300,000 toward its completion; in 1869, \$300,000; in 1871, \$300,000; in 1871, \$300,000; in 1872, \$100,000, and in 1874 took final action toward assuming the payment of the bonds still outstanding. Such an arrangement was consummated, and the government took possession of this great public work, and made it a free canal. The benefit to commerce, of this act of liberality on the part of the general government, can scarcely be computed. Under its control, the enlargement of the canal has been completed, and is a master-piece of work. The largest boats that ply on the Ohio River pass through the canal with perfect ease and safety, and no longer are the falls an impediment to river commerce and navigation.

The Ohio River in the early history of Kentucky was the great feature of interest to the people, and its navigation, next to the pack horse, the first mode of transportation they knew. Many of the early settlers, in fact the great majority of them, floated down the Ohio to Limestone (Maysville), to the mouth of the Licking and of the Kentucky, or to the falls, on rafts, barges, and almost every description of water craft, except steam-vessels, and from their landing places, would make their way to the interior settlements. “The location of Louisville,” says a late writer, “was due to an obstruction to commerce—the falls of the Ohio—and its growth has been due to the improvement in the methods of transportation.” As early as 1776 boats and barges from the headwaters of the Ohio passed down into the lower Mississippi. Col. Richard Taylor, and his brother Hancock Taylor, in that year, 1776, descended from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Yazoo, and in the latter part of the same year, Gibson and

Linn made a trip from Pittsburgh to New Orleans for military stores for the use of the army stationed at Pittsburgh. They returned to the falls the next year, having procured 156 kegs of powder. This was carried around the falls by hand and finally delivered at Pittsburgh according to contract. Tardiveau and Honore, of Louisville, descended to New Orleans in 1782, and for several years afterward continued to make regular trips to the French and Spanish forts on the Lower Mississippi. Their mode of navigation was very slow, and attended with great danger. To make a voyage occupied from six months to a year; the river swarmed with pirates, who would steal and rob, and even murder, if necessary to do so, to secure booty. This system of navigation continued until the era of steamboats.

In the year 1809 Fulton and Livingston commenced their experiments to navigate by steam the Hudson River. As soon as their attempt on the Hudson was crowned with success, they turned their attention immediately toward the great water-ways of the west. They saw that here were the greatest streams in the world, but it may be doubted if they prolonged their vision to the present time, and realized a tithe of the possibilities they were giving to the world. They unrolled the map of this continent, and sent Capt. Roosevelt out to Pittsburgh to go over the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans, and report whether they could be navigated or not. His favorable report of the inspection he made resulted in the immediate construction of the steamboat "New Orleans," which was launched at Pittsburgh in December, 1811, and was the first steamboat to descend the Ohio River. "At this time there were but two steamboats on this continent; these were the North River and the Clermont, and they were employed on the Hudson River. The New Orleans on her first trip took neither freight nor passengers. Her inmates were Mr. Roosevelt, an associate of Fulton, with his wife and family, Mr. Baker, the engineer, Andrew Jack, the pilot, and six hands, with a few domestics."\*

The steamboat "New Orleans" was furnished with a propelling wheel at the stern and two masts; for Fulton believed, at that time, that the occasional use of sails would be indispensable. The boat's capacity was 100 tons, and her speed about three miles an hour. Before her ability to move through the water without the aid of sails or oars had been exemplified, comparatively few persons believed she could be made to answer any purpose of real utility. In fact, the boat had made several voyages before the general prejudice began to subside, and for quite a time many of the river merchants preferred the old mode of transportation, with all its risks, delays and extra expense, rather than make use of such a contrivance as a steamboat, which, to their apprehensions, appeared too marvelous and miraculous for the business of every-day life.

The first appearance of a steamboat on the western waters, produced, as well may be supposed, not a little excitement, admiration and superstition. The time of the "New Orleans'" first downward voyage, was a period of phenomena. A "fiery comet was blazing athwart the horizon," and while lying at the mouth of the Ohio, the steamer encountered the great earthquake of 1811. Many of the ignorant "squatters" along the river believed that the steamboat was the cause of both; that the comet was the harbinger of its approach, and the earthquake was but the result of its appearance. It was, they believed, this flying in the face of Providence, and making a boat to run with "bilin' water" that caused this terrific convulsion of nature. "Presumptuous man had boiled the water, when, if God had wanted it to boil, he would have so made it." People had navigated the river in flat-boats, keel-boats and canoes, and under these the glad rivers went singing to the sea. But man must come with his "fire-boat," and the earth went into convulsions, and terror and desolation brooded over the land. The arrival of the "New Orleans" at Louisville was described in Latrobe's Rambler in America, as follows:

Late at night, on the fourth day after quitting Pittsburgh, they arrived in safety at Louisville, hav-

\*Casseday's History of Louisville, p. 120.



ing been but seventy hours descending upward of 700 miles. The novel appearance of the vessel, and the fearful rapidity with which it made its passage over the broad reaches of the river, excited a mixture of terror and surprise among many of the settlers on the banks, whom the rumor of such an invention had never reached; and it is related that on the unexpected arrival of the boat before Louisville, in the course of a fine, still moonlight night, the extraordinary sound which filled the air, as the pent-up steam was suffered to escape from the valve, on rounding to, produced a general alarm, and multitudes in the town rose from their beds to ascertain the cause. I have heard that the general impression among the Kentuckians was, that the comet had fallen into the Ohio; but this does not rest upon the same foundation as the other facts which I lay before you, and which I may at once say, I had directly from the lips of the parties themselves.

The "New Orleans" was detained at Louisville on account of low water, which would not permit her to pass over the falls. In the meantime, she made several trips to and from Cincinnati, and toward the middle of December a rise in the river enabled her to pass the rapids, and successfully "weathering the earthquake," at the mouth of the Ohio, reached Natchez about January 1, 1812, and passed on to New Orleans, where she arrived in safety. As soon as she had accomplished her trip and returned, commerce on the western rivers began to grow, and assume something of importance. Steam navigation opened a new era. From this rude, imperfect steamboat, that made its trial trip amid the throes of earthquake and the blazing of comets, has come the world's Armada, that now plows the waves of every river and sea, until the busy life upon the waters, and its wealth of nations, almost equal those upon the land. From the new era thus inaugurated

Swift commerce spreads her wings,  
And tires the sinewy sea-bird as she flies,  
Fanning the solitudes from clime to clime.

The "New Orleans" continued to ply between Natchez and New Orleans for some two years. Her voyages, upon an average, occupied about seventeen days. She was finally wrecked, and sunk near Baton Rouge, on her passage up the river

The second steamboat on the Ohio was the "Comet," the name, perhaps, being suggested by the comet which, in connection

with the first steamboat and the earthquake, had created so much excitement. It was owned by Samuel Smith, and was built at Pittsburgh by Daniel French, on a patent granted in 1809. It made a voyage to Louisville in 1813, and the next year to New Orleans. It was a small craft, of about only forty-five tons burden. She made two trips between New Orleans and Natchez, and was then sold, her engine taken out and placed in a cotton-gin. Dr. McMurtrie, in his sketches of Louisville, published in 1819, gives a list of the steamboats on the Ohio River up to that date; Ben Casseday, in his history of Louisville, published a third of a century later, gives a similar list, as also does Gov. Reynolds in his "Pioneer History of Illinois." The list,\* as given by Dr. McMurtrie is as follows: First, "New Orleans;" second, "Comet;" third, "Vesuvius;" fourth, "Enterprise;" fifth, "Ætna;" sixth, "Despatch;" seventh and eighth, "Buffalo" and "James Monroe;" ninth, "Washington;" tenth, "Franklin;" eleventh, "Oliver Evans;" twelfth, "Harriet;" thirteenth, "Pike;" fourteenth, "Kentucky;" fifteenth, "Gov. Shelby;" sixteenth, "New Orleans;" seventeenth, "George Madison;" eighteenth, "Ohio;" nineteenth, "Napoleon;" twentieth, "Volcano;" twenty-first, "Gen. Jackson;" twenty-second, "Eagle;" twenty-third, "Hecla;" twenty-fourth, "Henderson;" twenty-fifth, "Johnson;" twenty-sixth, "Cincinnati;" twenty-seventh, "Exchange;" twenty-eighth, "Louisiana;" twenty-ninth, "James Ross;" thirtieth, "Frankfort;" thirty-first, "Tamerlane;" thirty-second, "Cedar Branch;" thirty-third, "Experiment;" thirty-fourth, "St. Louis;" thirty-fifth, "Vesta;" thirty-sixth, "Rifleman;" thirty-seventh, "Alabama;" thirty-eighth, "Rising States;" thirty-ninth, "General Pike;" fortieth, "Independence;" forty-first, "United States."†

\*The names of the boats are given in the order of their construction.

†A steamboat called the "Firefly," it is claimed, was among the first boats built in the west, and also among the first that navigated the Ohio River. No history, however, of Louisville or Kentucky, mentions the fact of the existence of a boat of that name, or of Dr. Thomas Ruble, who is claimed to have been its owner and builder. There was most probably such a boat, but was, doubtless, so very small that it escaped notice in all the histories of that day. Dr. Ruble was quite a prominent man of the early period of Louisville and Kentucky, and was interested somewhat in navigation at that time, but no one now seems to remember anything definitely of the steamboat "Firefly."

The "Vesuvius" was built at Pittsburgh by Fulton, and left that port for New Orleans, in the spring of 1814, under command of Capt. Frank Ogden. She was of 390 tons, and was built for a company of men of New York and New Orleans. The "Enterprise" was built at Brownsville, Penn., by Daniel French, and made two voyages to Louisville in the summer of 1814. On the 1st of December she started to New Orleans with a cargo of ordnance stores, and upon her arrival there was pressed into the United States service by Gen. Jackson. After the close of the war she left New Orleans (6th of May, 1815) and reached Louisville in twenty-five days out. This was the first voyage made by a steamboat from New Orleans to Louisville. The experiment, however, was not satisfactory, as the river was very high at the time, and the boat ran all the cut-offs, over fields, etc., leaving the public still in doubt whether a steamboat could ascend the Mississippi when the river was within its banks, with the usually rapid current common in that stage of water.

It was about this time that the steamer "Washington" commenced her career. According to Dr. McMurtrie, she was the ninth boat on the river, but another authority\* places her as the fifth. She was built under the personal superintendence of Capt. Henry M. Shreve, whom many Kentucky, Louisville and Cincinnati people doubtless still well remember. The hull of the "Washington" was built at Wheeling, Va., and the engines at Brownsville, Penn. She was the first "two-decker" on the western rivers—the cabin was placed between the two decks. Hitherto steamboats had carried their engines in the hold, but Capt. Shreve placed the boiler of the Washington on the lower deck. This plan was such an obvious improvement that steamboats have retained it to the present day. The engines constructed under Fulton's patent had upright and stationary cylinders; in French's engines, vibrating cylinders were used. But in the "Washington," Shreve caused the cylinders to be placed in a horizontal position, and gave the vibra-

tions to the pitman. Fulton and French used single low-pressure engines; Shreve employed a double high-pressure engine, with cranks at right angles. This was the first engine of that kind ever used in western steamboats. David Prentice had previously used cam wheels for working the valves of the cylinder; Capt. Shreve added his invention of the cam-cut-off, with flues to the boiler, by which three-fifths of the fuel was saved.

The "Washington," on the 24th of September, 1816, passed over the falls of the Ohio on her first trip to New Orleans, and returned to Louisville in November following. While at New Orleans the ingenuity of her construction excited the admiration of the most intelligent citizens of that place. Edward Livingston, after a critical examination of the boat and her machinery, remarked to Capt. Shreve: "You deserve well of your country, young man; but we (referring to the Livingston & Fulton monopoly) shall be compelled to beat you (in the courts) if we can." The "Washington" was delayed at Louisville, by ice in the river, until March 12, 1817, when she started on her second voyage to New Orleans. She accomplished the round trip, arriving at the foot of the falls (at Shippingsport) in forty-one days. The ascending voyage was made in twenty-five days, and from this voyage, dates the actual commencement of steam navigation in the Mississippi Valley. It was now practically demonstrated, to the satisfaction of the public in general, that steamboats could ascend this river in less than one-fourth the time which the barges and keel-boats had required for the same purpose. This triumphal voyage of the "Washington" excited great interest everywhere, but especially in the river towns and cities. The citizens of Louisville gave a public dinner to Capt. Shreve, at which he predicted the time would come when the trip from New Orleans to Louisville would be made in ten days. This may have been regarded as a boastful declaration, but the prediction has been more than fulfilled, for in a quarter of a century the trip was made in a little less than five days. All prejudices against steam naviga-

\*H. C. Bradshy in the History of Cairo, Ill.



tion being now removed, steamboat building was vigorously prosecuted, as the foregoing list of boats built prior to 1820 shows. But a new obstacle now presented itself, which, for a time threatened to give an effectual check to the spirit of enterprise, which had been thus developed. This was the claim made by Fulton & Livingston to the exclusive right of steam navigation on the rivers of the United States. This claim was openly resisted by Capt. Shreve, and litigation followed. The "Washington" was attached at New Orleans and taken possession of by the sheriff. When the cause came before the district court of Louisiana, that tribunal negatived the exclusive privileges claimed by Fulton & Livingston, which were decided to be unconstitutional. Their claims were finally withdrawn in 1819 and the last restraint on the steamboat navigation of the western rivers was thus removed, leaving western enterprise full liberty to carry on the great work of improvement. This work became so progressive and immense that at one time there were no less than 800 steamboats running on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The era of railroads lessened this number very materially, but there are still a great many boats in operation on these rivers, and river commerce still maintains vast proportions.

The railroad is the most important internal improvement of modern times, and its invention and construction form an interesting part of our history. There is not a single occupation of interest, which the railroad has not radically affected. Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, city and country life, banking, finance, law, and even government itself, have all felt its power. Wholly unknown three-fourths of a century ago, it has become the greatest single factor in the development of the material progress, not only of the United States and the other civilized nations of the earth, but its blessings are being rapidly extended into the hitherto semi-civilized and barbarous portions of the globe. The railroad system of the United States now forms a perfect net work of iron and steel from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and

from the lakes to the gulf, on which run thousands of freight and passenger cars, loaded with the products of the country, and valuable merchandise from every part of the world, and carrying thousands of thousands of human beings with lightning-like speed from one city to another.

The invention of the railroad, and its introduction in this country, was most opportune as a practical settlement of the question of internal improvement, which had for years been hotly contested. A recent writer upon the subject says:

In 1796 Tennessee was admitted to the Union, and the same year congress authorized the survey of lands north of the Ohio, and their offer for sale at \$2 an acre, with a year's credit, and 10 per cent discount for cash. By the ordinance of 1787 slavery was prohibited within this territory, and the next year the first settlement was made in Ohio at Marietta. The same year Fort Washington, on the site of Cincinnati, was built, and a road constructed by Virginia, about 300 miles long, finished from Alexandria to the Ohio, opposite Marietta. The Ohio Company, in 1787, bought a tract of 5,000,000 acres, extending along the Ohio from the Muskingum to the Scioto, for two-thirds of a dollar an acre, payable in installments and in certificates of the public debt. \* \* \* Population flowed so rapidly into the territory, that, in 1802, the people petitioned for the right to organize a State government. A convention for this purpose was held in November following at Chillicothe. When this was done the most liberal inducements were offered to settlers of the new State. \* \* \* From this date the question of internal improvements began to assume prominence in our politics; and the Cumberland Turnpike, running from Cumberland, Md., to the Ohio, occupied the attention of congress at various times up to 1836, when its control was abandoned to the States. This road cost \$6,670,000, and is now merely a highway, a parallel railroad route having deprived it of the importance it once held when it was known as the "National Road." \* \* \* There was need for new methods of inter-communication, the increasing population made every day more apparent. In 1784 the cost of transportation from Philadelphia to Erie is stated to have been \$249 a ton, the method being by pack horses principally, which were driven in lines of ten or twelve, each horse being tied to the tail of the one preceding, so that the train was under the management of a single driver. In 1789 the first saw-mill was built in Ohio. The crank for this mill was made in Connecticut, and weighed 180 pounds. It was carried by pack-horses over the mountains to the Youghiogheny River at Simrell's Ferry, and thence shipped by water to Marietta. \* \*

In 1808, Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, made a report upon the subject of internal improvements. In this report he stated that a great number of roads had been built in the Eastern and Middle States, while few had been constructed south of the Potomac. The roads were chiefly turnpikes, varying in cost from less than \$1,000 a mile to \$14,000. In five years Connecticut had incorporated fifty turnpike companies, and New York in less than seven years had incorporated sixty-seven companies. The report recommended that \$2,000,000 should be appropriated yearly for the next ten years in improving the means of inter-communication between the different parts of the Union, and made suggestions for certain specific measures of this nature. \* \* \* \*

On the 1st of January, 1832, it was reported that there were nineteen railroads either completed or in process of construction in the Middle States, and that their aggregate was nearly 1,400 miles. Though congress afforded no material aid to this new era of internal improvements, yet this same year it exempted from duty the iron imported for railways and inclined planes, and actually used for their construction. In 1840, it has been estimated that our yearly average of railroad construction was about 500 miles. In 1850 this average had increased to 1,500 miles. In 1860 it was nearly 10,000, and in 1871 it was stated that enterprises requiring an expenditure of \$800,000,000, and involving the construction of 20,000 miles of railroad, were in actual process of accomplishment. In 1872 the aggregate capital of the railroads of the United States, which were estimated to embrace one-half of the railroads of the civilized world, was stated to amount to the sum of \$3,159,423,057, and \$473,241,055 as their gross revenue.

Thus has the construction of railroads increased with almost unparalleled rapidity, and grown into formidable proportions, becoming, as we have said, the greatest single factor in the development of our material progress. To better understand this marvelous growth and expansion, a brief glance at the early history of the railroad is not out of place. The first railroad of which we have any account was built in the north of England (in the collieries) nearly two centuries before the introduction of the locomotive. Upon this road, which had wooden rails, cars were drawn by horses and mules, and were used in hauling coal from the mines. As early as 1794, the use of the locomotive in the place of animal power was suggested, but none were built until several years afterward, nor did they come into practical use until 1830, upon the opening of the Liverpool & Manchester

Railway. The first railroad in this country was built in 1807. It was but a few hundred yards in length, and was constructed for transporting gravel from the top of Beacon Hill down into Charles Street, in the city of Boston. The rails were entirely of wood, and the propelling power the momentum of the loaded cars, which in descending, by means of a rope attachment, pulled the empty cars up, a double track, of course, being necessary to the proper working of the road.

Rude and simple as were these first efforts at railroad building, they suggested plans and designs which time and experience, together with the inventive genius of man, have continued ever since to improve upon. Scientific research demonstrates that what is now reduced to system, and rises to the dignity of science, was discovered through some trivial casualty or circumstance, which falling under the notice of a reflecting mind, gave rise to surprising results. The simple circumstance of a falling apple developed the great law of gravitation. The idea of fortifying a military camp with an insurmountable obstruction behind it, was first suggested to Pyrrhus, King of Epirus (who lived nearly 300 years before the Christian era, and who was the most celebrated warrior of his time), by seeing a wild boar, when hunted to desperation, back himself against a tree, that he might fight his pursuers, without danger of being assailed in his rear. Similar hints have led to the triumph of mechanical art, which it may be said, has culminated in the perfected railroad system of the present day.

In 1827 a railroad was built from the granite quarries of Quincy, Mass., to the Neponset River, a distance of three miles. During the same year, a road nine miles in length was laid out from the Mauch Chunk coal mines of Pennsylvania to the Lehigh River, and in 1828, a road constructed by the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company, from their coal mines to Honesdale, and a commissioner sent to England to purchase rails and locomotives. These locomotives arrived in the spring of 1829, and were the first used in the United States.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was char-



tered, and work commenced on it in 1828. In the early part of the same year the South Carolina Railroad was chartered by the legislature of that State. It has been claimed that the latter was the first road in the country, undertaken with the intention of of using steam power as a propelling force. It was originally built from Charleston to Hamburg, but afterward extended to Augusta, Ga., and in 1833-34, was the longest railroad in the world, being 130 miles in length. The first locomotive built in this country,\* was constructed especially for this road. Its trial trip was made on a small portion of the road out of Charleston, when, according to the *Courier* of that date, it run "on the wings of the wind, at the varied speed of fifteen to twenty miles an hour; annihilating time and space, and like the renowned John Gilpin, 'leaving all the world behind.'"

The first railroad built in Kentucky, and the first completed west of the Alleghanies, was the old "Lexington & Ohio Railroad," afterward known as the "Lexington & Frankfort," then as the "Louisville, Frankfort & Lexington," and at present, the "Shortline" division of the Louisville & Nashville system. It was originally chartered as the Lexington & Ohio Railroad, and was to extend from Lexington to Portland, on the Ohio River, a village now included in the corporate limits of Louisville. The act of incorporation passed the legislature January 27, 1830, and takes up twelve printed pages in the official proceedings of that body. Among the incorporators were John W. Hunt, John Brand, Richard Higgins, Benjamin Gratz, Luther Stevens, Robert Wickliffe, Leslie Combs, Elisha Warfield, Robert Frazer, James Weir, Michael Fishell, Thomas E. Boswell, George Boswell, Benjamin Taylor, Elisha I. Winter, Joseph Boswell, David Megowan, John Norton, M. C. Johnson and Henry C. Payne. Elisha I. Winter was elected president of the company, but was shortly afterward succeeded by Benjamin

Gratz, of Lexington, who, consequently was the second president of the company. Among others who have served as president of the road, are William R. McKee, Thomas Smith, James O. Harrison, W. A. Dudley, James B. Wilder, and Jacob Kreiger, Sr. A preliminary survey followed the incorporation of the company, and was made in April, in order "to ascertain the level, and whether inclined planes and stationary engines would be required, and to furnish the company with an accurate description of the face of the country, to enable them to estimate the cost," etc. The engineer's report of the survey between Lexington and Frankfort, showed the following result: First.—There will be but one inclined plane, about 2,200 feet long, descending one foot in fourteen. All the residue of the road can be graded to thirty feet or less in a mile, which is a fraction over one-fifteenth of an inch rise in one foot. Second.—On that grade there will be no cut deeper than nineteen feet, and but one of that depth. Third.—There will be no embankment over twenty feet high, nor any bridge over thirty feet high. Fourth.—The distance to Frankfort will not be increased two miles in length over the present traveled road. Fifth.—There will be as much rock excavation in the grading as will be required to construct the road. Sixth.—Or the thirty feet grade which has been adopted, a single horse is capable of traveling with seven tons' weight, with as much ease as five horses can draw two tons on our present roads in their best condition.

A strong prejudice existed in early times against railroads, and many fair-minded men opposed their construction as being impracticable, and costly beyond their possible value when built. But the friends and advocates of railroads argued that, in almost all places where canals\* could be built, railroads could be built also, and at less cost, and that railroads could be built in thousands of places where canals could not be, for the want of water; that they afforded as cheap and safe if not a cheaper and safer

\*It was built at the West Point foundry (New York) and completed December 9, 1830, under the supervision of E. L. Miller, Esq. It was called the "Best Friend"—a name more appropriate than entered into the imagination of its projectors at that time.

\*It will be remembered that canal building prevailed to excess about this time in the west

mode of communication than canals, and could be traveled in one-third of the time; that they did not interpose any obstacle to the cross-communication of the country, or to the free passage from one part to another of the same farms as canals do; that they may be as easily crossed as a common turn-pike, or other road; that they may be used all the year, while canals are made dry by drouth, or closed by frost; that they are not only constructed at less cost than canals, but are easier kept in repair, and that no improved communication ever invented required so little for repairs as railroads. This system of argument carried the day in favor of the railroad, and left the croakers to croak on to small audiences, while preparations were made for beginning the then important work of building a railroad. The cost of constructing the Lexington & Ohio Railroad was estimated at \$1,000,000, a sum that shows railroad engineers were not as extravagant in their estimates for building roads as they are now. The amount was soon subscribed, and the contracts for grading the road between Lexington and Frankfort let, the distance being divided into several divisions to better expedite the work. Railroads were built very different then, and the Lexington & Ohio, it was determined, should be without "flaw or blemish" in its construction. Instead of wooden cross-ties "stone sills" were laid lengthwise, to which the rails were spiked and then soldered. The first stone sill was laid October 22, 1831, at the Lexington end of the road, in the presence of a large assemblage of people, and amid the strains of martial music and the roar of artillery. A description of this event, which occurred over half a century ago, will doubtless be of interest to the general reader, and from a chronicle of the time,\* the following is taken:

The three military companies were formed for escort duty, and marched to the college grounds, where they met the various societies and individuals. A procession was then formed in the following order: Col. Leslie Combs as marshal and J. R. Coleman as aid, on horseback; Maj.-Gen. Pendleton and staff on horseback; field officers and staff on horse-

back; officers of the line on foot; Capt. Hunt's artillery in platoons; Gov. Metcalfe supported by Prof. Caldwell, orator of the day, and Rev. W. H. Hall, officiating clergyman; Judges Underwood and Buckner, of the court of appeals; Judge Hickey of the Fayette circuit court; the Hon. R. M. Johnson, R. P. Letcher and T. A. Marshall, members of congress, with several members of the Kentucky legislature; Capt. T. A. Russell, assistant marshal; president and directors of the Lexington & Ohio Railroad Company; Samuel H. Kneas, chief engineer, and the treasurer of the company; contractors and pioneers, with their implements of labor; Capt. Neet's Rifle Guards, in platoons; military band of music; trustees of the town of Lexington and clerk; justices of the Fayette county court and clerk; trustees and professors of Transylvania University; principal of preparatory department and pupils; principal and pupils of Wentworth's Academy; principal and tutors of Shelby Female Academy and pupils; principal and professors of the Eclectic Institute and pupils; strangers; stockholders of the Lexington & Ohio Railroad; Capt. Postlethwaite's light infantry company in platoons; Lieut.-Col. Stephens, assistant marshal; citizens on foot, etc., etc.

A Federal salute was fired at sunrise on the eventful morning, and seven guns when the first stone sill was laid, indicating the seven sections or divisions of the road then under contract. As the procession moved, the various church bells rang out a merry peal, which continued until it reached the place where the ceremony was performed. Arriving upon the ground the military formed a hollow square, within which the civic procession was inclosed. A large number of ladies were present for whom ample accommodations had been made. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hall, when Elisha I. Winter, Esq., president of the company, handed a hammer to the governor of the State, who drove the nail attaching the first iron rail to the beginning stone sill. The music struck up "Hail Columbia," and afterward "Yankee Doodle," which continued until the artillery ceased firing. Prof. Charles Caldwell then delivered an address, the text of which was internal improvements, after which the crowd dispersed, and the ceremonies were brought to an end.

The work, from this auspicious beginning, progressed steadily but rather slowly. The great pains taken to make a "solid" road-bed, and the labor of laying the stone sills, rendered the work tedious. The contract for preparing and laying the stone sills was given to Holburn & Benson, who received "great praise for executing their work so faithfully, and in a style of beauty and elegance which excited the admiration of all who examined it." By the 1st of August,

\*From the Lexington Observer.



1832, one and a half miles of the road were completed, and a "splendid car" put on, and on the 14th the road was formally opened; the car "leaving its moorings at 12 o'clock, with about forty people aboard, among whom were Gov. Metcalfe and other distinguished persons." Six and a quarter miles were completed by the 1st of January, 1833, and "the car" made two regular trips daily for the accommodation of the people. The *Lexington Intelligencer*, of January 27, 1835, closed a lengthy article on the railroad as follows: "We cannot refrain from congratulating our fellow-citizens of the town and country adjacent upon the new and brilliant prospects which the railroad and the introduction of steam power have opened upon us. It is the beginning of a new era to Kentucky, and to this part of the Union, an era in which the population of the interior country may and will enjoy the commercial facilities which have hitherto been the exclusive property of the seaboard and river population. Interior cities need only to exert their strength and enterprise in constructing works of internal improvement, in order to compete, with certain success, with the most favored of river and seaport towns."

Considerable opposition was encountered from the enemies of railroad building, and from men who believed the project premature and far ahead of the times. They believed like Thomas Jefferson, that the time had not arrived for such improvements. It is told of Thomas Jefferson, that when the New York Grand Canal was begun, Gov. Clinton, in a letter to Mr. Jefferson, asked his opinion of the undertaking. "It is a noble project," replied Mr. Jefferson, "but you are a century too soon." A few years passed, and the great canal was finished, when another letter from Gov. Clinton to Mr. Jefferson announced the fact, with the query: "What do you think of it now?" Mr. Jefferson's reply was: "I now perceive that in regard to your resources and energies, I committed an error of one century in my calculation." Just so it was with the opponents of railroads. They believed the world was not yet old enough for the successful building of railroads, and were ready,

at the slightest indication of failure, to exclaim in chorus—"I told you so." Hence, when, one bright day in December, 1835, the iron-horse dashed into Frankfort with a train of cars at his heels, drawn all the way from Lexington, they were forced to admit, that like Jefferson, they had erred in their calculations as to time. Frankfort and Lexington were now connected by rail, and the event was appropriately celebrated by the two cities.

The project, as we have seen, was chartered as the "Lexington & Ohio Railroad," and was so known for several years. In 1847, the legislature issued a charter to the "Louisville & Frankfort Railroad Company," and a company was at once organized under this title, which purchased from the State\* that portion of the road between Louisville and Frankfort. The next year (1848), another company was formed, under the title of the "Lexington & Frankfort Railroad Company." This new company purchased from the State the road between Lexington and Frankfort, and in 1851 the two divisions were fully completed and connected, and trains ran through from Lexington to Louisville. This arrangement was continued until 1857, when the two companies were consolidated, and the title of the road changed to that of the "Louisville, Frankfort & Lexington Railroad." Upon the completion of the Louisville and Cincinnati "Shortline," in the spring of 1869, a branch diverging from the main line at La Grange, and extending to Cincinnati, the title was again changed, this time to the "Louisville, Cincinnati & Lexington Railroad." In 1881 it was purchased by the Louisville & Nashville system, and since that time (and henceforth, perhaps) it has been operated as a division of that immense corporation.

The Charleston & Cincinnati Railroad excited more interest, perhaps, in the early history of railroad enterprise in Kentucky, than any road ever projected in the State. This trunk line was designed to extend from Charleston, S. C., to Cincinnati, Ohio, pass-

\*The Lexington & Ohio Railroad was sold at auction in Frankfort, on the 12th of January, 1842, to pay the State the sum of \$150,000 and interest, which, as security, she had assumed. In this sale, the State became the purchaser of the road.

ing through Lexington, with diverging lines to Louisville, Paris, Maysville and Newport. A lively interest was manifested in the enterprise, and the indications were favorable at one time for its early completion. Some controversy arose, however, between its friends and supporters, and those of the canal already described (which covered nearly the same ground). And it is possible that if sentiment had been concentrated on the one or the other, it might have proved successful; as it was, both projects failed, though grand in their conception. The idea of connecting the southeastern and northwestern States by a railroad or canal, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ohio River, half a century ago, was a scheme worthy of the greatest railroad magnates of the present day. The importance with which it was considered, is shown by the following extract\*: "The project is a magnificent one, whether viewed in reference to its commercial, geographical, political, civil or social influence. Carried into successful operation, it will form a bond of union between the States immediately concerned, which no ordinary political accidents or combinations can dissolve. Completed, it will make Charleston a great commercial emporium, rivaling, or, at least successfully competing with, her elder sisters, in receiving the northwest trade. And if we could for a moment suppose that New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans and Mobile could allow themselves to be governed by a narrow, selfish and short-sighted policy, we might, from all these sources, anticipate strong and interested opposition to this truly majestic project. This anticipation, however, we will not indulge in, but will believe that the intelligent and patriotic of all sections will rejoice to see the whole country prosper."

In February, 1836, the Charleston & Cincinnati Railroad was chartered by the Kentucky legislature. When the news reached Cincinnati, that the bill had passed, the mayor issued his proclamation for an illumination of the city, and a general rejoicing prevailed. A convention was called to meet at Knoxville,

Tenn., on the 4th of July, 1836, in the interest of the road. On the 13th of June, preceding the convention, a meeting was held in Lexington, for the purpose of selecting delegates, and the following gentlemen were chosen: Hon. Robert Wickliffe, Benjamin Taylor, William C. Richardson, Henry C. Payne, Leslie Combs, T. C. Turner, Thomas A. Russell and Henry Beard. When the convention convened in Knoxville, nine States were represented. The meeting was characterized by harmony and good feeling, and it was confidently believed the work would proceed without delay. A charter had been granted by the States of South and North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, under the name and title of the "President and Directors of the Charleston & Cincinnati Railroad Company." According to the charter, as granted by Kentucky, it was made obligatory upon the company, when reaching the Kentucky line, "so to construct the road that a branch should be made to Louisville, and the main road be so constructed, as to pass through the city of Lexington, and thence to the Ohio River, opposite Cincinnati; and that another branch or prong of said road be constructed from the city of Lexington to the city of Maysville, on the Ohio River." Resolutions were adopted in the Kentucky legislature, recommending the early construction of the road, as "an enterprise of national importance," and requested their senators and representatives in congress to exert their influence in securing an "appropriation from the national government for the same." As an evidence of the interest taken in the road, Lexington alone subscribed for \$100,000 of stock, a liberal sum fifty years ago. By the middle of November, 1836, sufficient stock had been subscribed to admit of the organization of the company, and at a preliminary meeting, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was recommended for the presidency of the road. After formally organizing under the title of the "Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston Railroad," the stockholders held a meeting at Knoxville, on the 9th of January, 1837, to elect officers and directors. The result of the

\*From the *Lexington Intelligencer*.



election was as follows: E. D. Mansfield, W. Green and J. W. Bonsall, of Ohio; Robert Wickliffe, William C. Richardson, James Taylor, John W. Tibbatts, J. L. Ludlow and J. B. Casey, of Kentucky; John Williams, J. C. M. Ramsay and Alexander E. Smith, of Tennessee; Robert Y. Hayne, Mitchell King, James Hamilton, Charles Edmondson, J. W. Simpson, B. F. Ellmore, John C. Calhoun, A. Blanding and B. G. Mills, of South Carolina; James Hardy, T. H. Forney and P. Roberts, of North Carolina, directors. Gen. Robert Y. Hayne was unanimously elected president of the company. Surveys were ordered made of the different routes contemplated, and all preliminary steps taken toward inaugurating the work.

An amendment to the charter, designed to relieve the company from their obligation to build the branch to Louisville, was defeated in the legislature at the session of 1836-37. As a matter of interest to herself, Louisville opposed the amendment, and for the time, succeeded in defeating it, whereupon she was assailed by the Lexington press, as having killed the road altogether. Shortly after the defeat of the amendment, however, the proposition was reconsidered, and the amendment finally adopted, thereby revoking that part of the charter applying to the Louisville branch of the contemplated road. But the project had not only attained the summit of its greatness, but had already begun to decline in popularity, and all interest in it finally subsided. It laid down to a Rip Van Winkle sleep, to awake something more than a quarter of a century later, under the name and title of the Cincinnati Southern.

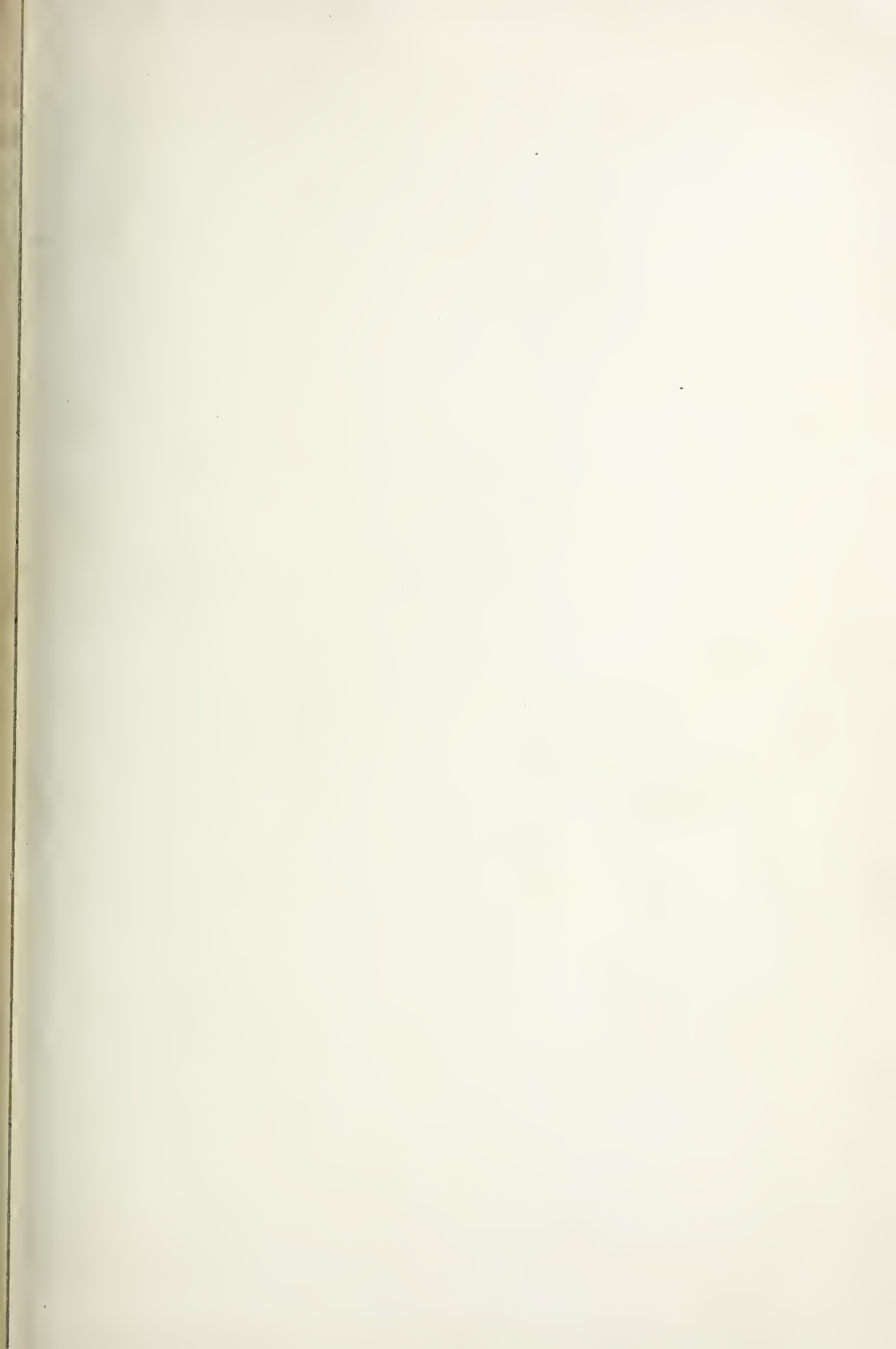
Considerable space has been given to these two railroad projects, because one of them was the first road built in the State, and the other one of the most stupendous schemes of internal improvement conceived of in that early day. Most of the contemplated route of the Charleston & Cincinnati Railroad, has since been covered by the Cincinnati Southern, Kentucky Central and the Knoxville division of the Louisville & Nashville, but had the original road been built, who can tell how different the history of the south might

have been. It might have resulted in a reversal of the wealth, influence and importance of the sections, and made the south the great ruling power in the republic, as the north has been, through its vast and improved system of internal communication.

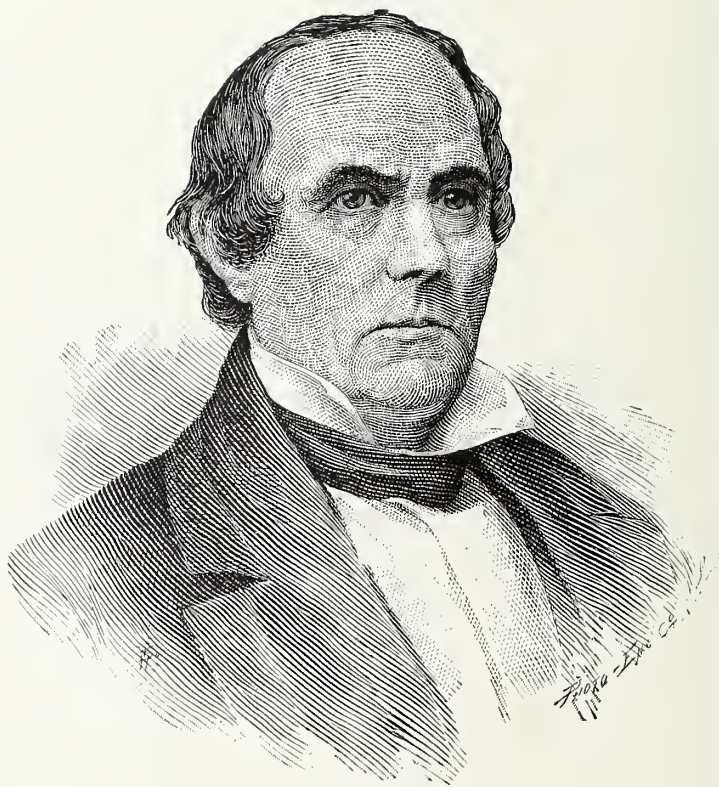
The Louisville & Nashville Railroad is the most important work of internal improvement that has been completed in the State. Its construction was a Herculean task, when the character of the country, through which it passes, is taken into consideration. To build a railroad through the chain of the Muldrow Hills was a triumph of engineering skill, and an enduring monument alike to the men who conceived the project and those who accomplished the great work. The tunnels, bridges, trestles, cuts and fills of the Louisville & Nashville Road, are perfect in their construction, and of such magnitude as would have discouraged and appalled any but men of the most determined energy.

The road was chartered March 2, 1850, and may almost be termed a Louisville institution. To the city of Louisville, and the energy and enterprise of its inhabitants, more perhaps than to any other one influence is the State and the country indebted for this great thoroughfare of travel between the north and the south. Confirmatory of this is the following extract from the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, of August 20, 1851:

The Louisville papers contain two ordinances, passed by the common council of that city, one authorizing a subscription of \$1,000,000 for the construction of a railroad from Louisville to Nashville, Tenn., and the other authorising a subscription to the capital stock of the Jeffersonville & Columbus Railroad Company of \$200,000. We believe Kentucky is rather deficient in railroads, compared with some of the Southern States, notwithstanding the eligible position of Louisville as a terminus. This movement, therefore, is important to the internal interests of the State, and will add, if carried out, greatly to the growth and future consequence of her metropolis. Combining the two propositions, we perceive the object of the city authorities, which is to intercept the western trade of the central routes of Indiana and Ohio, eastward, and direct such as would naturally flow to the lower Atlantic States, to pass through Louisville, instead of going by way of Baltimore, as is at present the case. Louisville has become emulous of the advantages possessed by Wheeling, and she is (we should infer







JAMES GUTHRIE.

from this) determined, if the State will not aid her, as Virginia has contributed to the support of the latter, to build her own railroads, and enjoy singly their benefits. We are glad to witness the exercise of a spirit that tends to multiply the facilities of trade, and add to the prosperity of our people, without respect to locality. Kentucky should have abounded with railroads ten years since—Virginia twenty. However, by delaying their measures, they may be the better able to plan, mature and execute them now.

But in a no less degree is Louisville indebted to the Louisville & Nashville Road for its own importance as a great commercial emporium. "To it," says a recent writer, "Louisville owes its commercial influence and prosperity. It made her, with the exception of New Orleans, the leading city of the south; it strengthened the social and commercial ties which bound her to that section; it changed her from a slowly growing, contented provincial town to a progressive and aggressive competitor with larger and richer rivals. For the States of Kentucky and Tennessee it did no less than for Louisville."

The first president of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad was Mr. Levin Shreve, a well-known and prominent business man of Louisville forty years ago. During his administration, work on the road was begun and pushed on toward the Muldrow Hills as rapidly as possible, and the iron laid nearly to that point. But in its earlier history the road met with various financial obstacles, which were not overcome for several years after the work was commenced. Its principal difficulty was in floating its bonds, which a lack of public confidence in its success rendered unsaleable. About this time Hon. James Guthrie and other wealthy citizens of Louisville and of Kentucky and Tennessee became interested in it, and succeeded in securing a number of county subscriptions, which resulted in the completion of 185 miles of the line to Nashville, to which point it was opened for business in November, 1859. About this time financial troubles again threatened, and the road was in imminent danger of going into bankruptcy, but was saved by the action of the city of Louisville, which took stock to the amount of \$1,000,000

and in so doing benefited the entire State.\* In the earlier history of the road Helm, Guthrie and the elder Newcomb were the master spirits connected with it, and to them and their indomitable energy its successful completion is mainly due.

The first two of these gentlemen were statesmen and politicians, as well as financiers, while the last, Mr. H. D. Newcomb, aspired to neither politics nor statesmanship, but was an able financier, and a most accomplished and successful business man. He was a native of Massachusetts, and located in Louisville about the year 1833. He was for many years—a quarter of a century or more—one of the leading merchants of Louisville. For twenty years he conducted the largest cotton-mill in the west, and aided much in improving and beautifying his adopted city. He was mainly instrumental in rebuilding the Galt House, one of the best arranged and most elegant hotels in the country, and which cost \$1,000,000. He became president of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad in 1868, and held the position until his death. Under his administration it became one of the most powerful railroad systems of the south or southwest.

James Guthrie, whose great abilities as a financier were so largely instrumental in carrying the Louisville & Nashville Road through to completion, was a native Kentuckian, and was born near Bardstown, December 5, 1792. He was educated principally at the Bardstown Academy, and, after a few years spent in flat-boating to New Orleans, studied law with John Rowan, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Nelson County. He soon removed to Louisville, and in a short time obtained a lucrative practice. He served repeatedly in both branches of the State legislature, and in 1849, was a member of the constitutional convention, and its presiding officer. He was secretary of the treasury under President Pierce from 1853 to 1857, and a candidate for the nomination to the presidency in 1860, before the National Democratic Convention at Charleston, S. C., but was defeated. He was a delegate to the

\*Historical sketch of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.



Peace Conference at Washington in 1861, and also, to the Border State Convention at Frankfort shortly after; he was elected to the United States senate in 1865, but owing to feeble health resigned in 1868. He died in Louisville, March 13, 1869. Mr. Guthrie was a great financier. He amassed a large fortune, and his ability as a financier is illustrated in its management, no less than in that of the national treasury and the affairs of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

John L. Helm became president of the Louisville & Nashville Road in 1854, and by his great energy and excellent business management completed it. He was born in Hardin County, July 4, 1802. When but a lad, he entered the circuit clerk's office as a deputy, and was fortunate in attracting the notice of Gen. Duff Green, a prominent merchant and business man of Elizabethtown, who directed his education. At the age of twenty-one Mr. Helm was admitted to the bar, and in 1826 was elected to the lower house of the legislature. He was re-elected again and again, serving eleven years in the house of representatives and six years in the senate. He was elected lieutenant-governor in 1848 on the Whig ticket with John J. Crittenden, and became governor in 1850 upon the resignation of Mr. Crittenden, who was called to the cabinet of President Fillmore, as his attorney-general. In 1867 he was elected governor on the Democratic ticket, and was inaugurated at his residence in Elizabethtown, September 3d (1867), being too ill at the time to go to Frankfort. He died on the 8th of the same month, and on the 13th the lieutenant-governor, John W. Stevenson, was inaugurated governor as his successor.

No three men ever connected with the Louisville & Nashville Railroad (and certainly no road has been more fortunate in the selection of its executive officers) took more interest in its affairs, or exerted greater energy and ability to make it a successful enterprise, than John L. Helm, James Guthrie and H. D. Newcomb. They did what few others could have done at that time; they built and equipped one of the most important railroads ever built south of the Ohio River. Says the

writer already quoted: "Success demonstrates so clearly the wisdom of a great undertaking that we fail to do justice to the men whose wisdom, courage and devotion make success possible. There were many dark hours in the early history of the Louisville & Nashville railroad; when the public lost faith in it when it seemed too vast an undertaking for that section and that time; when bears and skeptics, who always abound, were assuring a deluded public that failure was inevitable. Through all these years Helm and Guthrie and the elder Newcomb, and their associates, had Louisville and Louisville's credit and the confidence of her citizens with them. It was invaluable; the money subscribed and the endorsements given finally wrought their perfect work and the road was completed."

In 1857, some two years previous to the completion of the main line to Nashville, the company had built a branch to Lebanon. This branch, and the main line, comprised the Louisville and Nashville system, at the breaking out of the late civil war. To the United States government it was worth much more, during each year of the war, than its entire construction had cost. Louisville became the basis of supplies, and of operations of the armies of the United States, and along its lines, built for the benefit of commerce, the battles raged. The vast importance of this north and south trunk line, had been fully demonstrated by the military movements. It was proposed, at one time, to build, for military purposes, a line branching from the main stem to Knoxville. This work would doubtless have been done had not the war closed when it did. A branch to Knoxville was a favorite idea with Mr. Guthrie, but he was never able to accomplish its construction, and it was left for those who came after him to carry out and complete it. Most of the roads in the south were wrecked during the war, but the Louisville & Nashville, as compared to others, was in a healthy condition, financially. Its management, however, knew that its future success depended largely on the reorganization and co-operation of other roads south of it. Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Newcomb boldly pushed

the reorganization. The local business of the road was cared for, and encouraged, and active assistance, resulting in time in absolute control, was lent to the roads in Tennessee, and further to the south. In this way the Louisville & Nashville pushed its lines through to Memphis and Montgomery.\*

The Bardstown branch, a road in process of construction from Bardstown to Louisville, was purchased in 1865, and became a feeder, and a part of the reorganized system of the Louisville & Nashville. The Richmond branch was opened in 1868, and the same year the Memphis, Clarksville & Louisville Road was leased. Two years after, the Memphis & Ohio Road was secured, and what is now known as the Memphis division was formally opened. Both lines of road composing the Memphis division, were subsequently (in 1871-72), bought by the Louisville & Nashville Company. The Cecilian branch was purchased in 1871; in 1879 the Edgefield & Kentucky Road, and the Evansville, Henderson & Nashville Road were both bought, and, together, form the Kentucky and Tennessee portion of the St. Louis division. The Louisville, Cincinnati & Lexington Road was purchased in 1881, and now forms an important part of the Louisville & Nashville system, connecting it at Cincinnati with all the Eastern lines. The Cumberland & Ohio Road was leased in 1879, and completed from Lebanon to Greensburg, and shortly after many other additions were made. The Pensacola & Selma was secured, then the Mobile & Montgomery was acquired by the purchase of its capital, and a little later the New Orleans & Mobile became a valuable part of the system. There are, also, embraced in the control of the Louisville & Nashville, by lease or ownership, the Nashville & Decatur, the Owensboro & Nashville, the Glasgow branch, and the Western Alabama Roads; and it owns the greater part of the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Road's stock, which, with its branches, has 521 miles of line. But these do not comprise all the roads in which the influence of the Louisville & Nashville is felt. With the Central Railroad of Georgia,

it controls a large system in that State. To sum up its wealth, the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company owns in fee, or through the entire capital stock, thirteen branches, giving an aggregate of 1,437 miles; four divisions, operated under lease, and two by stock majority embrace 433 miles more, and these, with the southern roads, in which it has joint control, give its systems a grand total of 3,034 miles. The road and all its branches are furnished with steel rails, and the equipment, both for freight and passenger traffic, is first class in every particular, and the equal of any road in the country.

The Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, stretching from ocean to ocean, is an important road to Kentucky, and destined to exert a powerful influence in the development of the State. Traversing its entire length from east to west, with diverging lines at important points, it penetrates the vast coal and mineral and timber regions, and as these are opened up and developed the great value of this trunk line railroad becomes apparent.

The original line of the Chesapeake & Ohio extended from Newport News in Virginia, *via* Richmond, to the Big Sandy River, and was formed in 1868 by consolidating the Virginia Central and the Covington & Ohio Railroads, comprising a line 512 miles in length. The road became involved financially, and in 1875 passed into the hands of a receiver. In April, 1878, it was sold, and a new company organized with Mr. C. P. Huntington at its head, one of the great railroad capitalists of the present day. The new company expended large sums of money in the reconstruction of all its lines, extending them on the east to Chesapeake Bay, and on the west to Memphis, on the Mississippi River. This formed a continuous line of road 927 miles long, made up of the Chesapeake & Ohio to the Big Sandy River, the Elizabethtown, Lexington & Big Sandy, and Louisville, Frankfort & Lexington to Louisville, and the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern (formerly the Elizabethtown & Paducah), extending from Louisville to Memphis, *via* Paducah, a distance of 390 miles from Louisville.

The Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern, the

\* Historical sketch.



title of Mr. Huntington's road west of Louisville, is formed of the old Elizabethtown & Paducah Road,\* and the road extending from Paducah to Memphis, known originally as the Paducah & Memphis, which was sold under foreclosure in April, 1877. It was purchased by the bondholders, and reorganized as the Memphis, Paducah & Northern in May, 1878. This and the road from Louisville to Paducah were leased and consolidated by Mr. Huntington, thus forming an important link in his trans-continental line.

The Kentucky Central Railroad was agitated as early as 1848, and was originally known as the "Lexington & Maysville Railroad." In March, 1851, Lexington voted \$200,000 toward building it, and in September following voted a like amount to the Lexington & Covington Railroad. The work was completed from Lexington to Paris in 1853, and in the fall of 1854 it was finished, and the road completed between Paris and Covington, and trains ran through to Lexington. The road to Maysville was completed a few years later. The lines of the Kentucky Central are being extended south, and are rapidly covering the last of the old route of the projected Charleston & Cincinnati Road. In the reorganization of the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Kentucky Central passed into the hands of Mr. Huntington, and forms the Cincinnati division of his road.

The Cincinnati Southern is a great trunk line road, extending from Cincinnati, Ohio, to Chattanooga, Tenn., and passing north and south through Kentucky, and through the towns of Williamstown, Georgetown, Lexington, Nicholasville, Danville, Somerset, etc. It was built principally by Cincinnati and Cincinnati capital, and is one of the finest conditioned and equipped roads in the State. Its cost is variously estimated at from \$12,000,000 to \$20,000,000. The charter was passed by the Kentucky legislature, and the right of way granted through the State in January, 1872, and the road built as soon thereafter as possible. The completion of this great trunk line between north and

south is to some extent the culmination of the old project of the Charleston & Cincinnati Railroad, as it covers much of the route designed for that road.

It was the purpose in building the Cincinnati Southern to make it a formidable rival of the Louisville & Nashville Road, and to bring Cincinnati in stronger competition with Louisville, and win her southern trade. The project was not successful. While it certainly excited a stronger competition between Louisville and Cincinnati, the latter did not, as fondly anticipated, completely eclipse Louisville, or materially turn the tide of southern trade. But a few years passed after the completion of the road, when, under a new *regime* (the Erlanger system), it was running regular trains into Louisville, and that, too, without a dollar's cost to the city.

Northern railroads terminating at Louisville, or extending their lines into the city, are the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis, now operated by the Pennsylvania Company; the Ohio & Mississippi; the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago, and the St. Louis Air Line. These roads have all been liberally treated by Louisville and Kentucky, and some of them substantially aided by Louisville. Money was given, and given liberally to the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis and the St. Louis Air Line, and at a time when they most needed it. These roads afford Louisville, Kentucky and the south close connection with St. Louis, Chicago and the east.

In addition to the railroads mentioned there are others, mostly local roads, now being built and still others in contemplation, which, doubtless, will be under contract in a few years. The most important of these, perhaps, are the Kentucky Union Railroad and the Ohio River Railroad, the first now in course of construction and the latter a projected road of considerable importance, designed to run down the river, tapping the principal towns between Louisville and Paducah. The road has been chartered by the legislature, a company organized and stock subscribed. Several routes, or parts of routes, have been surveyed, and although the project is now lying dormant, it is but a

\*This road was originally chartered in February, 1854, as the Louisville, Paducah & Southwestern.

question of time when it will be revived and the road built. The growing demands of the rich section of country through which it is to pass, must sooner or later compel its construction.

The Kentucky Union Railroad was originally chartered in 1854, and re-incorporated in 1880. It extends in a southeasterly course from Lexington to the Virginia State line through some of the richest agricultural and mineral regions of Kentucky. Work is in progress at the present time, and the energy of the men in control of the project will insure its ultimate completion, and through it the development of a mineral section of the State\* hitherto possessing few internal improvements or facilities of transportation beyond the ordinary road wagon. So it is with other railroad projects in different parts of the State. The fine timbered valleys, the rich mineral regions, the vast agricultural areas, and the stock-producing portions of the State must soon make the construction of additional railroads an absolute demand of commerce.

The railroad facilities of Kentucky are thus becoming, and must continue to become, more and more extended every year. Its lines at four different points on the Ohio River connect with northern, eastern and western roads. At two of these points the river is spanned by superb bridges, and at a third a bridge is in process of construction (where trains are now ferried over), and will soon be completed; at the fourth trains cross regularly by improved ferriage. At Cincinnati the Kentucky Central (Chesapeake & Ohio), the Cincinnati Southern, the "Short-line" division of the Louisville & Nashville connect by bridges across the river with the Little Miami, the "Bee Line" the "Pan-handle" (Pennsylvania Company), the Baltimore & Ohio Roads, etc., etc. At Louisville, Kentucky and southern roads, by means of one of the longest and most magnificent railroad bridges in the world, connect with the Ohio & Mississippi, the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis, the Louisville, New

Albany & Chicago and the St. Louis Air Line; at Henderson the St. Louis division of the Louisville & Nashville crosses, and at Evansville and St. Louis make northern and eastern connections. The Illinois Central and the Mobile & Ohio pass north and south through the "Purchase" district of Kentucky, crossing the Ohio River at Cairo, Ill., where they connect with the St. Louis & Iron Mountain, the Texas & Pacific, the Cairo & St. Louis, and with the Wabash system. A few years more, and energy and enterprise will render the Ohio River no serious obstacle to railway traffic, and trains will cross it to and fro without even slackening their rate of speed.

The railroad bridge across the Ohio River at Louisville is claimed to be the second longest railroad bridge in the world. Its construction was the culmination of a project that originated more than fifty years ago. A bridge over the falls of the Ohio was an enterprise, that, if it did not originate with James Guthrie, was long a favorite project of his. As early as 1831-32 a charter was granted by the Kentucky legislature authorizing the formation of a company "to construct a permanent bridge across the Ohio at the falls." Through the influence of James Guthrie, Samuel Gwathney and Daniel McAllister, who visited Indianapolis for the purpose, the passage of the charter by the Indiana legislature was secured at its session in January, 1832. Though the matter was agitated for several years it was finally abandoned for the time. After the close of the war the necessity for closer railroad communications between the sections\* revived the project, and the required legislation was secured both in Kentucky and Indiana, and the work commenced. It was completed, and the first passenger train crossed over the bridge on the 18th of February, 1870. The State officers and members of the legislature had been invited by the board of trade and city council of Louisville to be present at its formal opening, and most of them accepted the invitation and participated in the interesting proceedings. Mr. Guthrie lived to see his favorite project of spanning the river

\*The mountainous portion of the State beyond the limits of the Blue Grass region.



by a great bridge in process of construction, but died about a year before its completion.

A bridge across the Ohio at Cincinnati was contemplated as early as 1815, but no such enterprise was actually inaugurated until 1856, when the wire suspension bridge between Covington and Cincinnati was commenced. It was completed and opened to the public on the 1st of December, 1866. The structure is a superb model of excellence, and a triumph of mechanical skill and genius, and cost, in round numbers, about \$2,000,000. It has a passage way for vehicles and street cars, and walks for foot passengers. The river is also spanned by a railroad bridge—a substantial iron structure—between Newport and Cincinnati. It was opened in 1872, and trains of the Kentucky and southern roads, by this means, run regularly into the city of Cincinnati.

There is in the course of construction at this time (1885), and about completed, a bridge across the Ohio, between Louisville and New Albany, Ind. Another at Henderson, Ky., has been finished within the past few weeks, for the passage of trains. The bridge at Louisville is to have a railroad track, a passage way for vehicles, street cars, etc., and a walk-way for foot passengers; that at Henderson is a railroad bridge only, and was built, principally, by the St. Louis division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

Among the important works of internal improvement are the charitable institutions of the State. They were established and are principally supported by legislative appropriations, and consist of asylums for the insane, the blind, deaf mutes, feeble-minded children, etc. There are, in the State, three asylums for the insane, located respectively at Lexington, Hopkinsville and Anchorage; the asylum for deaf mutes is at Danville; that for feeble-minded children at Frankfort, and that for the education of the blind is at Louisville.

The Eastern Insane Asylum at Lexington was founded in 1816, and was the first institution of the kind established in the western country, and is believed to have been the

second State asylum opened in the United States. It was originally known as "Fayette Hospital," and was inaugurated by private individuals. Chief among the projectors of this great public charity, was Andrew McCalla, one of the early citizens of Lexington. He was assisted in his benevolent work by Alexander Parker, John W. Hunt, George Trotter, Thomas January, Lewis Sanders, Samuel Trotter, John Bradford, J. D. Young, David Williamson, Thomas H. Pindell, William Morton, John Pope, E. Warfield, Daniel Bradford, J. Postlethwaite, L. McCullough, John H. Morton, John Hart, James Weir, Robert H. McNair, Samuel Ayers, Thomas Tibbats, and others. They were incorporated early in 1816, under the name of "The Contributors to the Fayette Hospital." On the 1st of March, they organized under the charter, and shortly after purchased the "Sinking Spring" property, on which the present buildings are located.

The corner-stone of the building was laid June 30, 1817, with appropriate ceremonies, and in the presence of a large assemblage of people. The proceedings concluded with an oration delivered by Henry Clay. Before the building was completed, a financial crisis overtook the benevolent projectors of the enterprise, and in 1822, it was deemed advisable to tender the property to the State. The next year the State purchased it, changed its title to the "Kentucky Eastern Lunatic Asylum," and appropriated \$10,000 for its benefit. The institution was formally opened May 1, 1824. For twenty years the physicians in charge were Dr. S. Theobolds, Dr. Louis Decognets and others, assisted by the faculty of Transylvania University. In 1844, the management was changed, and Dr. John R. Allen was made superintendent under the new order of things. The legislature appropriated \$150,000 in 1867 to the asylum, and its capacity was extended. Dr. W. S. Chipley succeeded Dr. Allen in 1855, as superintendent, a position he held for fourteen years. Since then there have been several superintendents, all of whom have been able physicians, and have discharged

their duties with ability. In 1873, upon the establishment of the Anchorage asylum, the name of the Lexington asylum was changed to "First Kentucky Lunatic Asylum." Since 1822, the State has appropriated nearly \$1,000,000 to the institution, and the lot of ground on which the original building was erected, has been increased to 300 acres of fine blue grass lands. Every convenience and comfort are afforded the patients, and the institution ranks highly among its class in the United States.

The Western Lunatic Asylum is located in Christian County, about two miles from Hopkinsville. It was established by an act of the legislature passed February 28, 1848. The growth of settlements in the State, and the increase of population, necessitated the measure as a matter of convenience, both as to capacity and locality. The asylum at Lexington could not accommodate all applicants, and before the era of railroads, it required a long journey to reach it from the southwestern portion of the State, and thus made it necessary to have a similar institution in that section. The "Spring Hill" tract of land, containing 383 acres, and lying on the turnpike road east of Hopkinsville, was purchased for \$1,971.50. The citizens refunded this sum to the State, and in addition paid \$2,000 toward the erection of buildings. In 1849, there was expended \$43,052; in 1850, \$43,484. The legislature in 1848, appropriated \$15,000; in 1849, \$20,000; in 1850, \$45,000; in 1851, \$35,000; in 1852, \$43,000; in 1854, \$44,017: a total of \$202,017. The first patients were received on the 18th of September, 1854, and by the 1st of December, 1857, 208 had been admitted. Dr. S. Annan was the first superintendent, and under his care the institution was well managed.

The main building was destroyed by fire, November 30, 1861, "which caught from sparks from a chimney falling upon the shingle roof." There were, at the time of the fire, 210 patients in the institution, all of whom escaped uninjured, except one, who fastened himself in his room and obstinately resisted all efforts to rescue him, and finally perished in the flames. The court house and

other buildings in Hopkinsville were tendered the superintendent for the use of the unfortunate inmates, and everything done by the officials and the people to render the patients comfortable until the asylum could be rebuilt. Twenty-three log-cabins were erected temporarily, at a cost of \$90 each, and into these the patients were removed. The legislature in February, 1861, made an appropriation to commence rebuilding, and to January 1, 1867, had appropriated in all \$258,930. Add to this the sum of \$145,420, the value of the land and other buildings on it, makes the total value of the property then (1867) \$404,350, with accommodations for 325 patients.

This asylum bears the name of being one of the best managed institutions of the kind in the United States. It has been in charge of Dr. James Rodman, the present able superintendent, since 1863—about twenty-two years. In October, 1871, there had been received the total number of 1,273 patients, of whom 321 were then in the asylum.

The Central Lunatic Asylum is located at Anchorage, a beautiful little village in Jefferson County, twelve miles from the city of Louisville. Like the Hopkinsville asylum, its establishment was due to the inability of the Eastern and Western Asylums to accommodate the insane of the State. It was completed, and opened for patients but a few years ago, and at present it is pretty well filled. Rumors of mismanagement recently caused a legislative investigation of the institution, and a resignation of the superintendent early in the year 1884. He was succeeded by Dr. H. K. Pusey, whose management of it has won the approbation of all interested in its welfare.

The Institution for Deaf Mutes is located at Danville. It was established by an act of the legislature January 7, 1823, and is claimed to be fourth of its kind, in the order of establishment, in the United States. The legislature appropriated \$3,000 to aid it, and \$100 for each pupil, and in 1824, appropriated \$3,000 toward the erection of buildings. In 1852, \$3,000 per annum was appropriated for the support of the institution, and in



1865, this sum was increased to \$6,000. To this may be added extra appropriations for clothing for the indigent, and for each pupil, thus giving the asylum a very fair endowment. The building and grounds are fine, and well adapted to the purposes for which they are used. The school session continues through the whole year, with the exception of July and August. The branches taught are reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, history, original composition, Scripture lessons in books; and by lectures on physical geography, chemistry and natural philosophy. A colored department has been added, and the deaf mutes of that race now receive liberal educational training.

The Kentucky Institution for the Education and Training of Feeble-minded Children is located near Frankfort. The following sketch of the institution was furnished for this work by Dr. Stewart, superintendent:

The Kentucky Institution for the Education and Training of Feeble-minded Children was organized in 1860. An act was passed by the legislature on February 11th, of that year, appropriating \$20,000 for the purchase of lands and the erection of suitable buildings.

A tract of land containing sixty-five acres, belonging to Dr. Lloyd, located within one mile of Frankfort, was purchased for \$6,500, and the school immediately started in a small frame building on the grounds. Dr. James Rodman, now superintendent of the Western Lunatic Asylum at Hopkinsville, was elected first superintendent, and the first child was received on August 16, 1860. Dr. Rodman resigned February 11, 1863, and Rev. William McD. Abbott was elected to fill his place. He was succeeded by Dr. E. H. Black, who was elected superintendent March 13, 1863, and served until February 25, 1878, when the present superintendent, Dr. John Q. A. Stewart, was appointed by Gov. James B. McCreary.

The plan of the building was to consist of a main building and east and west wings. The main building was commenced October 28, 1860, and completed and occupied the following year. It had capacity for about

fifty children and was soon filled. Additions were made to it from time to time, and in 1870 the west wing was completed and occupied. To complete the original plan the east wing will have to be built.

There have been in all about \$65,000 appropriated for buildings and grounds, and it will cost about \$30,000 more to complete the buildings according to the original designs. Its capacity will then be increased to 250 children.

There are now 156 children in the institution, and are maintained principally by the State. An appropriation of \$150 per *caput* per annum is made for their support.

The feature of industrial education has been introduced into the institution under the administration of Dr. Stewart. It is the first institution of the kind in the United States to adopt industrial education, and the experiment promises to be remunerative and pleasing. By this means physical culture will be made productive, and the pupils prepared to earn a livelihood when discharged from the institution. The apprenticeship to this system is made to contribute to the health and happiness of the amateur artisans, by strengthening their physical powers, and improving by engaging their minds in useful pursuits. In a short time all the carpentry needed by, and all the shoes used in, the institution will be supplied by the craft of the pupils. The girls are being taught all the domestic arts, including hand and machine sewing. This industrial education is not permitted to interfere with the intellectual studies of the children, but is made auxiliary to them.

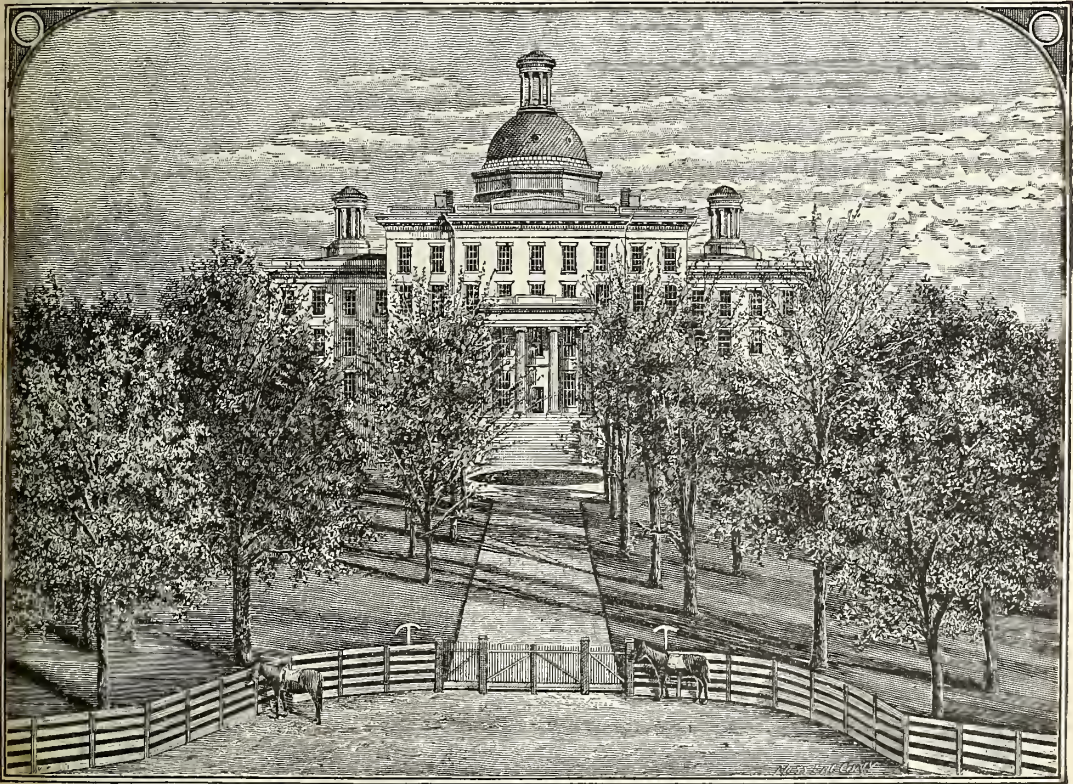
The Kentucky Institution for the Education of the Blind is located in the eastern suburbs of the city of Louisville. The institution was established by act of the legislature in 1842. The preamble to the original act recognizes the fact that the blind were equally entitled with the seeing children to the benefit of the school fund. The appropriation of \$10,000 was made, to be paid out of the interest on certain bonds held by the board of education. These bonds had been issued fraudulently by the agent of



the State of Kentucky, and at the date of the act referred to it was seriously doubted whether these bonds thus fraudulently issued would be recognized by the State. At that time efforts were made by agents of the State to trace the bonds, and thus relieve the State from their payment. The donation, therefore, to the institution for the blind was deemed of very doubtful value.

It is true, as a matter of history, the legislature was very incredulous as to the feasi-

The same individual was the author of the acts establishing the system of common schools and the Kentucky Institution for the Education of the Blind. No specific provision was made in the system of common schools for the education of the blind, and whilst in drafting the act he recognized their equal claims with the other children of the State on the common school fund; and at no subsequent time in his numerous applications to the legislature for aid to the



KENTUCKY INSTITUTION FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE BLIND.

bility of educating the blind, and the good to result therefrom. This is illustrated by the provisions contained in the act that the school should be established and kept up for twelve months before the very doubtful appropriation could be collected. This was effected, and the school sustained for twelve months by the liberality of the people of Louisville. The appropriation of \$10,000 was ultimately collected. It was the only one ever charged to or paid out of the public school fund.

institution, did he ever ask for or receive an appropriation payable from the common school fund. No special tax has ever been levied for its support. At no time has the institution been subjected to the jurisdiction or supervision of the superintendent of public instruction. It is now and always has been one of the public charities of the State, and has been liberally sustained out of its common treasury.

The establishment of the school was aided by the kind efforts of Dr. S. G. Howe, the



superintendent of the institution for the blind in Massachusetts, and of Mr. William Chapin, the superintendent of the institution for the blind in Ohio, who, with some of their pupils, gave an exhibition before the legislature at Frankfort, and several exhibitions subsequently in Louisville. At these exhibitions, which were largely attended by the citizens, much interest was manifested, and a committee of twenty-one appointed to collect money to support the school for one year. The efforts of the committee were successful, and the school was opened May 9, 1842, on Sixth Street, west side, between Walnut and Chestnut, with Bryce M. Patten, superintendent; Miss Maria Howe, matron, and Otis Patten, one of the pupils from Dr. Howe's school in Boston, as a teacher.

In the year 1844, in virtue of an appropriation made by the legislature, a lot of land was purchased and a building erected on the south side of Broadway, between First and Second Streets. In May, 1847, the ladies of Louisville interested in the school gave a tea party, the proceeds of which, amounting to \$500, were spent in furnishing the house. On the 29th of September, 1851, this building was destroyed by fire. The trustees of the University of Louisville at once very liberally tendered the use of the large and commodious edifice erected for the collegiate and law departments of the university, so that the operations of the school were hardly interrupted by the calamity. The legislature promptly made an appropriation for a new building and for the purchase of more extensive grounds. A commissioner was appointed by the governor of the State to select grounds for the institution, and the present site was chosen and a new building begun. On the 8th of October, 1855, it was far enough advanced to remove the school to its new quarters, where it remained with a constantly increasing prosperity until November, 1862, when the building was seized by the medical authorities of the United States army for hospital purposes, and retained until an appeal to the president resulted in a restoration of the building to the State. During this compulsory exit, which lasted

five months, the school occupied the building on the workhouse road belonging to the Alexander estate. Since that time the occupation of the present building has been uninterrupted.

The present superintendent, Mr. B. B. Huntoon, an educator of long experience, has been in charge for years. He is an efficient man, and under his administration the institution has become a very model of excellence in its every department.

The American Printing House for the Blind, attached to the institution, and located upon a part of the same grounds, was originally chartered by the legislature in 1860. Its facilities for printing have been increased from time to time, until to-day it is the most extensive establishment of the kind in the world. It is the standard printing house for the blind in the United States, and in addition orders for books are constantly being received from Europe and the Canadas. The number of books printed each year runs up into the hundreds, and the demand is rapidly increasing. National aid is received under an act of congress passed March 3, 1879. The annual report of the trustees for that year says:

By the provisions of this act the American Printing House for the Blind receives a sum of ten thousand (\$10,000) dollars a year, with which to supply every public institution for the education of the blind in the United States with embossed books and tangible apparatus, according to the number of its pupils. The entire sum is to be expended in furnishing books and apparatus, and none of the money may be used in the erection or leasing of buildings. At a meeting of the board of trustees, held April 4, 1879, the trust imposed on them by the act was formally accepted.

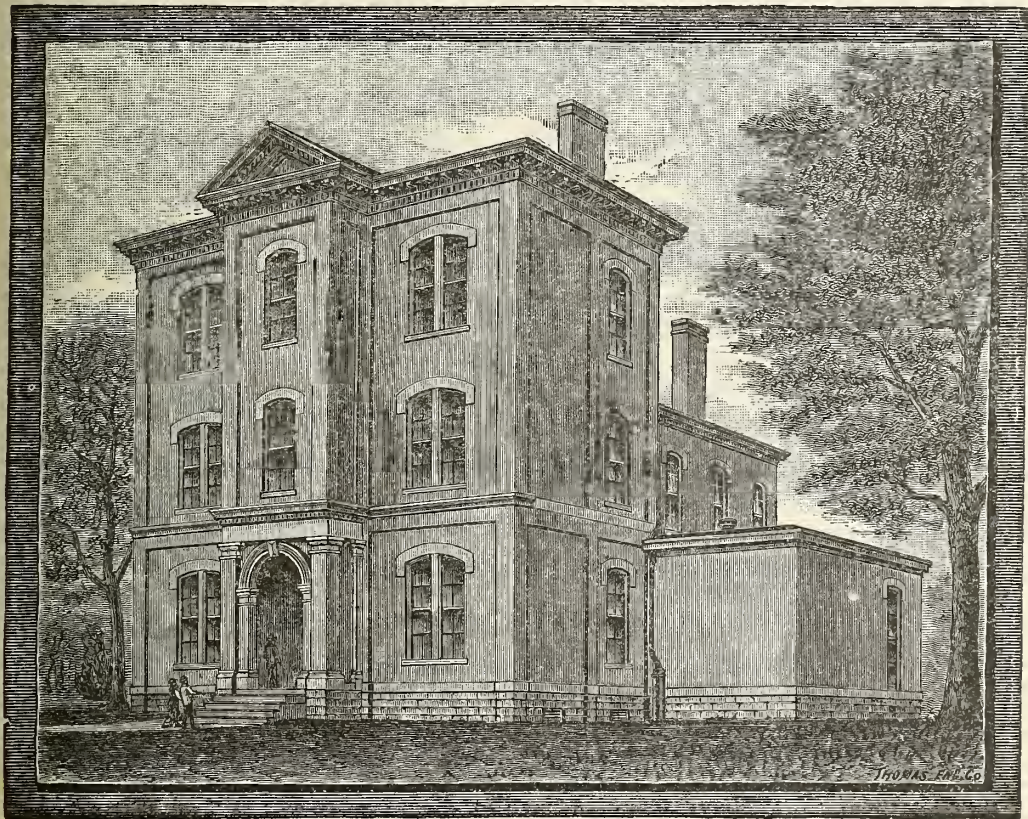
Prior to this appropriation by congress, the American Printing House for the Blind had been mainly sustained by the beneficent wisdom of the State of Kentucky, as an indispensable means in the education of her own blind. An act of the legislature, passed soon after the printing house was established, appropriated \$5 annually for every blind person in the State, according to the United States' census reports, to "aid the institution in printing books in raised letters for the blind, and in furnishing the same gratui-



tously to the indigent blind, and at cost to others, in accordance with the provisions of the charter of the said printing house for the blind." Other appropriations were made at different times, as the printing house needed them. Indeed, no State in the Union has been more liberal than Kentucky in support of her public charities.

A new printing house has recently been erected. It stands in a corner of the spa-

North America, and its productions comprise almost everything grown in the temperate zone, but are chiefly wheat, corn, oats, grasses, tobacco, cotton, hemp, fruits, etc., etc. No country in the world is more famous for its fine stock; Kentucky thoroughbred horses and shorthorn cattle command higher prices than those of any other section. Coal, of an excellent quality, is found in many portions of the State, notably in the eastern and



AMERICAN PRINTING HOUSE FOR THE BLIND—LOUISVILLE.

cious grounds of the Institution for the Education of the Blind, and is an elegant brick building, three stories high, finished off with all the modern improvements. The printing presses run by steam, and although the orders for books are many, and are yearly increasing, the facilities for printing are equal to the demand.

The material wealth and resources of Kentucky are second to no State in the Union. With an area of 37,680 square miles, it contains some of the finest agricultural lands in

western portions; also beds of the finest canal coal lie in certain localities. The State is rich in deposits of lead and iron ore, particularly the latter, and of salt; an excellent quality of marble and lithographic stone are found in the hilly and mountainous regions. With the "soil full of bread, and the earth full of minerals; with an upper surface of food, and underlayer of fuel; with perfect natural drainage, and abundant springs and streams, and navigable rivers; mid-way between the forests of the north and the fruits



of the south," Kentucky is rich in her agricultural, animal and mineral productions, as well as highly favored in her geographical position.

The following article, on the material resources of Kentucky, was written by Hon. John R. Proctor, State geologist, for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and is published in this work by permission:

The area of the State has been variously estimated at from 37,000 to 40,000 square miles. The surface is an elevated plateau sloping from the great Appalachian uplift on the southeast to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers on the north and west. Only that portion of the State, including and lying between Pine or Laurel Mountain, and the Cumberland range, may be said to partake of the mountain structure. These parallel ranges have an elevation of from 2,000 to 3,000 feet above sea-level, whilst the mountains in the Cumberland Valley between these ranges, have an elevation of 3,500. The Cumberland River, near where it passes through a break in Pine Mountain, is, at low-water mark, 960 feet above the sea. Some of the hills, immediately to the north, are as high as Pine Mountain, gradually decreasing in height to the western edge of the Appalachian coal field, where the greatest elevation is less than 1,600 feet above the sea. The eastern coal field, with an area over 10,000 square miles, has an elevation of 650 on the Ohio River, to 1,400 feet of the southwestern edge of the Tennessee line, and 3,500 feet on the southeastern border of the State. The great central, or "Blue Grass region," has an area of about 10,000 square miles, and an elevation of from 800 to 1,150 feet. Although elevated several hundred feet above the drainage level, the surface is that of a gently undulating plateau, with a pleasing topography. The Upper Silurian and Devonian, with an area of about 2,500 square miles, have an elevation of 450 on the northwest, and 800 on the northeastern end, to 1,100 feet where these formations curve around the Lower Silurian on the southwest. In this region are wide stretches of very level country, often with insufficient drain-

age. Around this central region extends, from the mouth of Salt River to the mouth of the Scioto, a continuous ridge, known as Muldrow's Hill, King's Mountain, Big Hill, and other local names, having an abrupt escarpment on its inner circle, and sloping away from the central uplifted dome of the Blue Grass region, as a broken plateau on the east, and an almost level plateau on the west, where the subcarboniferous limestone determines the topography. This range of hills is one of the prominent features in the State. The subcarboniferous has an area of about 10,000 square miles, with an elevation of from 350 to 600 feet on the southwestern, to 950 in the central region. In the eastern portion of this formation the streams have cut deep gorges in the limestone, but in its central part only the larger streams are open to daylight, and most of the drainage is subterranean, which gives to that region a peculiar topography—the surface being a series of slight round or oval depressions, through which the surface water escapes to the streams below. Whenever the small passage way, leading downward from one of these sinks, becomes closed, a "pond" is formed. In this formation are the numerous caverns, for which this State is noted. The western coal field has an area of about 4,000 square miles, and an elevation of from 400 feet along the Ohio River, to 850 feet in its southeastern portion. The Quaternary, with an area of 2,500 square miles, has an elevation of about 280 feet on the river bottom lands, and from 350 to 450 on the uplands. The average elevation for the entire State is over 1,000 feet above the sea, and the numerous streams penetrating all portions have cut their channels deep enough to secure ample drainage, and exemption from the dangers of floods, with the exception of very limited areas.

The State has a river boundry of 813 miles of navigable streams:—the Chatterawha or Big Sandy on the east for 120 miles, the Ohio on the north for 643 miles, and the Mississippi on the west for 50 miles. The Chatterawha, Licking, Kentucky, Cumberland, and Tennessee Rivers have their sources in the Appalachian coal-field, and flow

through the State to the Ohio River. The Green and Tradewater Rivers drain the western coal-field. Kentucky has many hundred miles of navigable rivers, connecting with the Mississippi system and furnishing a most advantageous means of cheap transport for coal, timber, etc. A system of river improvement, begun by the State some years ago, by which the Green and Barren Rivers from Bowling Green downward, and also the lower portion of the Kentucky River, were made continuously navigable, is being prosecuted still further by the United States government. It is now possible to float down logs, rafts, flat boats, etc., from almost the fountain heads of the rivers.

The climate is very mild and salubrious. The mean annual temperature ranges in different parts of the State from 50° to 55° Fahrenheit. The extreme range is less than in the States north and west. The lowest record at the United States Signal Service station during the exceptionally cold months of December, 1880, and January, 1881, was -8°. During the very hot summer of 1881, the maximum temperature was greater as far north as Chicago than in Kentucky. Cattle remain upon the pasture during the entire winter, with but little additional food, and there is seldom a day, winter or summer, when a man may not perform a full day's work in the open air. The healthfulness of the climate is attested by the low death-rate, and by the strength and vigor of the population. The tabulated measurements of the United States volunteers during the civil war show that the soldiers born in Kentucky and Tennessee exceed all others in height, weight, circumference of head, circumference of chest, and ratio of weight to stature. The speed and endurance of the Kentucky horse, and the superior development of all kinds of domestic animals, are well known. The annual rain-fall ranges in various parts of the State from forty-five to fifty inches, and is probably still higher in the Cumberland Mountains.

With the exception of the more recent formations in the portion of the State west of the Tennessee River, and along the valleys

of some of the streams, Kentucky is composed entirely of Paleozoic strata, having present all of the various groups found in the Ohio Valley, from the calciferous sand-rock (3a of Dana's Table of Formations) to and including the carboniferous. The united thickness of the various groups is not great in Kentucky—probably not aggregating over 5,000 feet. The entire State is included within the area of the great Appalachian uplift. In the southeast the disturbance is greater, the strata often being inclined at a high angle, the successive undulations gradually diminishing toward the northwest. This disturbance in the southeast is emphasized by the Great Pine Mountain fault extending parallel to the axis of the Appalachian uplift, entirely through the southeastern portion of the State and bringing to the surface in the coal-measures rocks as low as the Clinton group of the Upper Silurian. The axis of the greatest geological elevation in the State is parallel to the above, and passes in a northeasterly and southwesterly direction through the counties of Montgomery, Clark, Madison, Garrard, Jessamine and Boyle, shown on the map by the deflexion of the Kentucky River from its general course toward the Ohio River. This uplift brings to the surface the lowest rocks exposed in the State, the "bird's eye" limestone of the Trenton (4a of Dana), and the dolomite, known as "Kentucky River marble," including what is probably the equivalent of the calciferous sandrock of the New York section. These lowest rocks of the Kentucky section form a triangular area having its depressed apex northwest of Frankfort, and its elevated base in the counties named above. Through these formations, having a thickness of over 400 feet, the picturesque gorge of the Kentucky River has been cut. Next in ascending order we have 150 feet of blue fossiliferous limestone, containing characteristic forms of the Trenton of New York, and 800 feet of limestone and shales containing the fossils of the Hudson River or Cincinnati groups (4c of Dana). These groups make up the well-known "Blue Grass" region of Kentucky, celebrated for the fertility of soil, high



agricultural development, and superiority of the horses and other domestic animals produced. The soils of the most fertile portion of this region are derived from the 150 feet immediately above the bird's eye limestone. These rocks are very rich in phosphate of lime, and with careful tillage and proper rotation of crops the lands are not exhausted by cultivation. The blue limestones of central Kentucky are very prolific in fossil forms.

Surrounding this central region are the rocks of the Upper Silurian, averaging in thickness about 100 feet. East of Louisville this formation is about twenty-five miles wide, and in eastern central Kentucky about ten miles wide, decreasing in thickness and in superficial extent toward the southwestern portion. The rocks are mostly magnesian limestone, rich in fossil forms, of which the most characteristic are the beautiful chain corals. The soils of this formation are less fertile than those derived from the blue shell limestone and marly shales of the Lower Silurian. Above the latter formation, and forming the outer portion of the semi-circle or irregular triangle extending around the great central uplift, are the carboniferous limestones of the Devonian (9c of Dana). The principal exposure is seen at the falls of the Ohio below Louisville, at low water presenting probably the most beautiful and extensive natural cabinet of corals in the world—a reef of corals perfectly preserved in minutest structure, and of exquisite beauty. The soils derived from these rocks are almost of equal fertility to the best soils of the blue limestone, and the topography is equally pleasing to the eye. The next formation in order is the black shale (10c of Dana), of the Devonian, with a thickness of about 150 feet in the northeast and decreasing gradually to the south and west. This formation is peculiar from the high percentage of petroleum contained in the shale. Before the discovery of oil-wells, oil was distilled from these shales, and the oil in the productive wells of Kentucky is derived from the same source. Where this shale determines the topography, the lands are

generally flat, often with insufficient drainage, and are not so productive as analyses would seem to warrant. Doubtless under-draining will increase the yield.

The subcarboniferous rocks, consisting of the several groups identified by fossil remains with the Waverly, Keokuk, Warsaw, St. Louis, and Chester groups (13a, 13b and 13c of Dana), composed of sandstones, shales, and limestones, with a total thickness of over 1,000 feet, cannot here be described in detail. Muldrow's Hill, representing the retreating escarpment of formations which formerly extended over the central Blue Grass region, is composed of these rocks, capped at Big Hill in Madison County with the carboniferous conglomerate. The subcarboniferous limestone region of western and southern Kentucky, drained by the Green and Cumberland Rivers, is characterized for the most part by an excellent soil, well adapted to the growth of Indian corn, wheat, barley, and other cereals, producing a very fine quality of tobacco, and certain grasses in great perfection. This formation is noted for the numerous caverns of large size and great beauty—the best known being the celebrated Mammoth Cave in Edmonson County, which is the largest known cavern in the world. Here many miles of subterranean passages have been excavated by the eroding action of water charged with carbonic acid, assisted in places by the action of the atmosphere. The caverns are beautified by columns and stalagmites formed by the deposition of carbonate of lime from the percolating waters, and by exfoliation of sulphate of lime, taking the form of flowers, rosettes, and other shapes, rendered more beautiful by their power of reflecting light.\*

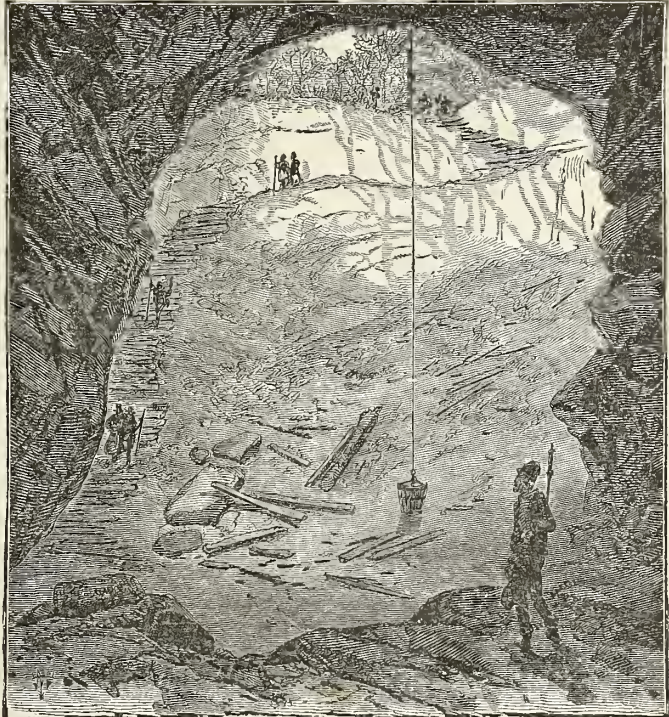
The detailed survey of the carboniferous strata of Kentucky is not yet completed, but enough is known to justify the assertion that the total area in the State is over 14,000 square miles—10,000 square miles of the Appalachian coalfield and 4,000 square miles of the western or Illinois coalfield. In the eastern field two workable coals

\*For historical description of Mammoth Cave, see Appendix A, Note 32.

are found below, and twelve above the carboniferous conglomerate. The eastern field is remarkable for the thickness of some of the coal strata, and the purity of coals, for the large area of excellent cannel coals, and for the ease with which the coals may be mined, being mostly elevated above the drainage level. The thickest portion of the measures is in the synclinal trough between the Pine and Cumberland Mountains—there being a vertical thickness of over 2,200 feet of coal-measure rocks above the drainage level. In the southeastern portion of the eastern field an excellent coking coal has been traced over a wide area. This coal ranges from four feet to eight feet in thickness, can be mined cheaply, and has a very low percentage of ash and sulphur. The western coal-field is a broad synclinal, its axis almost parallel to the general direction of Green River, crossed by undulations, the axes of which extend from northeast to southwest. No workable coal has been opened below the conglomerate, which is thinner than in eastern Kentucky. Twelve coals are present in the measures above the conglomerate. Some of these coals are of excellent quality, although the percentage of sulphur is larger than in the best of the eastern Kentucky coals. The soils of the coal measures are variable in quality. Some of the most productive lands in the State are in the western coal-field. In the eastern field are very fertile valleys, and the uplands in the Cumberland Valley are quite productive. Even the poorest of the coal-measure soils are well adapted to certain grasses and fruits, and will yield good returns from intelligent culture.

There only remain to be noticed the Quaternary strata. The region west of the Tennessee River, and the level plains bordering the principal rivers and above high

water level, are composed of a homogeneous buff-colored, silicious loam, known as the "bluff" or loess formation (20b of Dana). This is, with the exception of the alluvial "bottoms" along the rivers, the most recent formation in Kentucky. The deposit has a thickness of from 40 to 50 feet. Owing partly to the presence of numerous land and fresh-water shells (*Helix*, *Cyclostoma*, *Pupa*, *Cyclas*, etc.), this formation is highly calcareous,



THE ENTRANCE TO MAMMOTH CAVE (LOOKING OUT).

giving, from an average sample, 9.6 per cent of lime, and the soils are of marked fertility. This bluff loam rests upon a coarse gravel, varying in thickness from a few inches to thirty feet, composed mainly of water-worn pebbles from the carboniferous conglomerate, and slightly water-worn angular pebbles of chert and hornstone from the lower subcarboniferous and corniferous groups, and coarse angular sand. Intermingled throughout are silicified fragments of many of the Paleozoic fossils to be found in the Ohio Valley. In descending order are beds of white sand and clay, and shales of the Eocene (Tertiary), only slightly exposed in the extreme western part of the State, where the streams have cut deepest.



Nowhere in the State, have evidences of glacial action been found. Over the uplifted Blue Grass region, are often thick deposits of what has been called drift material; but such deposits are composed altogether of silicified remains from the several formations above the Lower Silurian, and the evidences are conclusive that they are the remains of rocks decomposed *in situ*.

No precious metals have been discovered in Kentucky. The amount of coal hitherto mined has not been as large as the quantity and quality in the State would justify, but the increased facilities of transport have stimulated production, and the output will increase from year to year. In 1870, the amount mined was 150,582 tons, and in 1880, 1,050,095 tons, a larger percentage of increase than any other State in the Union. Iron ores of good quality abound in various parts of the State. In Bath County is a large deposit of Clinton ore, similar to the red fossil ore occurring in this formation from New York to Alabama. The same ore probably is in position along the western base of Pine Mountain. Along the southeastern border of the State it extends for many miles in Tennessee and Virginia, with a thickness of from eighteen inches to seven feet, where the very near proximity to the excellent coking coal of Kentucky, renders it of peculiar value in determining the future development of that portion of the State. In the Cumberland Valley of Western Kentucky, a high grade limonite is abundant in the subcarboniferous limestone, and in eastern Kentucky, a superior iron ore rests upon the top of the St. Louis group of this formation. Excellent carbonates and limonites abound in the eastern coal-measures and have been mined extensively in the north-eastern part of the State. In the lower coal-measures of western Kentucky, a number of iron ore strata ranging in thickness from a few inches to five feet.

Galena, associated with sulphate of baryta, occurs in veins in the lower members of the blue limestone of central Kentucky, and also in the subcarboniferous strata in the lower Cumberland Valley, where it is associated with valuable deposits of fluorspar.

Petroleum has been produced from wells in Barren County, for a number of years. The oil is here derived from the Devonian black shale. Heavy lubricating oil is produced from the same formation in Wayne County. There is a wide area in the State, where petroleum may be obtained by boring.

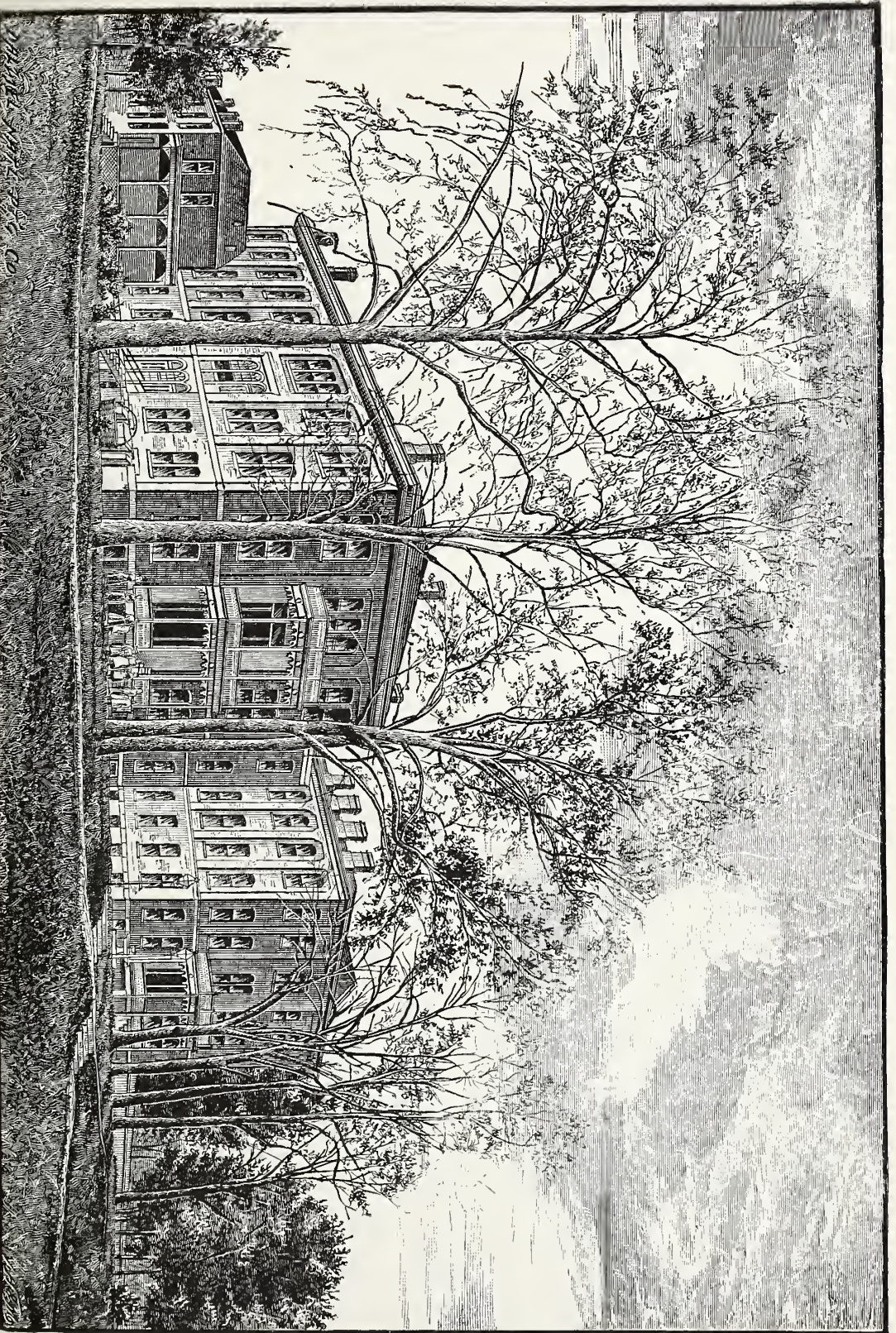
Salt-brine is obtained from wells in the eastern coal field, and in the subcarboniferous limestone of western Kentucky.

Fire and pottery clays abound in the coal measures; pottery clays occur in the surface deposits in valleys of central Kentucky, and in the flat lands where the soil is derived from the decomposition of the Devonian black shale, and the argillaceous shales of the Waverly group. In the Tertiary shales below the gravel bed west of the Tennessee River, are pottery-clays, and fire-clays occur in great abundance.

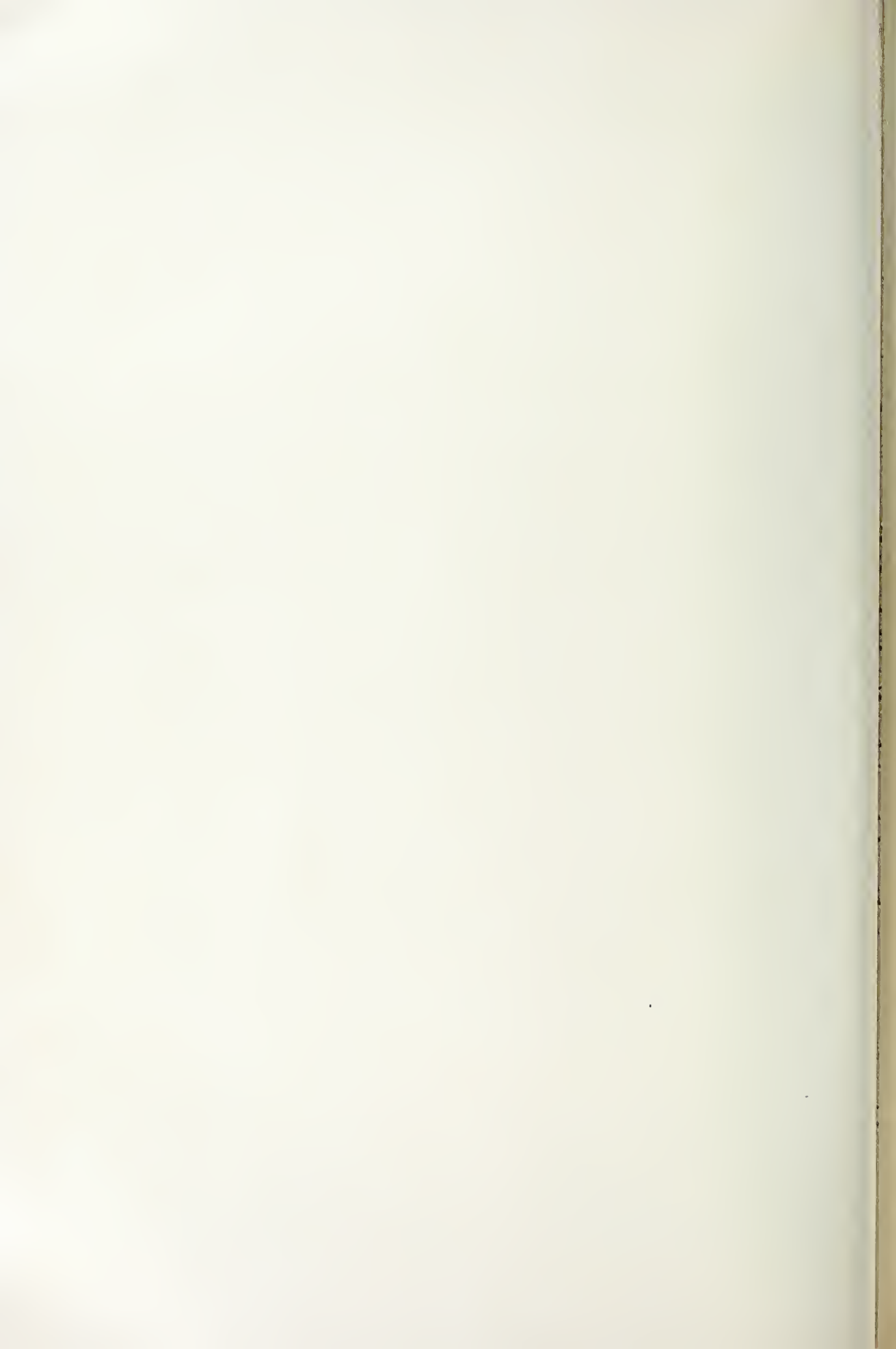
Building stones of great variety abound in almost every section.

*Forests.*—Probably two-thirds of the State is yet covered by virgin forests of valuable timbers. At the time of the settlement of the State by the whites it was covered by forests, excepting a portion of the southwestern part, known as the "Barrens," which was a prairie, covered with tall grass, known as "barren-grass." Here only the roots of certain hardy trees had withstood the annual burning of the dry grasses; from these roots, "sprouts" grew every year, only to be destroyed by fire, and the roots or base grew horizontally under the soil. When the country was settled and the fires checked, the saplings springing from these roots soon grew into trees, and the region, was speedily covered with a dense growth, the prevailing timbers being black-jack oak (*Quercus nigra*), post oak (*Q. obtusiloba*), and black oak (*Q. tinctoria*). The outline of these barrens was almost identical with the outline of the cavernous group of the subcarboniferous limestone. On the lower limestones and shales of the subcarboniferous, the most valuable timbers remaining are yellow poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), white oak (*Q. alba*), the hickories, and some black walnut (*Juglans nigra*). The several divisions of the Lower Silurian are character-









ized by a variation in the forest growth. On the lower rocks the most characteristic timbers are over-cup oak (*Q. macrocarpa*), white oak, shell bark hickory (*Carya alba*), black walnut and black ash (*Fraxinus sambuci folia*). The prevalent timbers on the best soils of this region are sugar maple (*Acer saccharinum*), blue ash (*Fr. quadrangulata*), black walnut, pig-nut hickory (*C. glabra*), hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*), mulberry (*Morus rubra*), buck-eye (*Æsculus glabra*), honey-locust (*Gleditschia triacanthos*), box elder (*Negundo aceroides*) and Kentucky coffee-tree (*Gymnocladus*). On the soils derived from the silicious member of the Cincinnati group, the prevalent timbers are yellow poplar, beech, white and red oak, and hickory. White oak is the prevailing timber on the upper portion. On the Upper Silurian lands the timbers are mainly white oak, of superior quality, sweet gum (*Liquidambar styraci flua*), and water maple (*A. rubrum*). The growth on the cor-niferous limestone is very similar to that on the best soils of the blue limestone, with the exception that beeches and yellow poplars are more numerous. On the black shale of the Devonian are over-cup oak, black oak, sweet gum, beech and elm, and in places where the soil is well-drained, yellow poplar, wild cherry, and black walnut. The growth on the flat lands of the Waverly is elm, beech, sweet gum and white oak; on the uplands, chestnut, oak, (*Q. Prinus*), and small hickories, and on the thin uplands the above timbers and yellow pine (*Pinus mitis*). The great stores of valuable timbers are in the coal-measures. In eastern Kentucky there is an area of 10,000 square miles of virgin forests of white oak, ash, hickory, wild cherry and other valuable timbers. On the out-crop of the conglomerate sandstone, on the western edge of the coal-field, and on the top of the eastern slope of Pine Mountain and the western slope of Cumberland Mountain, the prevailing timbers are chestnut, oak and yellow pine and hemlock (*Abies canadensis*), where the streams have cut deep in the rock, with an undergrowth of rhododendrons, and kalmias, and on the dryer slopes azaleas. The above is also the growth where the conglom-

erate is thick on the eastern out-crop of the western coal-field. In the valley of Red River, on the conglomerate series, there is an area of about 40,000 acres where the prevalent timber is white pine (*P. strobus*). There are fine forests remaining on the Quaternary west of the Tennessee River. On the lowlands are forests of large cypress (*Taxodium distichum*). In this region the *Catalpa speciosa* and pecan (*Carya olivæformis*) abound and cotton-wood (*populus angulata*) on the banks of streams. Many valuable timbers in addition to the above, are to be had in various parts of the State. Owing to the large demands for timber on the treeless prairies, and the rapid exhaustion of timbers in the States north of the Ohio River, the extensive forests of Kentucky have an especial value.

With the exception of the area west of the Tennessee River, all the soils are derived from the decomposition of rocks *in situ*. The soils over an area of about 22,000 square miles are derived from the decomposition of limestones of various geological horizons. The soils of the Blue Grass region, derived from the decomposition of phosphatic limestone and shales, and the soils of a portion of the subcarboniferous limestone groups, are of great fertility, and are easily restored by a judicious rotation with clover and grasses.

The State was peopled almost exclusively with agriculturists from Virginia and Maryland, and agriculture has remained the favorite occupation. Out of a total population of 1,321,011, in 1870, only 44,197 were engaged in manufacturing, mechanical and mining industries. The peculiarity of Kentucky agriculture is its great diversity. It will be seen from the United States census that in each decade, from 1810 to the present time, the State ranked first in the production of one or more staple articles. Thus in 1840, though sixth in rank in population, it was the first in production of wheat and hemp, and the second in the production of swine, Indian corn and tobacco. In 1850 it ranked first in the production of Indian corn, flax and hemp, and second in swine, mules and tobacco. In 1870 it was the



eighth State in population, and the eighth in the total value of agricultural products (notwithstanding over one-half of the area of the State was virgin forests), it ranked first in the production of hemp and tobacco, sixth in Indian corn, and eighth in wheat. In 1880 it ranked first in the production of hemp and tobacco and seventh in Indian corn and rye. The decline in the relative position in the production of Indian corn and wheat was not caused by a decreased production, but by the increased production of these cereals by States in the west, where these are almost the exclusive crops. In Kentucky a diversified agriculture is found to be more profitable. Especial care has been devoted to the importation and improvement of domestic animals, until the State has become the great center for fine stock of all kinds. In arriving at this pre-eminence, the breeders have doubtless been assisted by the climate, the water and the perfection of pasturage. The Blue Grass (*Poa pratensis*), attains perfection in this region, making a beautiful turf; it grows in the shade of woodlands, and affords an excellent winter pasturage. Virginia, in early times, imported choice horses from England (when the breeders there paid attention to the endurance). The Kentucky breeders have kept those strains pure, and have from time to time added by importations from England until a race-horse having endurance and speed is the result. Probably over 75 per cent of the winnings on the American turf is by Kentucky-bred horses. The attention of many of the Kentucky stock breeders of late years has been turned to breeding trotting horses with very marked results. The production of the very fleet trotting horses of Kentucky is the result of intelligent breeding, under favorable conditions.

Kentucky is the principal tobacco growing State in the Union. In 1870, of the total of 262,735,371 pounds produced in the United States, Kentucky produced 105,305,869 pounds; and in 1880, out of the total of 473,107,573 pounds, Kentucky pro-

duced 171,121,134 pounds. The ten principal tobacco-growing counties are:

	Pounds.
Christian .....	12,577,57
Henderson....	10,312,63
Daviess.....	9,523,45
Graves .....	8,901,43
Mason.....	6,261,38
Bracken.....	6,126,63
Logan.....	6,039,98
Todd.....	5,808,42
Owen .....	5,765,35
Trigg .....	5,667,14

The production of the principal cereals in Kentucky was as follows in 1870 and 1880

	1870.	1880.
Indian Corn.....	50,091,006	73,977,82
Wheat .....	5,728,704	11,355,34
Oats .....	6,620,103	4,582,96
Barley .....	238,486	487,03
Rye.....	1,108,933	676,24

Hemp, since the early settlement of the State, has been a favorite crop, more especially in the Blue Grass region. Contrary to an accepted opinion it has not here proved an exhausting crop where retted upon the land. Wheat succeeds almost as well after hemp as after clover sod. The yield of hemp for the year 1880, was about 15,000 tons. Cotton is grown only to a limited extent west of the Tennessee River, the total production amounting in 1880 to 1,367 bales. The total number of farms in 1870 was 118,422, the average size being 158 acres. In 1850 the average size of farms was 227 acres, and in 1860, 211 acres. Over 60 per cent of the area returned as farms was unimproved or in timber. The area returned as improved or under fence was less than one-third the area of the State.

Before the freeing of the slaves, domestic manufacturing on the farms was carried on to a large extent, and as late as 1870, the State ranked second in the value of domestic or home manufactures. The total value of manufactures was, in 1850, \$21,712,210; in 1860, \$37,931,240; and in 1870, \$54,625,809. The increase since 1870 has been larger than before, and the State will soon rank high as a manufacturing State.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## KENTUCKY'S ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN COUNTIES.

**A**DAIR COUNTY was created in 1801 and was the forty-fourth in the order of formation. It lies in the southern part of the State, Cumberland County separating it from the Tennessee line. It is bounded on the north by Green and Taylor Counties; on the east by Russell and Casey; on the south by Cumberland; on the west by Metcalfe and Green, and by the census of 1880 it had a population of 13,078. The surface is rather hilly and the soil thin, and much of the land, aside from the bottoms along the water courses, is poor and unproductive. It is watered by the Green River and its tributaries, comprising Sulphur, Glen, White Oak, Petrus, Harrod, Russell, Crocus, Butler, Big Creeks, etc. The Little Barren River also touches its territory. Tobacco and grain are produced in considerable quantities; in 1880 as follows: Corn, 492,413 bushels; oats, 16,482; wheat, 68,424; and tobacco, 696,748 pounds. Live stock also receives due attention, the report of 1880 showing horses and mules, 4,806; cattle, 5,533; and 15,010 hogs.

The county is not extremely rich in historical incidents. No startling events have occurred on its soil or within its borders, but peace and quiet have marked its career to the present time. One item of historical interest was an inscription found upon a tree about six miles from Columbia, the county seat, in a westerly direction. It was as follows: A number of wild animals, and a tomahawk; also the names—"D. Boone, 1773," and "McGary, 1773." This is evidence that the great hunter was probably the first pale face to gaze upon the hills and penetrate the forests of Adair County.

Columbia, the county seat, is a rather pretty little village of some 600 inhabitants. It has a good court house, a newspaper, several flourishing stores, handsome churches and a number of fine residences, and, with a railroad, would be a very prosperous town. Other villages and postoffices are Casey Creek, Cane Valley, Milltown, Glen's Fork, Gradyville, Neatsville, etc.

Judge Parker C. Hardin, long a citizen of

this county, was of a noted family and one distinguished in the history of the State. [See historical sketches of Breckinridge, Hardin, Nelson and Washington Counties.] He was the eldest son of Gen. Martin L. Hardin, and was born in Washington County October 23, 1800. His father was among the pioneers of that county, and one of its earliest surveyors. Judge Hardin passed his early years upon the old homestead, and throughout his life he cherished the strongest attachment for the scenes of his childhood. He would recall with emotion the old elm tree, with the eagle's nest, which served as a way-mark to his ancestors in the pathless forests, and which stood upon the boundary line of the old farm. When eighteen years old he entered school at Bardstown for the purpose of finishing his education, and became a member of the household of his uncle, the Hon. Ben Hardin, with whom he afterward studied law. The three years he spent in Bardstown acquiring his profession were always remembered with interest, and he used to delight in relating to his family and friends the lively court house scenes he had witnessed at the Bardstown bar, and in which Rowan, Pope, Wickliffe and Ben Hardin were the principal participants. As soon as Judge Hardin reached his majority, having mastered his profession, he visited southern Indiana in quest of a suitable location, but soon returned home, and shortly after started on another "tour of observation." This time his objective point was Columbia, S. C., but reaching Columbia in this county on the night of December 25 (1821), he was induced to remain a few weeks and visit relatives. Columbia at this time was one of the most prosperous villages in the Green River country, and was noted for the education, intelligence and enterprise of its inhabitants. This temporary visit resulted in his becoming a permanent citizen of the place. He entered upon the practice of his profession here, and soon acquired a lucrative business. During the administration of Gov. Adair he was



appointed commonwealth's attorney, which position he held until Gov. Desha came into office, when he was succeeded by Hon. William Owens. He resumed the practice of his profession, which extended into the counties of Green, Casey, Russell and Cumberland. He was thoroughly versed in the law. His arguments before a jury were more logical than eloquent, and he never failed to impress both judge and jury favorably. He served in the Kentucky Legislature one term, and in 1840 was elected to the State Senate, and re-elected in 1844. In the Senate he served as chairman of the judiciary committee, and in this important position his prudence and wisdom were conspicuous. He was a staunch Whig, but in all his political campaigns he was supported by many Democrats, wholly on account of his integrity and many sterling qualities. In politics he never yielded to public sentiment, but preserved the same independence that characterized him in private life. When the civil war came on, he was outspoken in his adherence to the cause of the Union. But what he deemed Federal usurpation inspired his disgust and finally drove him into sympathy and affiliation with the Democratic party.

Judge Hardin, when disabled through the infirmities of age from the active practice of his profession, was elected judge of Adair County. The last two years of his life were spent at home in the society of his family and friends. He was a devoted Christian, and for more than forty years his life was a bright example of Christian faith. He died at the age of seventy-seven years.

Adair County was named for Gen. Adair, a name conspicuous in the early history of Kentucky. He was a native of South Carolina, born in 1757, came to Kentucky in 1786, and located in Mercer County. Having been a soldier in the Revolutionary war, he was well fitted for the stirring scenes of the frontier. Few expeditions were undertaken against the Indians, after Gen. Adair became a citizen of the State, in which he did not participate. In the war of 1812 he took an honorable part. He was aid to Gov. Shelby in the campaign of 1813, and afterward was appointed by Gov. Shelby adjutant-general of the Kentucky troops, with the brevet rank of brigadier-general. In that character he commanded them in the battle of New Orleans, the closing scene of our last war with England.

Gen. Adair was elected governor of Kentucky in 1820, when the "relief" and "anti-relief" war was at its height. No greater

political excitement was ever known in this State than during that stormy period, but Gen. Adair came forth from the fiery ordeal unscathed by the flames. The only blot upon his political escutcheon was his supposed connection with the conspiracy of Aaron Burr. His conduct was the subject of considerable speculation and suspicion, and public criticism was severe, but time cleared his name of any charge of treason or complicity with Burr's treasonable schemes.

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ALLEN COUNTY is situated in the southern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Warren and Barren Counties, on the east by Monroe County, on the south by the State of Tennessee, and on the west by Simpson County. It was formed January 11, 1815, from the counties bounding it on the north (Warren and Barren), and by the census of 1880 had a population of 12,089. The surface is rough and uneven, with a generally fertile soil; it is heavily timbered. The principal water course is the Big Barren River, which is fed by a number of small streams that have their source in the county, or flow through it, among which are Puncheon Camp Creek, Big and Little Difficult, Walnut, Big and Little Trammel, Drake, Long, Bay's Fork, Snake, John and Rough Creeks.

The name of Col. John Allen, a brave soldier of the war of 1812, and who fell at the battle of the River Raisin, is perpetuated in that of the county. He was a native of Virginia, and born in Rockbridge County, December 30, 1772. His father came to Kentucky in 1780 and settled near the present city of Danville, and some four years later removed into what is now Nelson County, where John grew to manhood, and was educated principally at Bardstown. Among his classmates was Joseph Hamilton Daveiss, who was prosecuting attorney in the celebrated trial of Aaron Burr, at Frankfort, and for whom Daviess County was named. After completing his education he studied law with Col. Archibald Stewart, of Staunton, Va., and upon being admitted to the bar, returned to Kentucky, and located in Shelbyville. As a lawyer he had but few superiors at the Kentucky bar.

Col. Allen, at the commencement of the war of 1812, recruited a regiment of riflemen for Gen. Harrison's campaign in the Northwest. At the disastrous battle of Raisin his regiment formed the American left and suffered severely. No battle of the war was so fatal to Kentuckians as Raisin; its sad ter-

mination carried mourning to many a Kentucky home. Col. Allen was killed, and nearly half his regiment was killed or wounded.

The settlement of Allen County extends back into the last century. As early as 1797 the white man erected his cabin within its present limits. Among its pioneers were Joseph Ficklin, Toliver Craig, Abraham Wood, David Monroe and Henry Collins. They were followed within the next decade or so by John Ragland, Hugh Brown, Elias Pritchford, David Harris, Thomas Cook, William R. Jackson and others. The settlement of the county and the increase of population has been steady to the present time.

Allen County, in addition to the staple products of this section of the State—stock, grain and tobacco—yields salt and oil. With more extended railroad facilities, these industries would be more valuable than they have heretofore been. The salt works at Port Oliver have, when pushed to their full capacity, yielded 300 bushels of salt per week. They are not used now. On the Big Trammel and the Bay's Fork Creeks oil wells were sunk, which produced oil plentifully. The superior facilities, however, of Pennsylvania, both in means of transportation and improved machinery, have always prevented this valuable commodity from reaching any great commercial value in this section.

The county has been hitherto without railroads. The new road diverging from the Louisville & Nashville at Gallatin, Tenn., is being, at this writing (1886), rapidly completed. Its connection with the road at Greensburg would prove of vast benefit to this portion of the State.

Scottsville, the seat of justice, is a small town of about 400 inhabitants, by the last census. It is situated near the center of the county, and was laid out in 1816, and named for Gen. Charles Scott, the fourth governor of the commonwealth. Other villages and hamlets are Gainesville, Port Oliver, Motley, Butlersville, Allen Springs, New Roe and Mount Aerial.

The forest trees of Allen County proved to be depositories of historical facts, showing that white men visited the county more than a quarter of a century before a permanent settlement was made. The following inscription was found cut in the bark of a beech tree on the Bay's Fork of the Big Barren River, about seven miles northwest of Scottsville: "James McCall dined here on his way to Natchez, June 10, 1770." Another inscription was found on a large beech tree, on Long Creek, half a mile above its junction with the Big Barren River, as follows: "Icha-

bod Clark, mill site, 1779." On the opposite side of the tree was the inscription, "Too sick to get over," without name or date. On the Big Barren, a half mile below the mouth of Walnut Creek, the name of "Daniel Boone," with the date of "1777," was found on a beech tree. Boone's name was also found on a beech on the Big Barren, near the mouth of the Big Difficult Creek, but without date.

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ANDERSON COUNTY, although more than half a century old, is of recent origin when compared to some of the counties of the State. It was organized in 1827 from Franklin, Mercer and Washington, and in the order of formation is the eighty-second county. It is situated in the central part of the State, and is considered one of the blue-grass counties. It is bounded on the north by Shelby and Franklin Counties; on the east by Woodford; on the South by Mercer and Washington; on the west by Nelson, Spencer and Shelby, and by the last census (1880) had a population of 9,361. It is watered and drained by the Salt River and its tributaries, Stoney, Hammond, Crooked and Fox Creeks, and by the Kentucky River and its tributaries, Little Benson, Bailey's Run and Gilbert's Creek. The county lies well. It is not monotonously level, but rather rolling or undulating, and very rich and productive. Wheat, corn, tobacco and the grasses are raised in great quantities; also hogs, cattle and—whisky. The latter is, perhaps, the most exuberant crop produced. From 3,000 to 5,000 barrels of whisky are manufactured annually, and that of a very fine quality; indeed, the name of "Anderson County whisky" abroad is almost as famous as that of "Bourbon."

Settlements were made in what is now Anderson County very early. But, without describing the early settlement, the following incident is related: An old Dutchman, named Kaufinan, settled where Lawrenceburg now stands. He was eventually killed by the Indians, and when his wife heard of the sad event, she exclaimed: "I always told my old man that these savage Injuns would kill him, and I'd rather lost my best cow than my old man."

Lawrenceburg, the county seat, is a business little place of over 500 inhabitants. It was laid out in 1820, and named for Capt. James Lawrence, of the United States Navy, whose dying words on board the "Chesapeake"—"Don't give up the ship!"—have become national. The town is situated on



the turnpike leading from Harrodsburg to Frankfort, fourteen miles from the latter place, and presents a rather attractive appearance. It is without a railroad, but liberal bids at this time (1886) are being made for the Louisville Southern. It has a handsome court house, a number of stores and substantial business houses, and several fine churches and residences. Other towns and villages are Rough-and-Ready, Rippyville, Van Buren, Johnsonville and Camdensville.

Anderson County received its name in honor of Hon. Richard C. Anderson, who was born at Louisville Station, in the then district of Kentucky, in 1788. His father was a Revolutionary soldier, and his mother was a sister of Gen. George Rogers Clark. He was educated at William and Mary College, and studied law with Judge Tucker, of Virginia. He returned to Kentucky after graduating in the law, and commenced a career of usefulness. He served several terms in the Legislature, and in 1817 was elected to Congress. After serving four years he declined a re-election, and, later, was sent again to the State Legislature and elected its speaker. This was the beginning of that angry controversy known as the "relief and anti-relief war." He was appointed, by President Monroe, in 1823, minister to the republic of Columbia. In 1826 he was appointed, in connection with Mr. Sergeant, an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the congress to be assembled at Panama, but died on the way to that place. Thus, at the early age of thirty-eight years ended a career that for brilliancy had few equals in that period of Kentucky's history.

BALLARD COUNTY is of recent origin, having been formed in 1842. It was the ninety-third county organized; was taken from McCracken and Hickman, and until the last Legislature (1885-86), when it was divided and the county of Carlisle formed out of a part of it, it was one of the largest counties in the State, having nearly 400 square miles. It is situated in that portion of the State known as the Jackson Purchase\*, and borders

the Ohio River opposite the extreme southern point of Illinois. It is bounded on the north by the Ohio River; on the east by McCracken County; on the south by Carlisle County; on the west by the Mississippi River, and in 1880 it had a population, including Carlisle, of 14,378.

Ballard County is one of the heavy tobacco-growing counties of the State, and is the fifteenth in the production of "the weed," turning out 3,760,743 pounds in 1880. Corn, wheat and oats are grown in large quantities, the statistics, in 1880, being—Corn, 951,357 bushels; wheat, 161,843, and oats, 20,982. Many of the farmers, however, are beginning to turn their attention to stock raising. Portions of the county are level and well improved, other portions are heavily timbered, while the river bottoms are very rich and productive.

The county and the county seat (Blandville) were named in honor of Capt. Bland Ballard, a native of Virginia, and born in 1761. He came to Kentucky in 1779 and took an active part in the border warfare of the early period. He served in Col. Bowman's expedition in 1779, and in Gen. George Rogers Clark's expedition against the Piqua towns in 1780. In the latter expedition he was severely wounded—a wound he suffered from until his death. He was again with Clark in 1782 against the same towns; with Clark in the Wabash campaign in 1786; with Gens. Scott and Wilkinson in 1791, and in 1794 was with Gen. Wayne at the battle of the "Fallen Timber." He served as a hunter and scout for Gen. Clark,

and were loath to treat with him; hence the prominence given to Gen. Jackson in the treaty, and the bestowal of his name upon the purchased territory.

The Indians never used the "Purchase" otherwise than as a hunting-ground. No evidences remain of permanent settlement by them, though they were seen in portions of the district as late as 1830. They committed no hostilities against the whites after the treaty, but lived on friendly terms with them until their removal to the West.

The Purchase has more than once made a move looking to the formation of the district (both the Kentucky and Tennessee portions) into a separate and distinct State. On this subject a late writer says:

"The Jackson Purchase is substantially an annex to the State of Kentucky. Many of its people feel that they are placed at a serious disadvantage in respect to the proper rights and privileges under the State government. With this feeling implanted in their hearts, they have hoped for years that they might join with the remainder of the Purchase in Tennessee and thus form a State whose government would be more immediately identified with their interests. Sostroung had this feeling, because that in May 1861, a convention was held in Mayfield at which the proposition to secede from Kentucky was earnestly discussed and recommended. The similarity of soils, productions, climate and the characteristics of the people of the Purchase has resulted in a wonderful unity of farming, styles of architecture, use, forms of expression and modes of living."

Wadesboro was the second town and the most important one laid out in the district. It was long known as the capital of the Purchase, and was a place of considerable prominence. It was the first land office, and from it emanated much of the business and the legal and moral influence of the section. Columbus was laid out with the intention of making it not only the capital of the Purchase, but of the National Government. Paducah is the principal town of Western Kentucky, and the metropolis of the Purchase district. All these cities and towns, however, are fully noticed in their respective counties.

\*The Jackson Purchase is an important section of the State lying between the Mississippi and Tennessee Rivers, and which has hitherto been largely ignored by the general historian. It includes the counties of Ballard, Calloway, Carlisle, Fulton, Graves, Hickman, McCracken and Marshall, in Kentucky, and some twenty counties in the State of Tennessee. It was purchased from the Chickasaw Indians by Gov. Shelby, on the part of Kentucky, and Gen. Jackson, on the part of Tennessee, and the treaty signed by them and the chiefs, head men and warriors of the Chickasaw nation October 19, 1818. The name "Jackson's Purchase" was given to it in honor of Gen. Jackson, who was then rising rapidly to that great popularity which a few years later wafted him into the presidential chair. It is said that the Indians had some ill feelings against Gov. Shelby,

when in command of the fort at Louisville, and many were his hair-breadth escapes from the savages. He died in Shelby County, in 1853, at the age of ninety-two years.

Among the early settlers of Ballard County were Solomon Redferrin, Robert Crafton, John Humphrey, Daniel Doolin and John Weaver. These were followed later by John Marshall, William Rush, Samuel Wilson, William Holman, Andrew Lovelace and others. They settled in different parts of the county, and many of them have representatives still living there.

A number of mounds and earth works, relics of the mound builders, were discovered in Ballard County by the early settlers. A mound in Township 5 was very plain. It was 60 feet long, 30 feet wide, and about 15 feet high. In the river bottom, nearly opposite Mound City, Ill., was one that occupied some fifteen acres of ground. This extensive mound was 5 or 6 feet high, with an oval-shaped mound on one end some 40 feet high and containing nearly half an acre. Near the center of the big mound was another which was some 12 feet high. Though supposed to have been the work of the prehistoric people, many Indian relics have been found in its vicinity.

Old Fort Jefferson was situated in what is now Ballard County. A severe battle was fought here in 1780, and the fort regularly besieged. The Indians were led by a Scotchman named Colbert, and the whites were commanded by Gen. George Rogers Clark. The struggle was long and doubtful, but the whites triumphed at last. (See preceding chapters on the Indian wars.)

Blandville, until recently the seat of justice, is situated near the center of the county, before it was divided for the formation of Carlisle County. It is a very pretty little town of 476 inhabitants in 1880, and was named for Capt. Bland Ballard. In 1884-85 the county seat was removed to Wickliffe, after a hot and bitter contest.

Wickliffe, the present seat of justice, is a new town on the Illinois Central and Mobile & Ohio Railroads, about five miles south of Cairo, Ill. It has a new brick court house and jail, several flourishing stores, a newspaper, two hotels, etc. Other villages, post-offices and stations are Barlow City, Hazelwood, Hinkleyville, Lovelaceville, North Ballard, Oscar and Ogden's Landing.

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BARREN COUNTY lies in the Green River section, and was established in 1798. It was

the thirty-seventh county, and was carved out of Warren and Green Counties. It is bounded on the north by Hart County; on the east by Metcalfe; on the south by Allen and Monroe; on the west by Allen, Edmondson and Warren, and in 1880 it had 14,378 inhabitants. Its name is derived from the "barrens"—those vast treeless plains or prairies common in southern Kentucky. It has considerable of this fine "barren" land, which, contrary to its name, is very rich and productive; but the larger portion of the county is rolling, extending into rough and rugged hills. Most of the land, however, is fertile and produces well. Tobacco is the principal crop, 2,305,586 pounds having been raised in 1880; but grain is cultivated extensively, and much attention is likewise being paid to stock raising, which is becoming more and more valuable each year.

Glasgow is the capital of the county. It is a town of about 1,500 inhabitants, by the last census, and is steadily increasing in population and importance. It is situated eleven miles from the main line of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, with which it is connected by a branch road. It has a good court house, a number of substantial buildings and business houses, several handsome churches and some beautiful and tasteful residences. A newspaper, the *Times*, is one of the flourishing papers of Southern Kentucky. Other towns are Cave City and Glasgow Junction (on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad), Hiseville, Park, Prewitt's Knob, Horsewell Cross Roads and Roseville.

Barren County produces petroleum abundantly, and only requires capital and energy to make it an extensive and lucrative business. The census report of 1880 shows the annual production of petroleum in the county to be 5,376 barrels—the fourth largest yielding section in the United States; northwestern Pennsylvania being the largest; West Virginia and Washington County, Ohio, the second; Beaver County, Penn., the third, and Barren County, Ky., the fourth. A number of mineral springs, claimed to possess medicinal properties, are found in different localities. A white sulphur spring, some sixteen miles from Glasgow, on the Little Barren River, is said to be the strongest stream of mineral water in this section of the State.

Caves, prehistoric remains, human bones, and inscriptions upon trees, are among the wonders and curiosities of the county. On a large beech tree, which stood upon the bank of a tributary of the Little Barren River, is said to have been found by Edmund Rogers, one of the earliest surveyors in the Green



River country, the following inscription: "James McCall, of Mecklinburg County, N. C., June 18, 1770." Other initials were found on the same tree.

Near Glasgow is a cave, in the bluff by the river, in which many human bones were found by early settlers. The cave was never fully explored, and nothing beyond the mere fact of bones being found is known concerning it. Another cave on Skaggs Creek was discovered, in which were found bones, their size indicating that they were wholly the bones of children. A bone is said to have been found in this cave—apparently a Knight Templar's drinking cup—which seemed that part of the skull about the crown of the head, and bore traces of carving on the outside, and of having been scalloped on the edges. We read of the savage kings of the olden time drinking wine from the skulls of their slaughtered enemies; this may have been the custom among the prehistoric people of the Ohio Valley.

The following sketch, though partaking somewhat of the Mulhatton style of romance, appears in Collins' History of Kentucky:

In December, 1870, a party of hunters chased a fox into a cave on Beaver Creek, five miles from Glasgow, and about fifty feet from the Columbia road. The cave is well known, and had been occasionally visited. But in the southern avenue, the hunters explored a tortuous fissure in the rock, about twenty feet long and large enough to admit the body of a man, which led them into a small oblong chamber, eighteen feet long and twenty feet high. In this they found the remains of at least ten human beings, the skulls nearly all sound, many bones perfect, others too much decayed for removal. On several of the skulls, lying on the surface, was a limestone formation, caused by the dripping of water from the stone ceiling. The robbers and murderers, who infested this road and region in early days, probably used this cave, and in this secluded chamber deposited their murdered victims.

When the first white people came to what is now Barren County, quite a number of mounds were plainly to be seen, some of which are still perceptible. On the promontory formed by the confluence of Peter's Creek with the Big Barren River, there was a group of mounds, several in number. They were some distance apart, forming a circle several hundred yards in circumference, and when first seen bore evidence of having had huts upon them. Within the circle of small mounds was a large one, nearly 100 feet in diameter. Just outside of the circle was another large mound, similar to the one just described. Another group of mounds some distance from this group was discovered, and in some of them, upon being opened, bones, teeth and human hair, perfectly preserved, were found. In the vicinity of these mounds are many graves lined with smooth, flat

stones and containing bones and skeletons. This is but confirmatory of the theory of archaeologists, that "our houses are built on grounds once appropriated by others;" that "our towns and cities occupy the sites of older cities," and that "our cemeteries are sacred to the memory of a ghostly people, who, in the event of a final resurrection, could rise up and claim ownership prior to that of the Anglo-Saxon race."

Settlements were made in the present county of Barren prior to the close of the last century. Among the early settlers, and perhaps one of the first white men in the county, was Edmund Rogers, a pioneer surveyor in southern Kentucky. He settled upon land in the county, on which he afterward laid out the town of Edmonton in 1800. He was a native of Virginia, born in 1762, and was a Revolutionary soldier. He came to Kentucky in 1783, and spent many years in surveying lands in this part of the State. He died in 1843, and was buried on the farm he had located and improved.

Hon. Preston H. Leslie, for more than a quarter of a century a citizen of this county, was born in Clinton County in 1819. He is a man of prominence and ability, and like many of our wisest statesmen, he has been the "architect of his own fortune." He was left an orphan at an early age, and "his self-relying spirit and indomitable energy," says his biographer, "made him, in his poverty, a cart-driver in the streets of Louisville at the age of thirteen; a wood-chopper at fourteen; a ferryman, farmer's boy and cook for tan-bark choppers at fifteen; a lawyer at twenty-two; a representative in the Legislature at twenty-five; a senator at thirty-two and governor of the eighth State in population of the American Union, at fifty-one." After completing his law studies he was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Monroe County, but some years later removed to Glasgow, in this county, where he still resides. When Gov. Stevenson was elected to the United States Senate in 1871, Mr. Leslie, as the acting lieutenant-governor, was inaugurated governor to fill out the unexpired term. In August of the same year he was the Democratic nominee for governor and was elected by 37,156 majority over his Republican competitor. Since the close of his gubernatorial term he has retired from politics, and resumed the practice of law in Glasgow.

A native of this county, who arose to military distinction in the history of his country was Gen. John C. McFerran. He was born in Glasgow, and was the son of Judge W. F.

McFerran. A graduate of West Point, he was brevetted second lieutenant of the Third Infantry in 1843, and afterward served in the Mexican war. He also served with distinction in the late civil war (on the Federal side) and for gallant and meritorious conduct was brevetted lieutenant-colonel, colonel and brigadier-general of the United States Army. At the time of his death he was assistant quartermaster-general of the United States Army, and chief quartermaster for the department of the South. He died April 24, 1872, in Louisville.

BATH COUNTY was the fifty-sixth organized in the State, and dates its formation back to January, 1811. Montgomery County contributed the territory, and the great number of mineral and medicinal springs within its limits furnished it a name. The Licking River forms its northern and eastern boundary, and its tributaries in the county are Salt Lick, Flat and Slate Creeks, together with a number of small streams that are nameless. Bath is bounded on the north by Fleming County; on the east by Fleming, Rowan and Menifee; on the south by Menifee and Montgomery; on the west by Montgomery and Nicholas, and in 1880 it had 11,982 inhabitants. The western portion of the county is fine limestone land and produces well; the eastern part is rough, poor and barren. Iron ore and coal are to be found in this section. The following of these minerals is from the geological survey:

Analysis of fourteen samples of Bath County limonite ores ranged from 26.61 to 60.41 in percentage of metallic iron—an average of 49.10, and of three of carbonate of iron, 27.23 per cent. One or more furnaces in this county were worked about 1790. The coal area of Bath County is in the southeast corner and small. Its outcrop in the ridge, which divides the headwaters of Gilladie and Indian branches of Red River from the headwaters of Beaver, Blackwater, Duck and Salt Lick Creeks, as far west as the head of Slate Creek. It contains only the sub-conglomerate bed, which is here a double vein of workable thickness, which ranges from 28 to 36 inches, most of it with a clay parting. Much of it is hauled to Mount Sterling for blacksmith purposes and the grate. This bed of coal is within three to six miles of two lines of railroad surveys made in 1852-53 (one of which, the Chesapeake & Ohio, has since been built), near the Olympian Springs. Springs are abundant and of two kinds—one of cold, hard water, issuing at the base of the limestone; the other a soft water, not cold, issuing higher up in the hills, and marking the place of the coal.

The Olympian Springs is a local summer resort of considerable note. There are three springs within a small area; sulphur, salt sulphur and chalybeate. They are situated

about eight miles from Owingsville, the county seat, and if more thoroughly advertised would rank as second to no similar place in the State. There are many beautiful and picturesque spots in Bath County. The precipitous cliffs along Dry Ridge (which forms the center of the mineral section of the county) present some very fine views. "Over these cliffs at short intervals plunge numberless waters, wearing for themselves deep and narrow channels in the conglomerate. At the Laurel Spring meeting-house the stream falls over a projecting ledge to a depth of 110 feet; further east Raccoon Creek falls 41 feet down upon a shelving mass of the conglomerate, and then with another plunge of 44 feet reaches the bottom of the gulf."\*

Owingsville is the county seat, and in 1880 had a population of 773. It is situated near the center of the county, and was named for Col. Thomas Dye Owings, a distinguished citizen, but was originally settled by Harrison Connor. It has several churches, a good schoolhouse, stores, banks, handsome residences, etc. One of the finest business points in the county is Sharpsburg, in the western part, near the Montgomery line. Other towns and postoffices are Bethel, Polkville and Wyoming—the latter on the Licking River.

Bath County was settled by Thomas Clark and his brother, Hugh Sidwell, Elias Tolin, James Wade, a man named Bollard, Francis Downing, and William Calk. A fort or block-house was built in 1786, on the slate ore bank, where the slate iron furnace was afterward erected. Nothing now remains to mark the spot where the furnace was located.

Numerous mounds and fortifications, relics of the prehistoric period, were found in this county. Four miles northeast of the town of Sharpsburg, was a very large and interesting mound. It was twenty feet high, when first seen by the early whites, and a mile or so from it was another almost as large. Trees were growing upon these mounds that bore every appearance of being as old as those in the surrounding forests. In the eastern and southern parts of the county were no mounds, but in the western and northwest portions they were very plenty, most of which have already been leveled by the plow of the husbandman.

Near the town of Sharpsburg was a very interesting fortification. It formed a circle embracing about eleven acres, and as late as 1800 the embankment or wall enclosing it

\*State Geological Reports.



was very plain to be seen, and was from three to four feet high. There were two small mounds near the embankment, one on the east, the other on the west side of it. A pond of water, evidently of artificial construction, was on the south side, mainly within the embankment, but extending outside, and was fed by a small branch from a spring. Southeast and southwest of the fortification were several large mounds. Time, and the onward march of industry, have almost obliterated these earthworks, and in a few years more they will be as obscure as the records of their builders.

The following interesting description\* of the skeleton of a mastodon is pertinent to the sketch of this county:

On the land of John R. Wren, in Sharpsburg, on the highest ground in the town, and as high as any in the vicinity, is a natural pond known as Fleming's Pond, so called, tradition says, because Col. John Fleming secreted himself in or near it after being wounded by the Indians. In 1851, while cleaning out and deepening this pond, which had become dry and full of mud, at the depth of four feet were discovered, in a stratum of blue clay, slightly intermixed with dark loam, the remains of a mastodon; the overlying stratum was of decomposed vegetable matter, with chips of wood, evidently made by the axes of the first settlers. Several teeth, three or four inches broad and six inches long, perfectly sound; a tusk, eight feet long and seven inches in diameter at the base, which crumbled on exposure to the air; a hip joint nine inches across the socket; a section of a rib six inches broad, and some other bones, correspondingly large, proved the animal to be of enormous proportions. Some of the specimens were sent to the museum of Centre College, while others were retained by Dr. H. E. Guerrant.

Among the notable men of Bath County are John C. Mason, Ambrose D. Mann, Henry S. Lane and Gen. John B. Hood. The last, the noted Confederate general, was born in Owingsville June 29, 1831. He was educated at Mount Sterling until he entered West Point, from which he graduated in 1853. He served on the western frontier until the commencement of the civil war, when he resigned and entered the Confederate Army. His record since then is familiar to all readers. Mr. Mason was a native of Virginia, but settled in Bath early, and engaged in the iron business. He served in the Legislature and in Congress, and was a soldier in the Mexican War; he died in 1865. Mr. Mann was born in this county. He filled many honorable positions, among them agent of the United States Government to Austria, in 1846; to Hungary, in 1849, and to Switzerland in 1850. Mr. Lane was also born in this county, but removed to Indiana when young, and was a representa-

tive in Congress from that State, and United States senator for six years.

BELL COUNTY, or, as formerly called, Josh Bell County, was formed in 1867, and was the one hundred and twelfth county organized. It was formed from parts of Knox and Harlan Counties, but in 1870-71, a small portion of Whitley County, comprising about forty-five voters, and known as the South American District, was added. At present it is bounded on the north by Clay County; on the east by Harlan County; on the south by the State of Tennessee; on the west by Whitley and Knox Counties, and in 1880 it had 6,055 inhabitants. It is rough and mountainous, but has some good lands, mostly along the streams and upon the north side of the hills. On the ridges and southern hillsides the land is poor, and the agricultural productions—which are wheat, corn, oats, rye, and tobacco—light. Timber is abundant, consisting of oak, poplar, hard and soft maple, black and white walnut, beech, linden, sycamore, dogwood, elm, chestnut, etc. On the south side of Pine Mountain there is considerable black and yellow pine. The county is watered and drained by a number of tributaries of the Cumberland, viz.: Right Fork, Left Fork, Caney Fork, Stony Fork, Turkey, Four Mile, House's, Yellow, Browning's, Straight, Big Clear, and other small streams. Some of the finest bituminous coal that can be found, it is said, in the world, is in this county. A bank on Clear Creek displays a vein fourteen feet thick.

Pineville, the seat of justice, is situated in the western part of the county, and receives its name from Pine Mountain. The following is its history:

The mountains rise very high on both sides (east and west) of the village, and are almost perpendicular, with large cliffs or rocks overhanging. Immediately bordering on the town northwest is Cumberland Ford, one of the oldest settlements in this part of the country, said to have belonged originally to Gov. Shelby, and been bought from him by James Renfro, whose family owned it for several generations. During the late civil war the house and fences were destroyed by the Federal Army, but have since been rebuilt, and the place is now in a fine state of cultivation.

Pineville is a small place, with less than a hundred inhabitants by the last census. It has the usual public buildings, stores, shops, etc. Other villages and postoffices are Conant, Callaway, Clear Fork, Cubage, Ingram, Skidmore, Red Bird and Yellow Creek.

Cumberland Gap is on the border of this

\* Collins, Vol. II, p. 47.

county. The first explorers and visitors to Kentucky entered the State through this gap in the mountains. It was the only place for many miles where wagons could cross the mountains. During the late war it was considered a point of great military importance, and was held alternately by both armies. It was through this gap that Gen. Zollicoffer invaded Kentucky before the battle of Mill Springs, where he lost his life, and through this gap the "Wilderness Turnpike" passes out of the State.

The Swift Silver Mine, that at times created great excitement in portions of the State, was supposed to be in this county. Notwithstanding the excitement, this mine was somewhat mythical, and it is no easy matter to find an individual who can locate it, except by "hearsay evidence." John Swift, there can be no doubt, was in Kentucky in early times, but that he discovered silver here in any considerable quantities is a story to be taken with allowance. Although silver ore has been found in the State in a number of places, yet never in paying quantities.

The first whites that ever visited Eastern or Central Kentucky passed through Cumberland Gap and through this county. A small body of Virginians, among whom were Dr. Thomas Walker, Ambrose Powell and Colby Chew, in 1750, came through this gap into Kentucky. A beech tree near Yellow Creek, after settlements had been made, bore the legend, "A. Powell, 1750." John Bradford, in his notes on Kentucky, published in 1827, says that Walker told Gov. Shelby, twenty years afterward, that they were there in 1750, and pointed out the tree, upon which was the above inscription. In 1761 a company of hunters, among them Wallen, Skaggs, Newman, Blevins and Cox, visited this part of the State, and spent several months hunting.

The Long Hunters visited Kentucky, entering by the gap in 1769. They numbered twenty men, and were from North Carolina and Virginia. Among them were John Rains, Kaspar Mansco, Abraham Bledsoe, John Baker, Joseph Drake, Obadiah Terrell, Uriah Stone, Henry Smith, Edward Cowan, Thomas Gordon, Humphrey Hogan, Cassius Brooks, and Robert Crockett. They came on a hunting expedition and remained in the wilderness between two and three years; it was the length of their stay that gave them the title of "Long Hunters." They hunted, trapped, and fished, and fought the Indians in their own way and fashion. A number of places and streams were named by them. They encamped for a time on a stream, to

which they gave the name of Station Camp Creek, a name it still bears. They named Bledsoe's Lick, Drake's Lick, etc. Many of them finally became citizens of the country.

The county was named in honor of Joshua F. Bell. He was born in Danville, Ky., in 1811, and died there in 1870. His mother, whose maiden name was Martha Fry, was a granddaughter of Dr. Thomas Walker, mentioned above. Mr. Bell graduated at Center College, read law, and was admitted to the bar, and after several years spent in traveling in Europe, returned to Danville, and commenced the practice of his profession. He was elected to Congress, was secretary of State under Gov. John J. Crittenden, and in 1859 was a candidate for governor on the American ticket, but was defeated by Beriah Magoffin. He was one of the commissioners to the Peace Conference in 1861. In all the positions held by Mr. Bell, his duties were discharged with marked ability. This county, upon its formation, was named in his honor—Josh Bell—by which name it was known until 1873, when a special act of the Legislature dropped the "Josh," and resolved that hereafter it should be known as "Bell County."

BOONE COUNTY was formed in 1798, from a part of Campbell County, and was the thirtieth organized in the State. It is one of the northern counties, lying in what is termed the "North Bend" of the Ohio River. It has a river front of nearly forty miles, and is bounded north and west by the Ohio; east by Kenton County; south by Grant and Gallatin Counties; and in quality of soil is above the average counties of the State, most of the land being tillable. The bottoms along the river are very rich and productive; back from the river the land alternates between level and hilly, and might be pronounced good second-rate. It is drained by tributaries of the Ohio, viz.: Gunpowder, Mud Lick, Woolper, Big Bone and Middle Creeks. In 1880 the county had 11,996 inhabitants. Wheat, corn and tobacco are produced, also stock to some extent.

Burlington, the county seat, is but a small place. It is situated near the center of the county some distance from the river. Petersburg and Florence, according to the census reports, are both larger places than Burlington. Petersburg is situated on the Ohio River and Florence in the northeast part of the county. Other villages and postoffices are



Grant and Taylorsport, on the Ohio; Walton, on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad; and Belleview, Beaver Lick, Bullitsville, Coulton, Constance, Union, Hebron, Hamilton, Verona and Francisville.

Mr. Collins has the following regarding the first visitors to Boone County:

The first known white visitors to Kentucky, at any point above the mouth of the Wabash, were to the Big Bone Lick (in this county). 1. A Frenchman named Longueil, who discovered it in 1739, while descending the Ohio from Canada; 2, other Canadian French, when following the same route; 3, 'two men belonging to Robert Smith,' in 1744; 4, Mrs. Mary Inglis, a Virginian, and three Frenchmen, in October, 1756; 5, Col. George Croghan, an English Indian agent, on May 30, 1765; 6, Capt. Thomas Bullitt, Hancock Taylor, James McAfee, George McAfee, Robert McAfee, James McCoun, Jr., Samuel Adams, Jacob Drennon, William Bracken, John Fitzpatrick, on July 4th and 5th, 1773; 7, James Douglass and others, later in the same year; 8, and in 1773, Simon Kenton and others.

One of the oldest settled places in the county is Petersburg, originally called Tanner's Station, in honor of the Rev. John Tanner, the first Baptist preacher in this part of the State. A company from Pennsylvania, comprising John Seft, William West, John Simmons, a Mr. Carlin, John Hindman, with their families, made a settlement on the land of Mr. Tanner, which is admitted to have been the first in Boone County. A son of Mr. Tanner, but nine years old, was captured in 1790 by the Indians, and remained with them for twenty-four years, being employed in 1818, by the United States authorities at Sault St. Marie, as an interpreter. Another son, sixteen years old, was captured in 1791 by Indians, but escaped a few days later and arrived home safely.

Big Bone Lick, so called from the large number of bones of the mastodon found about the lick by the early whites, is in this county. It is on Big Bone Creek about twelve miles from Burlington, and was used by the early settlers of the country for making salt. James Douglass, of Virginia, visited the lick in 1773, and found the lick, for an area of about ten acres, bare of grass and trees.

Large numbers of the bones of the mastodon, or mammoth, and the arctic elephant were found scattered upon the surface of the ground. The last of these bones, which lay thus upon the surface of the earth, were removed more than sixty years ago; but since that time a considerable number have been exhumed from beneath the soil, which business has been prosecuted as zealously by some as others are wont to dig for hidden treasures. Some of the teeth of these huge animals would weigh near ten pounds, and the surface on which the food was chewed was about seven inches long and four or five broad. A correspondent informs us that he has seen dug up in one mass several tusks and ribs, and thigh bones, and one skull, be-

sides many other bones. Two of these tusks, which belonged to different animals, were about eleven feet in length, and at the largest end six or seven inches in diameter; two others were seven or eight feet long.\*

Maj. John P. Gaines, a gallant soldier in the Mexican war, was long a citizen of this county. He was a native of Virginia, but removed to Kentucky when quite young, and located in Boone County where he led an active life. He served in the State Legislature in the sessions of 1825-26-27, 1830-32, and in May, 1846, joined the troops being recruited for the Mexican war. He became major of the First Cavalry, of which Humphrey Marshall was colonel. He was captured, together with Capt. C. M. Clay, and Lieut. George Davidson and thirty companions at Encarnacion, Mexico, and held a prisoner for some time, but finally escaped and rejoined the army in time to take an honorable part in the battles of Churubusco, Chapultepec, and all the battles fought around the Mexican capital. Before his return from Mexico, his friends elected him to Congress, and he served one term. President Fillmore appointed him governor of Oregon in 1850, which office he held nearly three years. He died soon after his term expired.

The name of Daniel Boone is perpetuated in that of this county. He is the pioneer of Kentucky, the hero of many an Indian fight, and one of the most expert hunters of the period in which he lived. There is so much said of him in the preceding chapters of this volume, that nothing can be added here without repetition.

BOURBON COUNTY was organized under the Virginia Legislature before Kentucky became a State, and dates back to 1785, a little more than a hundred years. It is one of the finest blue-grass counties in the State, and has some of the finest blue-grass stock farms. The county bears the name of Bourbon in honor of the reigning house of France at the time of our Revolutionary war and at the time the county was organized. It will be remembered by students of history that the French king rendered the American colonies very important service in their struggle for liberty. Hence the name of Bourbon County. It is bounded on the north by Harrison County; on the east by Montgomery County; on the south by Clark County; on the west by Fayette County; and by the last census (1880) had 15,956 inhabitants. The surface is sufficiently rolling to drain well, and the soil is

\* Collins' Kentucky, Vol. II, p. 62.

very rich and productive. Corn, wheat, oats and hemp are grown extensively, and of late years tobacco has received considerable attention, while fine stock, thoroughbred horses and Shorthorn cattle, are well and favorably known wherever the name of Bourbon County is known. The following are the statistics for 1880: Corn, 1,135,572 bushels; oats, 47,199; wheat, 370,247, and 7,105 horses and mules; 16,147 cattle; 51,743 sheep, and 20,762 hogs.

Paris, the county seat, dates back to 1789. It was laid out under an act of the Virginia Legislature, and called Hopewell. The act was as follows:

*Be it enacted*, That two hundred and fifty acres of land, at the court house in Bourbon County, as the same are laid off into town lots and streets by Lawrence Protzman, the proprietor thereof, shall be established a town by the name of Hopewell, and that Notley Conn, Charles Smith, Jr., John Edwards, James Garrard, Edward Waller, James Lanier, Thomas West, James Little and James Duncan, gentlemen, are hereby constituted trustees thereof.

It seems that although the town was called Hopewell, the postoffice was established under the name of Bourbonton. "Mr. Collins, the historian of Kentucky, says it was called Bourbonton, and a letter from the treasury department at Washington to the compilers of a volume entitled, 'Sketches of Paris,' published in 1876, corroborates the statement and asserts that the postoffice was created January 1, 1795, with Thomas Eades as postmaster, who was succeeded by William Paton, appointed July 1, 1800, and that the name was changed from Bourbonton to Paris, April 28, 1826, when James Paton, Jr., was appointed postmaster."\*

Paris is pleasantly situated at the confluence of the Stoner and Houston Creeks, and at the junction of the Maysville division with the main line of the Kentucky Central Railroad. It is the most important town—Lexington excepted—in the blue-grass section, and had a population in 1880 of 3,204 souls. It has a magnificent court house—with a very few exceptions the finest in the State; it has three banks, two excellent newspapers, the *Western Citizen* and the *True Kentuckian*, the former, the oldest paper in the State, having been established in 1808, a number of fine churches and handsome residences.

Millersburg is the second largest town in the county. It is situated on the Maysville division of the Kentucky Central Railroad, about eight miles from Paris, and is the seat of the Kentucky Wesleyan University, estab-

lished first as an academy in 1858 and as a university in 1866. The town was laid out in 1817, and in 1880 had 858 inhabitants. Other villages, stations and postoffices are North Middletown, Centerville, Clintonville, Flat Rock, Ruddel's Mills, Hutchison, Houston, Jacksonville, Stony Point and Shawhan's Station.

Bourbon County has quite a number of mounds, earthworks and remains of fortifications, relics of the prehistoric inhabitants of the Ohio Valley. As there is a lengthy chapter in this volume devoted to the subject, it is dismissed here with this brief allusion.

Settlements, or attempts at settlements, were made in Bourbon County as early as 1776. Among the pioneers were John Cooper, Michael Stoner, Thomas Whitledge, James Kenny, Thomas Kennedy, James Douglass, John Miller, the McClellans, Thompsons, McClintocks and others. These were hardy, fearless and self-reliant people. Fresh from the scenes of the Revolutionary war—a free people—their manhood elevated, they shrank from no difficulty, but with unflinching purpose they went forth to subdue the wilderness and subject it to the use of man.

Gov. James Garrard was among the early settlers of the county, and is the only man in the history of the State who was twice elected governor in succession and served two full terms. He was born in Virginia, county of Stafford, January 14th, 1749. The following is inscribed upon the monument erected to his memory by the State:

This marble consecrates the spot on which repose the mortal remains of Col. James Garrard, and records a brief memorial of his virtues and his worth. \* \* \* \* On attaining the age of manhood, he participated with the patriots of the day in the dangers and privations incident to the glorious and successful contest which terminated in the independence and happiness of our country. Endearred to his family, to his friends, and to society, by the practice of the social virtues of husband, father, friend and neighbor; honored by his country, by frequent calls to represent her dearest interests in her legislative councils; and finally by two elections, to fill the chair of the chief magistrate of the state, a trust of the highest confidence and deepest interest to a free community of virtuous men, professing equal rights, and governed by equal laws; a trust, which for eight successive years he fulfilled with that energy, vigor and impartiality which, tempered with Christian spirit of God-like mercy and charity for the frailty of men, is best calculated to perpetuate the inestimable blessing of government and the happiness of man. An administration which received its best reward below, the approbation of an enlightened and grateful country, by whose voice, expressed by a resolution of its General Assembly, in December, 1822, THIS MONUMENT of departed worth and grateful sense of public service was erected, and is inscribed.

Gov. Garrard died at his residence, "Mount Lebanon," near Paris, on the 19th

\*McChesney's Sketches of Paris, p. 90. [History of Bourbon County.]



of January, 1822, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He was an exemplary Christian, and a man of great practical usefulness. His death was sincerely mourned, not only by the people of the county, but by those of the State at large.\*

There are many historical spots in Bourbon County, viz.: Hinkston's, Ruddel's, Martin's Stations, etc. Around these places some stirring events occurred during the frontier struggles.

Bourbon County has been as prolific of great men as of fine stock. Among these may be mentioned Thomas Corwin, the accomplished Ohio senator; Robert Trimble, a judge of the supreme court of the United States; Benjamin Mills, a judge of the court of appeals of Kentucky; Jesse Bledsoe, a lawyer with but few equals at the Kentucky bar; James and William Garrard; Rev. John P. Durbin, D. D., an eloquent divine and college president; John Allen, a Revolutionary officer; Joel R. Lyle, an early editor and publisher; Garret Davis and many others.

Thomas Corwin was born in this county July 29, 1794, and in the autumn of 1798, his father, Matthias Corwin, removed to Ohio. He grew to manhood amid poverty, and received his education principally in the old log schoolhouses of the early time. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1817, and thenceforward to the end of life was an active man and politician. He served in the Ohio Legislature, as governor of the State, in Congress and the National Senate, and was Secretary of the Treasury under President Fillmore. As a zealous Whig he was the friend and compeer of Clay and Webster, and his speeches in Congress and the Senate were excelled by few statesmen of that period.

Judges Trimble and Mills, one of the supreme court of the United States, and the other of the court of appeals of this State, are noticed in the political history. Mr. Lyle established, in 1808, the *Western Citizen* at Paris, a paper still in existence, and the oldest in the State. He was a native of Virginia, and came to Kentucky in 1800. He was well educated, for the time, and though not especially brilliant, was an editor of some ability.

Jesse Bledsoe was one of the leaders at a bar that was famous for its power and ability. He was born in Culpeper County, Va., in 1776, and came to Kentucky in an early day with his parents. He was educated in Transylvania University, and studied law in Lexington. He was a fine scholar and a fine

lawyer, and occupied the chair as professor of law in Transylvania. He served several terms in the Legislature, and was secretary of State under Gov. Scott from 1808 to 1812, and in 1822 was appointed by Gov. Adair a circuit judge. He went to Mississippi in 1835, and soon after to Texas, where he died.

Garret Davis was a native of Kentucky, and was born in Mount Sterling in 1801. Admitted to the bar in 1823, he at once entered upon a bustling, active life. He served repeatedly in the Legislature, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1849. So firm was he in his opinions, that, when once formed, it was almost impossible to change them. An instance in point: He opposed the clause favoring an elective judiciary in the present constitution, and voted against its adoption; and after it was adopted refused to sign it. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1861 (re-elected in 1867), and was one of the most uncompromising Union men in the State. He declined many positions that would have been eagerly accepted by the great majority of men. He declined the nomination for lieutenant-governor on the Whig ticket in 1848 with John J. Crittenden. He declined the nomination for governor in 1855 by the Know-nothing or American party, and declined the nomination for the presidency the next year by the same party. He died in 1872, while still a member of the national Senate.

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BOYD COUNTY is one of the younger civil divisions, and was formed in 1860, being the one hundred and seventh county as to date of organization. It is situated in the northeast part of the State, and is generally broken and hilly. The Ohio and Big Sandy Rivers bound it on the north and east; Lawrence County on the south; Carter and Greenup Counties on the west, and in 1880 it had 12,165 inhabitants. It lies in the mineral region, and produces both coal and iron.

Catlettsburg, the seat of justice, is situated on the Big Sandy River at its junction with the Ohio. It is quite an important town and has an extensive trade. Its population is about 1,500, and is steadily increasing. The Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad (formerly Lexington & Big Sandy) crosses the Big Sandy River here. The road has contributed largely to the growth and prosperity of the town.

Ashland is situated on the Ohio River some five miles below Catlettsburg, and is one of the largest manufacturing places in the east-

\*Perrin's History of Bourbon County, p. 37.

ern part of the State. It is connected with the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad by a branch road from Grayson, Carter County, formerly known as the Kentucky Eastern, thus rendering Ashland the center of a large coal and iron business. It has an estimated population of about 3,000. Coalton and Cannonsburg are small villages of little importance.

The county was named for Linn Boyd, a prominent politician of the Democratic school. He was elected lieutenant-governor in 1859, on the ticket with Beriah Magoffin, but died in December following his election. He was born in Nashville, Tenn., in November, 1800, and in early manhood removed to southern Kentucky, where he at once engaged actively in politics. He served several terms in the Legislature, and in 1835 was elected to Congress from the Purchase District, and was re-elected successively until he had served eighteen years, four of which he had been Speaker of the House. His death occurred while still in the prime of life.

Boyd County was early explored by the whites, though settlements were not made until at a later period. The first white men to look upon the county are supposed to have been the Rev. David Jones, of Freehold, N. J., and George Rogers Clark, "a young gentleman, from Virginia, who inclined to make a tour in this new world,"\* the first recorded mention of this great military chieftain. In 1773 they spent several days in what is now Boyd County, on the "Great Sandy Creek." Mr. Jones' report of the county was as follows:

Very convenient to this are the most famous salt springs, which are a peculiar favor of God. I have also seen in this country what the people call alum mines, though they rather appear to me a mixture of vitriol and alum. Throughout the country we have a very great abundance of stoue coal, which I have often seen burn freely. The smiths about Red Stone use no other sort of coal in their shops, and find that it answers remarkably well. This one article, in process of time, must be of great advantage to this country. Another advantage it enjoys is abundance of limestone, with excellent quarries of freestone fit to erect the best of buildings.

Simon Kenton, the famous pioneer, together with Michael Tyger and others, in 1773 made some surveys of land in this county. In the winter of 1773-74 Simon Kenton, William Grills, Jacob Greathouse, Samuel Cartwright and Joseph Lock were in the present county of Boyd, and spent the time hunting and trapping.

BOYLE COUNTY was created in 1842, and was the ninety-fourth in the order of forma-

tion. It was taken from Lincoln and Mercer Counties, and bears the name of Judge John Boyle,\* a lawyer of great ability, and at one time chief justice of the court of appeals of Kentucky. The county is bounded on the north by Mercer County; on the east by Garrard; on the south by Casey and Lincoln; on the west by Marion, and in 1880 it had 11,930 inhabitants. The county is small, and the fine blue-grass lands are rich and productive. It lies well, and there is but little of it not susceptible of cultivation. Grain and stock are the principal productions; the agricultural report of 1880 shows the following: Corn, 570,943; oats, 28,245; wheat, 140,541; horses and mules, 4,493 head; cattle, 6,685; sheep, 13,176, and hogs, 14,115. It is intersected by the Cincinnati Southern, and Louisville & Nashville Railroads (Knoxville division), which afford communication with the outside world.

Col. James Harrod, one of the prominent pioneers of the State, and whose name is perpetuated in that of Harrodsburg, built a cabin where the town of Danville now stands, which is claimed to be one of the first built in Kentucky. All this, however, is fully given, together with a sketch of Col. Harrod. The early history of the State centered in Danville and Harrodsburg, and ample justice to them has been attempted in other portions of this volume.

Danville, the capital of the county and once the capital of Kentucky (before it became a state), is situated in the eastern part of the county, about forty miles almost due south from Frankfort. It is a town of considerable importance—is deemed the Athens of central Kentucky. It is an historical spot, and was not only the first capital, but was the site of the first court house and the first jail erected in the State. These were built in the summer of 1783, and were of logs. Says a late writer:

Since the days of log court houses, and the eight conventions, the history of Danville has not been of a thrilling nature. It soon settled down into a great educational center; and educational centers are proverbially delightfully quite sleepy-hollows. Two visitations from cholera, in 1833 and in 1849, a \$300,000 fire in 1860, and one large and a few smaller ones since, and numerous occupations by Confederates and Federals during the late war, have been about the only events to break in upon the peaceful repose of its existence.

Danville was laid out on the lands of Walker Daniel, whose name it bears. It has a handsome court house and other public buildings; it has a number of flourishing stores, banks and other business houses,

\*See Chapter XIII, p. 314 of this volume, for sketch of Judge Boyle.

\*Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 244, etc.



several elegant churches, and is one of the finest, if not *the* finest educational town in the State—the oldest institution of learning (Centre College) being located here, as well as other high grade schools. It is also the seat of the State Deaf and Dumb Asylum.\* In 1880 Danville had 3,074 inhabitants.

Perryville, a town of about 500 inhabitants, is situated some ten miles west of Danville. It is memorable as having been the scene of the severest battle fought on Kentucky soil during the late civil war. Other towns and stations in the county are Parksville, Danville Junction, Goresburg, Shelby City, Mitchellsburg, North Fork Station, Aliceton, Alum Springs, Brumfield, etc.

Among the wise and great men of Boyle County are the Greens, Dr. Ephraim McDowell, James G. Birney, John A. Jacobs and Walker Daniel. The last gentleman was a native of Virginia and came to Kentucky in 1781, locating in this county. He was a lawyer by profession, and owned the land upon which Danville was laid out. He was killed by the Indians a few years after he came to the county.

James G. Birney, the first man ever a candidate for President of the United States on the "Liberty" or "Abolition" ticket, was born in Danville, February 4, 1792—the year the State was admitted into the Union. He studied law and settled in Alabama, where he acquired considerable reputation as an attorney. He returned to Kentucky in 1833, and soon developed into a strong anti-slavery man. In this age of slang he would have been called a crank. He advocated emancipation, and set the example by freeing his own slaves. He moved to Ohio, and then to Michigan, and was the candidate in 1840 of the "Liberty" party for President, and again in 1844 was the candidate of the same party.

John A. Jacobs was a native of Virginia, and born in 1803. He came to Kentucky when but a child, and was brought up principally in Garrard County. He entered Centre College at the age of sixteen, but before graduating was elected principal of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, and in that institution spent the remainder of his life.

The Greens were a prominent family. Willis Green was a native of Virginia, and came to Kentucky as one of the early surveyors. He represented the county of Kentucky in the Virginia Legislature, and was clerk of the court for a long term of years. John Green, a son, was a man of much

prominence. He studied law with Henry Clay, and became distinguished in his profession. He took an active part in the organization of Centre College, and of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum. He was appointed Circuit Judge, a position he held until his death. Lewis Warner Green, also a son of Willis Green, became a minister of the Presbyterian Church, and after holding many important positions, died in 1863 as president of Centre College.

Dr. Ephraim McDowell was one of the most renowned surgeons known in the history of Kentucky. He was born in Rockbridge County, Va., in 1771, and came with his father to Danville in 1784. He received a liberal education, and studied medicine with Dr. Humphreys, of Virginia, and afterward went to Europe and studied in the University of Edinburgh. After his return he settled in Danville. He was the first physician in the world who performed the operation of removing diseased ovaries. Dr. Gross said of him: "Had McDowell lived in France, he would have been elected a member of the Royal Academy of Surgery, received from the King the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and obtained from the government a magnificent reward—as an acknowledgment of the services he rendered his country, his profession and his fellow-creatures."

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BRACKEN COUNTY borders on the Ohio River and dates its existence back to 1796. It was the twenty-third county organized in the State, and was formed from parts of Campbell and Mason. The Ohio River is on the north, Mason County on the east, Harrison and Robertson on the south, and Pendleton on the west. Its population in 1880 was 13,509. It was named for Big and Little Bracken Creeks, and they were named for an old pioneer, William Bracken, who was an early settler in the county and was killed by the Indians. There is much good land in the county as well as considerable poor land. The soil is adapted to tobacco, and a large quantity of a most excellent quality is produced each year. Grain is also extensively grown, and stock receives due attention. The reports of 1880 show the following: Corn, 562,550 bushels; oats, 9,715; wheat, 179,979, and tobacco, 6,126,635 pounds; horses and mules, 4,273 head; cattle, 4,632, and hogs, 14,193.

Brookville, the present seat of justice, is situated near the geographical center of the county. It was laid out in 1839, and has

\*For sketches of Deaf and Dumb Asylum and Centre College see preceding chapters.

ood substantial public buildings. Its churches, residences and business houses are much the same as are to be found in other towns of similar pretensions.

Augusta, the former county seat, and the principal town in the county, is situated on the Ohio River some eighteen miles below Maysville. It is noted as being the town where the first college in the world, under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was established. It was called Augusta College, and was founded in 1822, and for years was one of the leading educational institutions in the State.

Augusta is considered one of the prettiest towns on the upper Ohio, and is a great shipping point for tobacco and other products. In 1880 it had 1,282 inhabitants. The other towns, villages and postoffices are Germantown, Berlin, Milford, Foster and Rock Springs.

The first white man in the county was probably William Bracken, who came to the county in 1773 and settled upon one of the little streams that still bear his name. He was a hunter and pioneer—a pioneer to whom the perils of the wilderness were as nothing, if only that wilderness were free. He yearned for freedom, and exiled himself from his native place that he might fully enjoy it. He hunted and fished, and fought the Indians in their own way and fashion. He was finally killed by the Indians.

The first surveys in Bracken County were among the very first in the State; indeed it is probable that they were only preceded by the two or more surveys made by Gen. George Washington in 1770, in what are now Lawrence and Greenup Counties, and in 1773 by several small surveys made in Lewis County by Capt. Thos. Bullitt's party on their way to the falls at Louisville. Capt. John Hedges', with Capt. Thomas Young as chain earrier, both afterward officers of the Revolutionary Army, in the Virginia line, in 1773 surveyed a tract of land, built an "improver's cabin," and cleared a small piece on the bank of the Ohio River, about five miles below Augusta, and just below the mouth of Loeust Creek. Several other surveys were made, a few days after, in the same neighborhood and by some of the same party.\*

During the late civil war quite a severe skirmish took place at Augusta, in this county, between a squad of Home Guards under Col. Joshua Bradford, and a battalion of Col. Basil Duke's cavalry. The Home Guards were captured after a severe struggle, in which the Confederates lost twenty-one killed and eighteen wounded. Among the killed was Wm. Courtland Prentice, the son of George D. Prentice, editor of the *Louisville Journal*.

Dr. Joshua T. Bradford was one of the

eminent physicians and surgeons of Kentucky. He was a native of this county and born in 1818; educated at Augusta College, and graduated from the medical department of Transylvania University in 1839. As a surgeon he ranked with Gross, McDowell and Dudley. After a brilliant career, brief as it was brilliant, he died at the age of fifty-three years.

BREATHITT COUNTY was the eighty-ninth formed in the State. It was carved out of Estill, Clay and Perry Counties, in 1839, and is situated in the mountainous region. The land is generally poor, rough and hilly. It is bounded on the north by Wolf, Morgan and Magoffin Counties; on the east by Magoffin County; on the south by Perry County; on the west by Owsley County, and in 1880 had a population of 7,742. Coal and iron ore abound and large quantities of coal are annually shipped down the Kentucky River. Salt is manufactured to a limited extent.

Jackson, the county seat, was named for the old hero of New Orleans, Gen. Jackson. It is situated near the center of the county, and is but a small, insignificant village. Strongville and Crockettville are small places.

Hon. John Breathitt, elected governor of the State in 1832, furnished the county with a name. Mr. Breathitt was born in Virginia, in 1786, and came to Kentucky with his parents in 1800, and settled in Logan County. He was of studious habits and by his own energy and industry managed to secure a good practical education. He was a surveyor and school-teacher and accumulated considerable wealth, mostly in lands. He was admitted to the bar in 1810, and soon secured a lucrative practice. He served several terms in the Legislature; was elected lieutenant-governor in 1828, and governor in 1832, but died before his term expired, and while still in manhood's prime.

BRECKINRIDGE COUNTY, the thirty-ninth in the State, is one of those bordering on the Ohio River. It was formed in the year 1799 from a part of Hardin County, and named for Hon. John Breckinridge, the first of that illustrious family in Kentucky. It is bounded on the north by the State of Indiana, from which it is separated by the Ohio River; on the east by Meade and Hardin Counties; on the south by Grayson County;

\* Collins' History, Vol. 11, p. 94.



on the west by Hancock and Ohio Counties, and by the census of 1880 had a population of 17,486. The surface alternates between rich bottom lands, fertile valleys, high plains or "hickory flats," and hilly regions, poor, rocky and broken. The bottoms along the Ohio show some as fine farms as are in the State; the valleys are rich blue-grass lands, resting on red clay and underlaid with limestone; the hickory flats, as tobacco lands, are unsurpassed, while the hilly regions are better adapted to fruit growing than anything else. Along the water courses fine timber grows in profusion. Tobacco is the staple product, the last census showing this to be the fifteenth county in the State as to quantity produced. Grain, however, is extensively grown in some sections of the county; also considerable attention is paid to stock raising. The principal streams of the county are Rough, Clover, Rock Lick, Hardin, North Fork of Rough, Buffalo, Jewel's, Lost Run, Doret's, Brushy Fork, Sinking Creek, etc. The latter stream is something of a natural wonder. Its peculiarity furnishes its name. It rises some fifteen miles east of Hardinsburg, and flows in a northerly direction. Eight or ten miles from its source it suddenly sinks into the ground, and for several miles no trace of it is seen, except in extreme high water, when it overflows and fills with a roaring torrent the "dry bed," as it is called. Ten miles, perhaps, from where it sinks it breaks out again, flows on, a large stream, affording fine water-power for mills, etc., and empties into the Ohio at Stephensport. Five or six miles from its mouth is a natural mill dam, producing the "falls," and which has long been utilized for mill purposes. The stream was originally known as Hardin's Creek, but the peculiarity above described led to its change of name and the name "Hardin" has been bestowed on the little stream that meanders through the northwest suburb of Hardinsburg.

In the northwestern part of the county, adjacent to Cloverport, are fine beds of cannel coal. Prior to the discovery of petroleum in Pennsylvania and other regions, it was manufactured from this coal. A factory was built at Cloverport before the civil war, and for several years produced large quantities of oil, but since the era of petroleum this process became slow and expensive, and the distillation of oil from cannel coal was discontinued. The coal is being mined, however, by an English company, and to facilitate transportation a railroad has been constructed from the mines to the river at Cloverport. Lead ore has been found, but

never mined to any great extent. Four miles south of Cloverport are the Tar Springs. A peculiar feature of these springs is that there are half a dozen or more within an area of a few square yards, and the waters are as different as though they were a thousand miles apart. They are supposed to possess strong medicinal properties, as well as many local advantages for a fashionable watering place.

The county, in common with every portion of the State, has its caves and other natural wonders. Along Sinking Creek particularly are a number of caves, some of them considerable in extent. Two or three miles above Clifton Mills, on the creek, is the "Penitentiary Cave," one of the most extensive in the county. It has never been fully explored, but so far as it has been, it is found rich in subterranean magnificence. Near Webster is another cave worthy of a description. Two or three hundred yards from the entrance a subterranean stream is reached, that is almost equal, in the sounds produced, to Echo River, in the Mammoth Cave.

Hardinsburg, the county seat of Breckinridge, is beautifully situated on a table-land near the center of the county, and was laid out in 1782 by Gen. Hardin, for whom it was named. It is small and its growth has been slow. Among its early and prominent citizens were Joseph Allen, Capt. Thomas Kincheloe, Rev. James Taylor, Philip Lightfoot, Morris Hensly, Charles Hambleton, William Feaman, B. and R. M. Wathen, John McClarty, William Morton, Stanley Singleton, James and Williamson Cox, William Seaton, Francis Peyton, Joseph Thomas, Thornton Smith, Jefferson Jennings, Dr. S. B. Abel, John B. Bruner, Elijah Eskridge and Roland Hughes. These all sleep with their fathers, and when Judge Kincheloe, Col. Alf. Allen, Mr. Vivian Daniel and Rev. R. G. Gardner die, the "old guard" will have passed away.

Hardinsburg is a little gem of a town. It is well supplied with churches, has a newspaper, the *Journal*, and a very fine school building. Its court house, for the sum it cost, is one of the best in the State.

Cloverport is the largest place in the county, and is an incorporated city. It is situated on the Ohio River, in the northwest part of the county, and is a fine shipping point and a place of considerable importance. It has a bank, a newspaper, the *News*, and a number of handsome churches and residences. Stevensport is situated on the Ohio River, ten miles above Cloverport, and is an important shipping point. Other towns, vil-

lages and postoffices are Hudsonville, Constantine, Custer, Bewleyville, Webster, Clifton Mills, Union Star, Lodi, Big Spring, Rosetta, Bennettsville, Planter's Hall, McDaniel's, Garfield, etc.

The pioneer of Breckinridge County was Gen. William Hardin, a frontiersman of the true type. His first visit to the county was in 1780. Together with a few of his neighbors, among whom were the Claycombs, Brashers, Bruners, Bangers, Haynes, Rices, Jollys, Barrs, Deans, Spencers and others, he penetrated the wilderness of Kentucky. In the early spring of that year (1780), with three companions, the names of whom are forgotten, except one, Sinclair, Hardin descended the Wabasha (the Shawanese name of the Ohio) in search of a suitable location for his proposed colony. They arrived at the falls of the Ohio, where there was then a settlement, but not liking the swampy nature of the country, they re-embarked and floated down the Ohio to the mouth of Sinking Creek, where they landed with the intention of exploring the adjacent country. As it chanced, they disembarked almost in the midst of a band of hostile savages. The Indians allowed them to advance some three miles into the country, when they divided, one party taking possession of the boat, while the other pursued the whites. The latter, experienced borderers as they were, had discovered signs of Indians and were on the alert. They found that they were pursued by a largely superior body of savages, and realizing the folly of a fight, they resolved to push on to Hines' Fort, the present site of Elizabethtown, in Hardin County. They continued their flight during the night, guided by the stars, and in the early morning reached a large spring, where they stopped to rest and slake their thirst. From the description they gave of the spring afterward, it was doubtless where the town of Big Spring now stands. Here they were attacked by the savages, and Sinclair killed. The others, led by Hardin, succeeded in escaping, and finally reached Hines' Fort.

Hardin remained at the forts in what is now Hardin County, until the following spring, when, accompanied by Christopher Bush and Michael Leonard, he returned to the mouth of Sinking Creek, up which they proceeded to the falls, where they disembarked. It was during a periodical overflow in the Ohio, and all the surrounding country was submerged. Hardin cut a "high water mark" on a tree, which is said to be still discernible. They explored the country in a southeasterly direction, and finally reached

the present site of Hardinsburg, where, pleased with the location, Hardin determined to establish his colony. There they at once commenced the erection of a fort, which became known on the border as Hardin's Fort. It was similar to the rude frontier forts or stations, and was constructed of logs with loopholes to shoot from. This was surrounded by a number of cabins, occupied by those who had joined Hardin with the intention of settling the country, and above referred to as his colony. The whole was enclosed by a palisade, oblong in shape, and of heavy slabs firmly implanted in the earth, rendering it a formidable structure for those primitive days. As the war-cry of the retreating savages died away along the frontier of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, those hardy pioneers came forth from the protecting walls of the fort, and joined by others, made settlements in different parts of the county.

The Hardin family, of whom Gen. Hardin was a prominent member, is one of the noted and distinguished families of Kentucky. The Hardins are of French descent. They came to America after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, being forced to fly from France on account of their Huguenot principles. It is claimed by some who profess to be acquainted with the Hardin genealogy, that they are of Scotch or Scotch-Irish origin; and the name does appear in Scottish history far back, but with nothing definite to indicate the place of nativity. The most authentic account of the Hardins' settlement in America is as follows: Three brothers, French Huguenots of a pronounced type, about the close of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, to escape religious persecutions in France, fled to Canada. The severity of the climate soon compelled them to leave Canada, and they joined the English colony in Virginia. Two of the brothers settled there permanently, while the other emigrated to South Carolina. From the brothers who remained in Virginia descended the Kentucky Hardins. Martin Hardin, a lineal descendant, emigrated from Fauquier County, Va., to Pennsylvania, about the year 1765, and settled on the Monongahela River. He had a family of four daughters and three sons, all of whom were born in Virginia. The sons were John, Martin and William, the last the pioneer settler of Breckinridge County. Martin died about 1849, in his ninety-second year. John, for whom Hardin County was named, was murdered by the Indians in 1792 while on a peaceful embassy to their country. [See historical sketch of Hardin County.] Lydia Hardin, a sister, married Charles Wickliffe, and was the



mother of some distinguished men and eminent statesmen. Sarah Hardin, another sister, married her cousin, Ben Hardin, and was the mother of the great criminal lawyer, Ben Hardin. A daughter of John Hardin married the Rev. Barnabas McHenry, and was the ancestor of a noted family. Many distinguished families of Kentucky, among whom are the Wickliffes, Helms, McHenrys, Cofers, Ewings, Bufords, Caldwells, Estills, Fields, etc., trace their lineage back to the Hardin brothers, who, nearly 300 years ago, fled to the wilds of America, that unrestricted they might enjoy their religious opinions.

Gen. Hardin, the pioneer of Breckinridge County, as we have seen, was a Virginian, though brought up mostly in Pennsylvania, having removed to the latter State with his parents when quite young. Upon attaining his manhood he married Winifred Holtzelaw. The result of this union was eight children, as follows: Winney Ann, who married William Comstock, of Hardinsburg; Henry, a prominent farmer of this county, who died about 1855; Malinda, who married William Crawford, the brother of Mrs. Jo Allen; William, who served several terms in the Legislature, finally moved to Frankfort, and was postmaster of that city for several years; Elijah, who was killed at Houston's Spring in 1805; Amelia, who married Horace Merry; John, who died near Brownsville, Penn., in 1850, and Jehu, who died in Hardinsburg some years ago. In addition to his own children Gen. Hardin reared a nephew and niece, Daniel Hardin, and Mary, his sister. The latter married Ben Huff, the first sheriff of the county.

Gen. Hardin was a man of great personal courage, brave as a lion, cool and self-possessed in the midst of danger, and well skilled in all the arts of border warfare. Of giant stature, and a noted Indian fighter, he became a terror to the savages and was known among the tribes as "Big Bill." Every device and stratagem was practiced by the Indians to secure Hardin's scalp, so bitter was their hatred and so great their dread of him. One morning, preparatory to going on a hunt, he fired off his gun outside the stockade and began wiping it out. An Indian, who had been lying in concealment for the purpose of getting a shot at some venturesome white, now sprang from his covert, aimed his gun at Hardin, and tauntingly exclaimed: "Ugh! Big Bill." The pause was fatal to the savage; Hardin knocked his gun aside, and with his own gun clubbed out the Indian's brains. But he did not always escape scathless. He was several times wounded. Once, in a skir-

mish with the savages, he was shot through both thighs and his horse killed under him. The Indians thought he too was killed, and reported in their towns that "Big Bill" was dead. When he recovered and was again seen by them, their superstitious fears got the better of them, and they fled panic-stricken, believing they were pursued by "old Hardin's ghost." Once, while standing picket, as was the custom on the frontier, over those who were at work in the field near his fort, he was fired on by Indians and severely wounded, and his life probably saved by a brave girl, named Sally McDonald, who was among those in the field planting corn, and bravely assisted him in reaching the fort after the others had fled.

Such was Gen. Hardin, the pioneer of Breckinridge County, and the founder of Hardinsburg, one of the oldest towns (1782) in Kentucky. He owned a great deal of land at one time in the present counties of Breckinridge, Hardin, Meade, Grayson, Ohio and Hancock, but his house was burned, and thus his deeds and patents were mostly destroyed. By this accident he lost much of the lands rightfully belonging to him, and to which his descendants are entitled, many of whom still live in the county and the State. His house, which he rebuilt, stood on the bluff, overlooking Hardin's Creek, in the western part of the town, and until within the last decade or two was a well known land mark. But the old hero and pioneer, the compeer of Daniel Boone, Benjamin Logan and Simon Kenton, sleeps in an obscure and neglected grave. Men sometimes achieve recognition and fame, as Enoch Arden did, after death; but Gen. Hardin lived out the measure of his days, died and rests in a grave unmarked even by a rude boulder, while his fast receding memory remains unhonored and unsung. He deserves better than this; he deserves better than this from us, for he, and those of his kind, wrought for us a rich and enduring legacy in the noblest civilization the world has ever known.

John Breckinridge, for whom this county was named, and the progenitor of the Breckinridge family in Kentucky, was born in 1760. He came to Kentucky in 1793, and settled in Fayette County, near Lexington. His paternal ancestors were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who, after the restoration of Charles II, were persecuted in their native country, and to escape which they finally immigrated to Virginia. His mother, Lettice Preston, who was the second wife of his father, was the oldest child of John and Elizabeth (Patton) Preston. When very young his father removed to

Botetourt County (Virginia), then the frontier of civilization. There, exposed to all the dangers of a wilderness country infested with Indians, he grew to manhood. In 1785 he was married to Mary Hopkins Cabell, a daughter of Col. Joseph Cabell, of Buckingham County. He was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses from the county of Botetourt when only nineteen years of age. The election was twice set aside on account of his youth, and on the third time, against his own wishes and remonstrances, he was permitted to take his seat. As a lawyer no man of his day excelled him, and as a statesman, none of his day and generation occupied a more commanding position, or enjoyed a more absolute popularity. He took an active part in all the important questions that agitated Kentucky from 1793 to 1806, and the second constitution of the State (1799), for fifty years preserved unaltered, was more the work of his hand, perhaps, than of any other man.\* Says his biographer:

"He was the undoubted leader of the old Democratic party, which came into power with Mr. Jefferson, as President, and under whose administration he was made attorney-general of the United States. He was an ardent personal and political friend of Mr. Jefferson, and coincided with him upon the great principles of the old Democracy, concerting with him and Mr. Madison, and others with kindred views, the movements which brought the Democratic party into power. He supported the interests of that party with ability in the Legislature of Kentucky, and in the Senate of the United States; and died as much beloved, honored and trusted by it as any man he left behind."

Mr. Breckinridge died upon his farm, in Fayette County, December 14, 1806, in the forty-sixth year of his age. His family consisted of nine children, and among his descendants have been some illustrious and distinguished men—one of the most noted, John C. Breckinridge, Vice-President of the United States under James Buchanan.

BULLITT COUNTY was the twentieth in the State, and was formed in 1796 from parts of Jefferson and Nelson Counties. It is bounded on the north by Jefferson County; on the east by Spencer; on the south by Nelson and Hardin; on the west by Hardin, and is watered and drained by the Rolling Fork and Salt River and a number of small streams. The land is generally fertile, and is diversified between level plains and hills. The Muldrow Hills, extending through the southern part of the county, have a somewhat romantic and picturesque appearance. Many of the knobs or peaks are from 350 to 400 feet high,

and are covered with tall pine trees. Iron ore abounds in these hills, and extends along Cane Run southwardly into Nelson County. Prof. Robert Peter, chemist to the State Geological Survey, has made several analyses of the ores in this county which showed 32.62, 43.46, 31.30 and 23.80 per cent of iron. The quality of iron made from these ores is soft and tough. The ore is said to be uniform, and with limestone and plenty of fuel convenient, and the Louisville & Nashville Railroad passing through the ore beds, there is no reason why these hills should not be alive with forges, furnaces and foundries.

The county was named in honor of Alexander Scott Bullitt, the first lieutenant-governor of the State. He was born in Virginia in 1761, and was a son of Cuthbert Bullitt, a lawyer of some distinction, and at one time judge of the supreme court of Virginia. He came to Kentucky in 1784, and settled in what now forms Shelby County, but soon after removed into Jefferson County. He was a member of the convention that formed the first constitution, and several times represented his county in the Legislature. In 1799 he was elected to the Constitutional Convention which framed the second constitution. This constitution provided for a lieutenant-governor, and Mr. Bullitt was elected to the position, thus being the first to fill the new office. He served one term under Gov. Garrard. He was frequently a member of the Legislature after this, and in 1808 retired from public life. He died on his farm in Jefferson County in 1816, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

Shepherdsville, the seat of justice, is one of the old towns in the State, and dates back more than a hundred years. It stands on the site of the frontier station known as "Mud Garrison," and which was established in 1778. The town was incorporated in 1793, and in 1880—nearly 100 years later—it had but 299 inhabitants. It is situated on the north bank of Salt River, where the main line of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad crosses that "classic stream," and is eighteen miles from Louisville. It is too near to Louisville, and already too old to ever become a large city.

Mount Washington, northeast of Shepherdsville, is the largest town in the county, having, by the last census, a population of 387. Pitts' Point, at the confluence of the Rolling Fork and Salt River, is a thriving business place. Other villages, postoffices and railroad stations are Bardstown Junction, Belmont, Mount Vito, Cane Spring, Lebanon Junction, etc.

\*History of Fayette County, p. 510.



A number of forts or stations were erected, in what is now Bullitt County, very early. These were Brashear's Station, at the mouth of Floyd's Fork, and established in 1799; Bullitt's Lick, discovered in 1773, and three miles from where Shepherdsville now stands; Clear's Station, Mud Garrison, the present site of Shepherdsville; Dowdall's Station, on Salt River; Fort Nonsense, Whitaker's Station, etc. Of these stations, Bullitt's Lick was by far the most important. It was the place where the first salt was manufactured in Kentucky, and frequently from 500 to 1,000 men were to be found there engaged in making salt, buying and selling it, and in guarding those at work from the attack of Indians. For some time all the settlements in Kentucky were supplied with salt from this place, as well as the settlements in the Illinois country. It was a place of bustling activity when Louisville was but a mass of swamps; and Lexington was a block-house with a few cabins around it; when "the buffalo slept in security around the base of Capitol Hill, and the red man claimed the country for his hunting-ground."

Henry Crist, a brave pioneer, and a man of considerable prominence, was a settler of this county. He was born in Virginia in 1764. He came to Bullitt's Lick when it was in the zenith of its prosperity, and took a prominent part in many of the stirring events that occurred around the salt works. In one he was wounded by a shot from an Indian's rifle, and for several days remained in the woods unable to reach the lick. He finally crawled thither on his hands and knees, and was more dead than alive when he arrived. For a long time his recovery was doubtful, and it was a year before he was himself again. He was afterward a member of the State Legislature, and in 1808 was elected to Congress. He lived to the age of eighty, and died at his home in this county.

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BUTLER COUNTY was carved out of Logan and Ohio Counties, and was formed in 1810. It stands fifty-third in the list of counties, and is bounded on the north by Ohio and Grayson Counties, on the east by Edmonson and Grayson; on the south by Warren and Lyon; on the west by Muhlenburg, and in 1880 had a population of 12,181. It is drained by the Green River, which flows nearly through the center in a northwesterly direction, and numerous small tributaries. The county is quite hilly, and much of it is too poor and broken for agricultural purposes,

but is well adapted to fruit growing and grazing. In the southern part of the county is considerable fine farming land. Coal abounds in the hills, and for many years has been mined, and shipped by way of the Green River. Salt was formerly manufactured quite extensively, but of late years has been virtually abandoned. Much of the county is heavily timbered, and lumber and rafts of logs are every year floated out of the Green River.

Morgantown, the county seat, is a small town situated on the south bank of the Green River, about twenty miles below Bowling Green. It has a brick court house, a bank, two newspapers, several churches and a number of prosperous stores. By the last census (1880) it had but 204 inhabitants. Rochester is also situated on the Green River, at the mouth of the Muddy, and is a place of considerable commercial importance. It has one of the finest flouring-mills in this section, and several large tobacco warehouses. It was incorporated in 1839, and in 1880 had a population of 189. Woodbury is a place of 190 inhabitants, and is situated at Lock and Dam No. 4, on the Green River. There are a number of other small villages in the county, viz., Sugar Grove, Brooklyn, Forgysville, Reedyville, Aberdeen, Harrelsville and Flowersville.

Settlements were made in Butler County while it was yet a part of Logan and Ohio Counties. Among the early settlers were Francis M. Berry, who settled on the Big Muddy River, and died at the age of ninety years; William Carson; the Clarks, who settled on Green River; John Burriss, George W. Caldwell and others.

Butler County was named for Gen. Butler, a native of Pennsylvania and a prominent officer and soldier in the Revolutionary war. He was in St. Clair's memorable defeat in Ohio (1793), and commanded the left wing of the ill-fated army. He was wounded early in the action, and shortly after was tomahawked by the Indians.

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CALDWELL COUNTY perpetuates the name of Gen. John Caldwell, a gallant officer and a prominent man and politician of his time. It was carved out of Livingston in 1809, and was the fifty-first county organized in the State. It lies west of the Cumberland River, and is drained by its tributaries and the Tradewater and its tributaries. It is bounded on the north by Crittenden, Webster and Hopkins Counties; on the east by Hopkins

and Christian; on the south by Trigg and Lyon; on the west by Lyon and Crittenden, and in 1880 it had 11,282 inhabitants. The land is generally rolling, rich and productive. The "golden wheat belt" of the Green River section passes through the county, and will show some as magnificent farms as may be found in the State. The products of the county are grain, tobacco and grass; also stock is exported from portions of the county. The following are the statistics for 1880: Corn, 707,609 bushels; oats, 34,776; wheat, 51,468; tobacco, 3,215,602 pounds; horses and mules, 4,218 head; cattle, 5,787; sheep, 5,675, and hogs, 23,198.

Princeton, the seat of justice, is situated on the Cumberland River, where the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad crosses it. It is a place of 1,234 inhabitants (in 1880) and has a handsome brick court house, several churches, some of them quite elegant, two newspapers, a number of fine stores and residences, and is a live, prosperous town. Considerable manufacturing is carried on on a small scale.

Princeton College, under the auspices of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, is situated here. It was established in 1860, and reorganized under a new charter in 1880. It has a full corps of experienced teachers, and the course of study is extensive and thorough. Many prominent men of Kentucky and adjoining States have been educated in this popular institution.

Fredonia, situated in the Fredonia Valley, the finest farming region in the county, is a small village of 191 inhabitants, by the last census. It is quite an enterprising little town. Other villages and railroad stations are Farmersville, Cresswell, Sims' Store, Friendship, Scottsburg, Dulaney and Tradewater—the last three being situated on the railroad.

Among the early settlers of Caldwell County were the Blacks, James Rucker, the Boyds, the Maxwells, James Wadlington, etc. They all settled in the county before the beginning of the present century, and that, too, before the formation of the county. The first representative in the Legislature from this county, after its formation, was John Mercer, who served several terms.

John Caldwell, for whom this county was named, was a native of Virginia, and came to Kentucky in 1781, locating near the present town of Danville. He participated in the Indian wars of the time, and arose from the ranks to a major-general of the militia. He belonged to one of the prominent families of Kentucky, a family that has turned out some

distinguished men. He served several terms in the State Senate and in the Legislature, and in 1804 was elected lieutenant-governor under Christopher Greenup, but died November 19 following, at Frankfort, during the session of the Legislature.

CALLOWAY COUNTY is of rather recent formation (1822), and was originally a part of Hickman. It is the seventy-second of the 118 counties in the State, and bears the name of Col. Richard Calloway, a prominent man in the early history of the commonwealth. The county, at the time of its formation, included Marshall County. It is situated in the Jackson Purchase, and has the Tennessee River for its eastern boundary, with the State of Tennessee on the south, Graves County on the west, and Marshall County on the north. It is watered by the Tennessee, Blood and Clark's Rivers and their tributaries, and in 1880 had a population of 13,295. The county is generally level, the western part being nearly as level as a prairie, and was what was called "barren" land, but at present it is covered with timber. The soil is fertile, and is well adapted to tobacco, which is one of the principal products of the county. Other crops and stock, however, receive due attention, the statistics in 1880 being as follows: Corn, 780,839 bushels; oats, 33,050; wheat, 47,890; tobacco, 3,477,520 pounds; horses and mules, 4,285 head; cattle, 6,062; sheep, 7,296, and hogs, 27,499.

Calloway County was not settled as early as Kentucky east of the Tennessee River. Among its first settlers were James Stewart and David Jones, who came about 1818, and settled near where the town of Wadesborough was afterward laid out. A number of hunters came to the county the next year, but there is no record of permanent settlements being made by them. One of the early prominent settlers of the county was Banester Wade, who first visited the county as early as 1817-18. He settled permanently about 1820, and is described as a noble specimen of the pioneer. Other early settlers were Samuel Watson, William Smith, William Derrington and the Duncan family. Many of these have descendants still living in the county, and who are among its prominent citizens.

Murray, the present seat of justice of Calloway County, is a modern town, and was laid out as the county seat in 1843. It is a place of 636 inhabitants, and has three churches, a fine educational institution, a newspaper, several flourishing stores, a sub-



stantial brick court house, and some handsome residences. The Murray Institute building is one of the finest school edifices west of the Tennessee River, and cost about \$17,500. By a special act of the Legislature the institute is authorized to grant State certificates to its graduates.

Wadesborough was the second town laid out in the Purchase District, and was the first seat of justice of this county. It was laid out about 1821, and named in honor of Banester Wade, one of the early settlers of the county, and a prominent pioneer of western Kentucky. At one time it was the most prominent town in the Jackson Purchase, and was the seat of the Government land office. The purchase was surveyed, under the congressional law, into sections and townships, and this necessitated the establishment of a land office in the district. After the public lands had all been sold, the prosperity of the town began to wane, and when, in 1843, the seat of justice was moved to Murray, and most of the citizens located there too, a general decay fastened itself upon the town, and now "the spider weaves his web in her palaces, the owl sings his watch song in her towers." At the present time it has but about seventy-five inhabitants. Other towns and postoffices are New Concord, Pleasant Hill or "Pool Town," Crossland, Shiloh, New Providence, Bachusburg, Newberg, Coldwater, etc.

This county took an active interest in the late civil war, and turned out a large number of soldiers, mostly for the Confederate Army. Says Collins:

Fort Heiman, on the west bank of the Tennessee River, in the southwest corner of Calloway County, was occupied for some time by Confederate forces under Gen. Abram Buford, with one brigade of cavalry, one regiment (Third Kentucky) of mounted infantry, under Col. G. A. C. Holt, and a battery of light artillery. These constituted the left wing of the Confederate Army of Gen. Forrest, when he made his successful assault on Johnsonville, Tenn., on the east bank of the Tennessee River, November 4 and 5, 1864. Col. A. P. Thompson, of this county, at the head of his regiment (the Third Kentucky, Confederate States Army), was killed in the desperate assault on Paducah, in March, 1864, and Col. G. A. C. Holt succeeded to the command.

CAMPBELL COUNTY was organized in 1794 from parts of Scott, Harrison and Mason Counties, and was the nineteenth. Pendleton, Boone, Kenton and part of Grant Counties have since been formed out of its superfluous territory. It is one of the counties bordering the Ohio River, and is well supplied with water highways, having the Ohio on its north and east, and the Licking River

on the west; Pendleton County borders it on the south. It alternates between rich, level bottoms, and uplands, the latter somewhat broken and hilly. The bottoms yield grain and grasses in profusion, while the uplands produce corn, oats, wheat and tobacco, and to some extent, small fruits. In 1880 it had 37,440 inhabitants. The county was named in honor of Col. John Campbell, "a native," says his biographer, "of Ireland," but the name is so decidedly Scotch that evidently he was of Scotch descent. He came to Kentucky very early, and became a man of prominence. He served in the Legislature, and as State senator from Jefferson County, where he settled. He never married, and when he died his large estate was divided among distant heirs.

Newport is the third largest city in the State, and is situated on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Licking and opposite the city of Cincinnati. By the last census it had a population of 20,432. Sometimes it is the seat of justice and sometimes it is not. It was incorporated in 1795, the next year after the formation of the county, and remained the county seat for many years, when the seat of justice was transferred to the town of Alexandria. On the subject Mr. Collins has the following:

The first courts of Campbell County met, by law, at Wilmington, on the Licking River, twenty-two miles from Newport, but the county seat was afterward located at Newport. In 1827 a law was passed fixing it at Visalia, a site supposed to be the center of the county, near the present Canton Station on the Kentucky Central Railroad, and courts were held there that year. Visalia was not the center, and the court house was launched for Pond Creek, a little lower down on the Licking; but by the shrewdness of interested parties it landed at Newport, and was made fast until 1840, when, on the erection of Kenton County out of that portion lying west of the Licking River, the "center" idea again prevailed, and Alexandria became the permanent county seat. At Newport, by a progressive series of legislative acts, are held the long terms of the circuit, criminal, and chancery courts. Campbell has thus practically two county seats.

Newport is well supplied with religious and educational facilities, having some dozen or more handsome churches, and a very fine system of public schools. It is connected with Cincinnati by a magnificent bridge, opened to the public in 1872, having a railroad track, passage-way for vehicles, and sidewalks for pedestrians. It is also connected with Covington by a wire suspension bridge across the Licking River. This bridge was opened in January, 1854, and within two weeks afterward (January 16) it fell. At the time of its fall there were on it nineteen head of cattle and two men on horseback. The men were not seriously in-

jured, but one horse and six cattle were killed. It cost \$36,000 to rebuild the bridge—over half its original cost.

Bellevue is quite a modern town, and was incorporated in 1870. It is situated on the Ohio River, and is separated from Newport by Taylor Creek. In 1880 it had a population of 1,460; it is an enterprising place and growing rapidly. Dayton is a town of 3,210 by the last census. It is situated on the Ohio, and is the name given to two villages—James-town and Brooklyn—which were consolidated. Alexandria, the county seat, is situated near the western line of the county, and had 378 inhabitants in 1880. California and Carthage, both on the Ohio River, are small places.

Settlements were made early in Campbell County. Some of the pioneers who bore the brunt of hardships in its settlement were Gen. James Taylor, John Hall, John Bush, Robert Benham, John Ewing, Thomas Kennedy, John Cook, Thomas Corwin, John Craig, Washington Berry, Charles Daniel, Nathan Kelly, etc. These came to the dark and bloody ground when savages were plenty and when it deserved the crimson title. Many of them have descendants still living in the State.

Among the prominent men of Campbell County are Gen. James Taylor, Hon. Henry Stanberry and Gen. George B. Hodge. Gen. Taylor was a native of Virginia, and was born in 1769; he came to Kentucky in 1791, and was the first clerk of Campbell County. He served as quartermaster-general of the army of the northwest during the war of 1812. He took an active part in the cabal whose object was to displace Gen. Hull and confer upon Gen. McArthur the command of the fortress; and when Hull surrendered to the British, Taylor indignantly refused to assist in drawing up the articles of capitulation or to have anything to do with "an act so disgraceful to the American arms." Gen. Taylor was a man of energy and enterprise, and accumulated an immense fortune. Says his biographer:

He died before his wife, November 7, 1848, on the very day of the presidential election. By the courtesy of the judges, who went to his chamber to receive his vote, he had the inexpressible satisfaction of casting it for his friend and relative, Gen. Zachary Taylor, for President of the United States. His remark on giving his vote, was characteristic—"I have given the last shot for my country."

Hon. Henry Stanberry was for some time a resident of this county. He was a lawyer of great ability, and held many high and responsible positions—one of the most important being that of attorney-general of the

United States, under President Andrew Johnson (1866-68). He was born in New York City in 1803, and graduated at Washington College, Pennsylvania, in 1819. He was associated with William Groesbeck, of Ohio, Benjamin R. Curtis, of Massachusetts, and Thomas A. R. Nelson, of Tennessee, in defense of President Johnson, before the United States Senate for impeachment in the spring of 1868. After that he resumed the practice of law in the United States courts at Cincinnati, in the supreme court of Ohio, at Columbus, and in the United States Supreme Court at Washington.

Gen. George B. Hodge was born in Fleming County, this State, in 1828. He was educated in Maysville, and at the naval academy, Annapolis, Md., from which he graduated and entered the navy in 1845. He was at the siege of Vera Cruz, as aid to Com. David Connor, and served as midshipman during the Mexican war. He resigned in April, 1850. Gen. Hodge engaged in the practice of law in Newport, and in 1859 was elected to the Legislature. He entered the Confederate Army in September, 1861, as a private, and arose by regular gradation to the rank of brigadier-general, and to the command of the district of Mississippi and Louisiana. He also served in the Confederate Congress.

CARLISLE COUNTY is the youngest civil division of the State, being the one hundred and eighteenth county in the order of formation. The official act creating it was approved April 3, 1886. It is one of those superfluous creations (in the way of counties) for which the Kentucky Legislature is especially noted, and was originated principally for political purposes. It was formed of the south end of Ballard County, or "so much thereof as lies south of Mayfield Creek," as follows: "Beginning in the center of Mayfield Creek at the county line of Graves and Ballard Counties; thence down said creek with the center of the channel thereof to the State line between the States of Kentucky and Missouri; thence south with said line to the northwest corner of Hickman County; thence east with the Hickman County line to where it intersects with the Graves County line; thence with the Graves County line to the beginning."

The new county lies in the Jackson Purchase, and is bounded on the north by Ballard County; on the east by Graves; on the south by Hickman; on the west by the Mis-



issippi River, and was named in honor of John G. Carlisle, present speaker of the national House of Representatives, and a native Kentuckian. Its population by the last census is given with Ballard County, as also its agricultural productions and statistics. In fact, most of its history will be found in the sketch of Ballard County.

Bardwell, the seat of justice, is quite an enterprising little town. It is situated on the Illinois Central Railroad, near the central part of the county. Other villages, postoffices and stations are Arlington, Kirbyton, Milburn, Turner and Laketon.

CARROLL COUNTY lies on the Ohio River, and was formed in 1838 from a part of Gallatin County. It was the eighty-seventh county, and is bounded on the north by the State of Indiana, from which it is separated by the Ohio; on the east by Gallatin County; on the south by Owen and Henry; on the west by Trimble, and in 1880 it had a population of 8,953. This is one of the counties through which the Kentucky River flows. Along its bottoms, as well as the Ohio River bottoms, is some fine land, rich and productive. The land away from the streams is rather hilly, but fertile, and produces well. The Shortline division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad passes through the southeastern edge of the county, and, together with its water highways, affords excellent outlet for its commerce.

James McBride is the first white man supposed to have gazed upon the country now embraced in Carroll County. In 1754 he came down the Ohio River to the mouth of the Kentucky, where he cut the initials of his name upon a tree, together with the date. Such is the record. The historian, Filson, claimed that McBride was the first white man who traversed this province, of whom we have certain accounts. But Col. Durrett, the president of the Filson Club, disputes this, and presents the most indubitable evidence that white people visited Kentucky long prior to McBride, from Moscoso "who sailed along its shore to the Tennessee line in 1543, LaSalle (who was at the falls of the Ohio in 1669-70), a Col. Wood (who traveled through the country in 1654), to Thomas Walker in 1750 and Christopher Gist in 1751," etc. It was in the last quarter of the last century, however, that actual settlements were effected in the present county. A man named Elliott built a cabin at the mouth of the Kentucky River. In the spring of 1785 it was attacked

by Indians and Elliott killed, but his family made their escape. In 1786 a Captain Ellison built a block-house near the same place. The Indians several times drove him away. A few years later—about 1789—Gen. Charles Scott built a block-house on the second bank, which he strongly fortified, and which was occupied by whites until 1792, the time of laying out Port William, afterward Carrollton.

Carrollton, the seat of justice, is situated on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Kentucky, fifty miles below Frankfort. In 1880 it had a population of 1,332, and is a prosperous and enterprising place, having a number of manufactures on a small scale. It is well supplied with educational and religious facilities. In 1794 it was incorporated (though laid out two years before), under the name of Port William, a name it bore for a number of years, and was then changed to Carrollton, the name of Charles Carroll's residence. Ghent, the next largest town in the county (387 inhabitants), is on the Ohio, eight miles above Carrollton. It was laid out soon after the close of the war of 1812, and was named for the city where the treaty of peace was signed in 1814, between England and the United States. Prestonville, with 183 inhabitants, and Worthville, with 124, are enterprising little towns, the former on the Ohio, and the latter on the Kentucky River.

The county was named in honor of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was a native of Maryland and was born in 1737. He studied law in England, and returned to Maryland and entered upon an active public life. He served in the Continental Congress; afterward in the State Senate, in the United States Congress and Senate. He died in 1832, at the age of ninety-five years. His biographer relates the following anecdote of him:

Immediately after he placed his name to the Declaration of Independence, one of his friends jocularly remarked that if the British got hold of him, they would not know whether it were he or the Charles Carroll, of Massachusetts, who had signed the Declaration; consequently, they would be at a loss which to hang as the rebel. "In order," said he, "that there may be no mistake about that, I will save them the trouble of hanging two of us," and instantly affixed his residence to his name, and was ever afterward known as "Charles Carroll of Carrollton."

The Butler family was one of the prominent families of Kentucky, and several members have been residents of this county. One of the most distinguished of these was Gen. William O. Butler, a statesman, soldier, politician and scholar. [See chapter on the Mexican War.]

CARTER COUNTY was formed the same year (1838) that Carroll was, and is the eighty-eighth in the order of organization. It lies in the eastern part of the State, and is broken and hilly, the hills abounding in coal and iron ore. The valleys are rich and produce well. The county is bounded on the north by Lewis and Greenup Counties; on the east by Boyd; on the south by Elliott and Lawrence; on the west by Rowan, and in 1880 it had 12,345 inhabitants. It is well watered by the Little Sandy River and its tributaries and by Tygart Creek.

The county was named for Col. William G. Carter. At the time of the formation of the county he was State senator from the district comprising the counties of Lewis, Greenup and Lawrence. In 1847 he removed to Arkansas, and while on a visit to Lexington, in 1850, he died with the cholera.

Salt was manufactured extensively, in what is now Carter County, in the early times, and was shipped by flat-boats and by wagons. The Sandy salines were known to the early settlers in the eastern part of the State, and it was at and about them that the county was first settled. As early as 1808 white people were to be found at the salt springs engaged in the making of salt. One of the most prominent of these was Col. Thomas Scott, afterward of Lexington.

Grayson, the seat of justice, is situated in the southeast part of the county, and by the last census had a population of 447. It is said to have been named for Robert Grayson, once aid-de-camp to Gen. Washington; but why a town in Kentucky should be named for Washington's aid-de camp more than a quarter of a century after Washington's death, does not appear. It is a small town, but with a considerable energy and business enterprise. Other towns and villages are Olive Hill, Boone, Geigersville, Mount Savage, Star, etc.

Carter County abounds in caves, and other natural wonders. Among the caves which favor somewhat of the Mulhatton description, is one called the Bat Cave, in consequence of the great number of bats that inhabit it. The cave is large, and has been explored to a distance of two miles. Another, called the X Cave, is less extensive but said to surpass it in grandeur. Still another is called Swingle's Cave, and is said to have been once the rendezvous of a band of counterfeiters. It contained saltpetre, and in early times gunpowder was there manufactured. Laurel Cave is near to Swingle's, but is much smaller in dimensions. On the east side of Tygart Creek is a quarry of hornstone or flint,

which bore evidence of having been worked, and is believed, by scientists, to have been used by the savages for procuring stone for their arrow-heads. Collins thus describes a natural bridge in this county:

About sixteen miles from Grayson, and twenty-five miles from Vanceburg, on the Ohio River, is a natural bridge, spanning a small stream of clear water, called Little Caney, which falls into (the) Little Sandy River. The bridge is 219 feet in the span, 196 feet high, 12 feet wide, 5 feet thick in the center of the arch, and 30 feet at the ends, being arched underneath, and level on top. From the bottom of the ravine a spruce pine has grown up to a height of 4 feet above the bridge, making its entire height 200 feet. The sides of the ravine are so rugged, that were it not for a natural stairway, a person desiring to descend from the top of the bridge to the ravine below would have to walk probably two miles.

In the vicinity of the bridge are two creeks called Big and Little Sinkey, which rise, flow two miles or more, and then sink again into the ground. There was an artesian well in the same neighborhood, which, if not natural, the question arises—By whom was it made?

CASEY COUNTY lies in the south-central part of the State, was the forty-sixth county organized, and dates back to 1806. It was carved out of Lincoln County, and is bounded on the north by Boyle County; on the east by Lincoln and Pulaski; on the south by Pulaski and Russell; on the west by Taylor and Adair, and by the last census (1880) had 10,983 inhabitants. It is watered and drained by the Green River and its tributaries. The surface is rough and broken, and the soil rather thin. The products are corn, oats, wheat, grass and tobacco, the statistics for 1880 being corn, 491,243 bushels; oats, 7,664; wheat, 39,087; hay, 1,014 tons, and tobacco, 67,449 pounds.

The settlement of this county is common to Lincoln, as it formed a part of Lincoln up to 1806. A few words, however, of Gen. Christopher Riffe. He was the first settler in that part of Lincoln embraced in this county. He was a native of Maryland, and was born in 1765, and was of German origin. In 1784 he came to Kentucky, locating in Bourbon County, but in 1788 came here and settled at Carpenter's Station. He was a man of note, and served a term in the Legislature. The following anecdote is related of him.

He occupied a seat in the House of Representatives between Henry Clay and Humphrey Marshall, when the latter gave the insult which resulted in a duel. The former resented it on the spot, attacking Marshall, but Riffe (who was a tall, muscular and powerful man), seized each with one hand and held



them apart, saying earnestly: "Come, poys, no fighting here, I whips you both," and closed the scene for the present.

Liberty, the seat of justice, is situated near the center of the county. It was incorporated in 1830, and is well supplied with church and school facilities. It has a number of stores, shops, etc., and is quite an enterprising little town. Middleburg, Mintonville and Caseyville are towns of small pretensions in the county.

This county was named in honor of Col. William Casey, a native of Virginia, who came to Kentucky about 1780. His first winter was spent in a camp on the Hanging Fork of the Dick's River, where he remained until 1791, when he, in company with several families, removed to Russell's Creek, a tributary of the Green River. There, fifty miles from any other human habitation, they built a block-house or station. Though few in numbers, they were a hardy band of pioneers, hopeful, courageous, and poor in the world's wealth; they were men with iron nerves, and wills as firm as the historic granite upon which the Pilgrim Fathers stepped from the deck of the Mayflower in 1620. They reposed the most unbounded confidence in Casey as a leader, and maintained themselves gallantly against several attacks of the Indians.

CHRISTIAN COUNTY is one of the richest in the Green River country. It was formed in 1796, and was the twenty-first in order of organization. It lies on the Tennessee line, and is bounded north by Hopkins and Muhlenburg Counties; east by Muhlenburg and Todd; south by the State of Tennessee; west by Trigg and Caldwell, and by the census of 1880 had a population of 31,682. The southern half of the county is as fine land as there is in Kentucky; the northern half is broken and hilly, but produces well. Tobacco is the staple crop, though wheat, oats, corn and the grasses are extensively produced; also much stock, and many farmers are taking great pains to improve their stock. The agricultural report of 1880 shows the following: Corn, 1,430,154 bushels; oats, 64,341; wheat, 437,668; tobacco, 12,577,574 pounds; horses and mules, 9,258 head; cattle, 10,189; sheep, 9,514 and hogs, 42,834. In 1880 Christian County's production of tobacco made her the third county in the United States in that crop. The hills in the northern part of the county contain an inexhaustible supply of coal and iron ore. It is watered and drained by the Pond River,

Tradewater, Little River, west fork of the Red River, and numerous small streams.

The first settlers in Christian County were John Montgomery and James Davis, who came about 1785, and are believed to have been from Virginia. But little is known of them except as handed down by tradition. One of these traditions is, that they traversed the country to Pittsburgh, there embarked on board of boats or canoes, and, surrounded by innumerable hardships and perils, passed down the Ohio, up the Cumberland to the mouth of the Red River, and up that stream to what afterward became Christian County. They built a block-house in the southeast part of the county. Montgomery was a surveyor and was killed by the Indians. Davis made a permanent settlement and lived in the county for a number of years, but finally went to Missouri, where he died at a good old age.

Hopkinsville, the seat of justice, is one of the handsomest towns in southern Kentucky. It was laid out in 1797 by Bartholemew Wood, who owned the land upon which the town stands, and who was a very early settler in the county. The town was originally called Elizabethtown, and known by that name for some years; but Hardin County formed four years previous to Christian adopted the name for its seat of justice, and Christian then changed hers to Hopkinsville, in honor of Gen. Samuel Hopkins, a gallant officer of the Revolutionary war. It was incorporated in 1804, and by the last census (1880) had 4,229 inhabitants. Hopkinsville has three banks; two newspapers; a handsome brick court house; one of the finest public school buildings in the State outside of the large cities; two colleges; several beautiful churches; a number of flourishing stores, and many elegant residences. The St. Louis division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad passes through Hopkinsville and has been of great benefit to town and county. Hopkinsville is probably the finest and most extensive tobacco market in the State outside of Louisville. There are a number of warehouses, where daily sale occurs.

Lafayette is situated in the southwest corner of the county, and in 1880 had a population of 970; Pembroke is on the railroad near the Todd County line, and had in 1880 a population of 202; Crofton is in the north part of the county, on the railroad, with 130 inhabitants. Other villages and postoffices are Petersburg, Fairview, Longview, Garrettsburg, Fruit Hill, White Plains, Bennetts town, St. Elmo, Bellevue, Oakland, etc.

The Western Lunatic Asylum is located at Hopkinsville. An historical sketch, with a view of the buildings, is given in a preceding chapter of this volume. The two colleges, South Kentucky College and Bethel Female College, are first-class institutions; the former, for boys, has a military department; the latter is exclusively a female institution.

The county was named for Col. William Christian, a native of Virginia. He was educated in the army almost, and commanded a company in the Braddock campaign, although very young at the time. When the revolutionary war broke out he was appointed colonel in the Virginia line. After the war he served several terms in the Legislature, and in 1785 came to Kentucky. In the early part of the next year, in a skirmish with the Indians, he was killed.

Christian County has been the home of some prominent men. The history of Christian County, issued a few years ago from the press of the F. A. Battey Publishing Company, has the following:

John M. Palmer was born September 13, 1817, and soon after his birth his father removed to Christian County. He received such education as the sparsely settled country afforded, and in 1831 his father removed to Illinois. In the new State he received the advantage of eighteen months at the Alton College. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1839, and opened an office in Carlinville. He soon entered politics, was probate judge, a member of the Constitutional Convention, and in the State Senate. When the civil war broke out he was among the first to offer his services, and was made colonel of the Fourteenth Illinois Infantry. He arose to the rank of major-general, and commanded the Fourteenth Army Corps in the Atlanta campaign. In February, 1865, he was assigned to the military administration of Kentucky.

Gen. Palmer was elected governor of Illinois in 1868. He is a statesman of high order, and truly a man of the people. At this time (1886) he is one of the able men and leading politicians of the State.

Joseph Duncan, elected governor of Illinois in 1834, was at one time a citizen of this county. He was born in Paris, Bourbon Co., Ky., in 1794. He took an active part in the war of 1812, and having migrated to Illinois, his first appearance there as a public man was as major-general of the militia. In 1826 he was elected to Congress, and was re-elected a number of times afterward. His administration as governor was an able one, though to some extent unpopular, owing to the fact that he deserted the Jackson party, to which he had belonged, and which was largely in the ascendancy in Illinois.

Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederate States (so called), was born in Christian County, but portion afterward stricken off into Todd. His father, Samuel Davis, removed to Mississippi when the future great statesman was but a child, but the latter returned and was for a time a student in Transylvania University at Lexington. In 1824 he entered West Point Military Academy, from which he graduated four years later. He served in the Black Hawk war in Illinois, and other campaigns

against the Indians. His political career commenced in 1844, as presidential elector for Mr. Polk; he was elected to Congress in 1845, but resigned the next year to take command of a Mississippi regiment in the Mexican war. He was promoted brigadier-general for his gallant conduct at the battle of Buena Vista. He entered the United States Senate in 1847, by appointment to fill a vacancy, and upon the expiration of the term was elected by the Legislature to a full term. He resigned in 1853 to accept the position of secretary of war in President Pierce's cabinet, and in 1857 was again elected to the United States Senate. He withdrew in 1861, in consequence of Mississippi having seceded from the Union. Since then his record has been national.

Gen. James S. Jackson, the brilliant lawyer and gallant soldier, who was killed in the fatal battle of Perryville, Ky., was a resident of Hopkinsville, this county. He was born in Fayette County, Ky., in 1823. He received a fine education, studied law and graduated from the law department of Transylvania University in 1845. He served in the Mexican war and in 1861 was elected to Congress from the Hopkinsville District. While serving in the Thirty-seventh Congress President Lincoln tendered him the command of a regiment, and he returned home and recruited the Third Kentucky Cavalry, of which he was colonel until promoted to brigadier-general. At the head of his brigade, he participated in the race with Bragg to Louisville, in 1862. He fell at Perryville, the first important battle in which he took part after his promotion to brigadier-general. His remains were deposited in the cemetery at Hopkinsville, March 24, 1863. Soon after it was written of him: "Here sleeps, after a tempestuous life, the intrepid and fearless Gen. James S. Jackson, member of the Legislature and Congress, whose dauntless spirit, which laughed at danger, even to rashness, took its flight on the bloody field of Perryville. Like Harry Percy, this Hotspur of the Union Army waved his sword in the face of death as gaily as though a desperate battle were a dress parade, and the war bugles were sounding the strains of a ball-room."

CLARK COUNTY was formed in 1792, and hence is as old as the State. Bourbon and Fayette Counties contributed its territory, and Gen. George Rogers Clark its name. It was the fourteenth county formed, and lies in the central part of the State, on the margin of the famous blue-grass section. It is bounded on the north by Bourbon, on the east by Montgomery, on the south by Madison and Estill, and on the west by Fayette. The Kentucky River flows along the south part of the county and a number of tributaries fall into it, which afford it ample drainage and irrigation. Among these are Lulbegrud, Boone's, Strode's, Howard's, Four Mile and Two Mile Creeks. About one-third of the county lies in the blue-grass region, and is highly improved and very productive, like all the genuine blue grass lands. The middle and northeast portions are somewhat hilly, but produce well; the east and southeast portions are rough, broken and poor. The products are wheat, oats, grass, and of



late years tobacco. Of stock, cattle, horses, mules and hogs receive greatest attention. The county, by the last census, had 12,115 inhabitants, and produced the following: Corn, 791,292 bushels; oats, 14,836; wheat, 129,943; rye, 15,465; tobacco, 17,187 pounds; horses and mules, 4,984 head; cattle, 17,331; sheep, 25,931, and hogs, 20,824.

The settlement of Clark County was early. As it was originally a part of Fayette, its settlement is recorded principally with the sketch of that county. A few words, however, may be given here. Boonesboro, the settlement of Boone, was just across the Kentucky River from the territory of Clark, and venturesome pioneers early crossed the river from the fort and erected cabins in the fine country on this side. Strode's Station, about two miles from where Winchester now stands, was established in 1779. The next year it was attacked by Indians, but after a short siege they were repulsed.

There are numerous springs in the county, but none of them have ever become famous as watering-places. The oil springs in the eastern part receive their name from the natural production of oil. There were also sulphur and chalybeate springs near by, that years ago were frequented to some extent.

Winchester, the seat of justice, is an old town, verging on to a hundred years. Upon the formation of the county it was adopted as the county seat, over Strode's and Hood's Stations, which seem to have also been contestants for the honor. It was incorporated in 1793, and by the census of 1880 had 2,277 inhabitants. It is on the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, and on the extension of the Kentucky Central Railroad, likewise the turnpike leading from Lexington to Mount Sterling. It has an excellent court house, several handsome churches, fine schools, a number of flourishing stores, banks, factories, shops, mills, etc. The other villages and postoffices, are Schollsville, Ruckerville, Kiddville, Pinchem and Vienna.

The people of Clark County, with that chivalrous spirit of pioneers of Kentucky, turned out about 900 soldiers in the war of 1812. In the Mexican war it furnished one company, that of "Cerro Gordo" Williams, and in the late civil war four companies, three for the Confederate and one for the Federal Army.

The first settlers of the county found some corn fields that had been cultivated by the Indians many years before. They are some twelve miles east of the present city of Winchester, and have always been known as the "Indian Old Fields."

Among the wise and great of Clark County are Hubbard Taylor, Judge James Clark, Gen. Richard Hickman, Samuel Hanson, Judge James Simpson, William Flanagan, Dr. Andrew Hood, Col. William Sudduth, Chilton Allan, Gen. John S. Williams, et al. Dr. Hood was a native of the county and man of fine ability. He not only became noted as a physician, but held important positions in which he discharged the duties with credit. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1849, and died a few years later. Gen. Hickman was lieutenant governor during Gov. Shelby's last term as governor. Col. Sudduth was an early settler of Clark County, and a soldier under Gen. Wayne against the Indians.

James Clark was a prominent citizen of the county. He was born in Virginia in 1779, and came to Kentucky with his father's family in an early day. He studied law and soon became a successful practitioner. He served in the Legislature, in Congress, the United States Senate, as circuit judge, and governor of the State. To the latter he was elected in 1836. While on the circuit bench the exciting struggle occurred, known as the "relief and anti-relief war," which is fully treated in a preceding chapter.

Gen. George Rogers Clark, for whom the county was named, was one of the foremost soldiers of the age. He is mentioned so often in the early history, and in connection with the early wars in which the infant commonwealth participated, that nothing further can be said here without repetition. He died in 1818, and was buried near Louisville.

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CLAY COUNTY was formed in 1806, from Madison, Knox and Floyd Counties. It was the forty-seventh county organized and was named for Gen. Green Clay. It lies in the mountainous region and is of a rough and uneven surface, not particularly well adapted to farming, though corn, wheat, oats and grass are grown in considerable quantities. It is well watered, lying as it does in the forks of the Kentucky River; a large number of small streams flow into them, which are Goose and Little Goose Creeks, Otter, Sexton's, Big Jack's, Red Bird Fork, Collins' Fork, Bullskin, etc. The county is bounded on the north by Owsley County; on the east by Perry; on the south by Knox, Harlan and Josh Bell; on the west by Laurel and Jackson, and by the last census it had a population of 10,222. It abounds in coal and iron ore, and is heavily timbered, much of the

after being fine and valuable. Salt has been largely manufactured, and with better railroad facilities would prove a vast source of wealth to the county.

Manchester, the seat of justice, is situated in the southern part of the county on or near Goose Creek, and was named for Manchester, England. It is not likely, however, that it will ever rival the great manufacturing town of the mother country. Its population amounts to but a hundred or two. There are two or three churches, a first-class school, the usual public buildings, and several flourishing stores.

The first settlement in the present county of Clay was made by James Collins. In 1798 he erected his "lone cabin" upon the head waters of the stream that to-day bears his name (Collins' Fork), and two years later, in 1800, he made salt at a spring which he had discovered. Early as this was, it was not the first salt manufactured in the county, as the Indians had evidently used it years and years before. An Indian burying-ground was found near by, and many evidences of the springs having been used by the Indians.

Clay County possesses all the resources for a fine manufacturing district. It has coal and iron ore in large quantities, and the supply of natural gas is believed to be inexhaustible. Nothing is lacking but more extended railroad facilities. What Birmingham, Ala., has become, with energy and capital awaits this Kentucky Manchester.

Gen. Green Clay, for whom this county was named, was born in Virginia, in August, 1757. He came to Kentucky early, and engaged in the business of surveying lands. By this means he accumulated a large landed estate. He took a prominent part in the war of 1812. As brigadier-general he led 3,000 Kentucky troops to the north, and joined Gen. Harrison at Fort Meigs, literally cutting his way through the enemy's lines to reach the fort. He died in 1826 at a good old age.

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CLINTON COUNTY, named in honor of De Witt Clinton, of New York, borders on the Tennessee line, and was formed of parts of Wayne and Cumberland Counties in 1835, being the eighty-fifth in the State. It is bounded on the north by Russell County, on the east by Wayne, on the south by the State of Tennessee, on the west by Cumberland County, and in 1880 had 7,212 inhabitants. A large part of the county is hilly, but adapted to grazing; the valleys are very fertile and

produce wheat, oats and corn abundantly. Says Mr. Collins:

A spur of the Cumberland Mountains, called Poplar Mountain, penetrates this county, and terminates about two miles west of its center. In its windings this mountain makes a beautiful curve, and the valley on the eastern side and within the curve, called Stockton's Valley, is fertile limestone land. The elevation of Poplar Mountain above the valley is from 1,000 to 1,500 feet. Coal in abundance, and of the best quality, is found in the mountain, in strata of about four feet. On the top of this mountain, about four miles from Albany, there are three chalybeate springs, which have been visited more or less for thirty-five years. These waters, combined with the purity of the atmosphere, have proved of immense benefit to invalids, who have resorted there for their health. From these mountain springs a most extensive and magnificent view of the surrounding country is presented. On a clear morning the fog seems to rise on the water courses in the distance and stand just above the trees, when the eye can trace the beautiful Cumberland River in its windings for at least one hundred miles, and may distinctly mark the junction of its tributaries, in a direct line, for thirty miles. The springs are about ten or twelve miles from the Cumberland, and it is believed that, in the hands of an enterprising proprietor, they would soon become a place of great resort. \* \* \* On Indian Creek, about three miles from the mountain springs, there is a perpendicular fall of ninety feet. Above the falls for the distance of about 200 yards, the fall of the stream is gradual, and several fine mills have been erected on it. There are three large springs in the county; one on the south and two at Albany, which send forth volumes of water sufficiently large to turn a grist-mill or other machinery.

Albany, the seat of justice, is a small town situated in the central part of the county. It has a good court house, several churches, stores, mills, etc., and is quite a moral town. Other villages are Cumberland City and Seventy-six—both small places.

The county has turned out a number of distinguished men, among them Gov. Thomas E. Bramlette and Gov. Preston H. Leslie, who are mentioned elsewhere in this volume. Also James Semple, who was *charge d'affaires* to New Grenada under President Van Buren. William Wood represented Cumberland County, when Clinton formed a part of it, in the Legislature for twenty-three years successively.

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CRITTENDEN COUNTY is of recent formation. It dates back to 1842, and was the ninety-first in the order of organization. It was lopped off the eastern side of Livingston County and named for Hon. John J. Crittenden, Kentucky's distinguished senator, and of whom a notice appears in a preceding chapter. The county is almost surrounded by water: The Ohio River on the north, the Tradewater on the east, and the Cumberland on the west. Crooked Creek, Hurricane,



Pinery, Camp and Livingston, are tributaries of these rivers, and drain the county thoroughly. The surface is rough and broken; the soil, however, is quite fertile. Wheat, corn and oats are extensively produced, while a most excellent quality of tobacco is grown in great abundance. The county is heavily timbered. The mineral wealth is great, consisting chiefly of coal, which is said to be of an excellent quality. Ore is also plenty. An ore, showing 50 per cent of iron, is found. Lead ore was discovered, showing a small percentage of silver.

Marion, the county seat, is a town of 355 inhabitants, by the census of 1880. It was incorporated in 1844, and was named for Gen. Marion, a partisan officer of the Revolutionary war. The court house was burned during the civil war (in 1865) by Gen. Lyon's troops. After the war was over a new court house was built, which was destroyed by fire in 1870. A new one was immediately erected, making the third upon the site within a period of seven years.

Dycusburg was laid out by William E. Dycus, and incorporated in 1847. It is on the Cumberland River, and has a large tobacco trade. Weston, a village of 162 inhabitants, is on the Ohio River, and is a fine shipping point. Ford's Ferry is on the Ohio River, three miles below Weston, and is also a shipping point of importance. Other towns and postoffices are Clementsburg, Shady Grove and Bell's Mines.

Cave-in-Rock is just across the river on the Illinois side. For three-quarters of a century or more, it has been a noted landmark to boatmen on the Ohio. Collins thus describes it:

On the Illinois side of the Ohio River, only a few feet beyond the jurisdiction of the State of Kentucky, is a cavern in a rock, or ledge of the mountain, a little above the water of the river when high, and close to the bank. It is about 200 feet long and 80 feet wide; its entrance, 80 feet wide at the base, and 25 feet high. In 1836 the interior walls were smooth rocks. The floor was remarkable, being level through the whole length of its center, the sides rising in strong grades, in the manner of seats in the pit of a theater. Close scrutiny of the walls made it evident that the ancient inhabitants of a remote period had used the cave as their council house. Upon the walls were many hieroglyphics, well executed, among them representatives of at least eight animals of a race now extinct, three of them resembling the elephant, the tails and tusks excepted. This cavern is connected with another more gloomy, immediately over it, united by an aperture about fourteen feet, to ascend which was like ascending a chimney; while the mountain was yet far above. \* \* \* Early in the present century a man named Wilson brought his family to the cave, and fitted it up as a dwelling and tavern, erecting on a sign-post at the water's edge these words: "Wilson's Liquor Vault and House of Entertainment." Its very novelty

attracted the attention of boats descending the river, and the crews generally landed for refreshments and amusements. Idle characters after a while gathered here, and it soon became infamous for its licentiousness and blasphemy. Wilson, out of such customers in their necessities, formed a band of robbers, and laid plans of the deepest villainy, no less than the murder of the entire crew of each boat that landed, and the forwarding of the boats and cargoes to New Orleans for sale for cash, which was to be conveyed to the cave by land through Tennessee and Kentucky. Months elapsed before any serious suspicion was created, and other months before the vague suspicions grew into shape and definiteness. But as no returns of shipment were reported, and not one of many honorable men entrusted with cargoes of produce came back to pay over the proceeds and tell the perils of the trip it first came out that no tidings were received of any boat after it passed this point; and then that "Wilson's gang" of about forty-five men, at their station at Hurricane Island, had arrested every boat which passed by the mouth of the cavern; and through business agents at New Orleans converted into specie the boats and cargoes obtained through wholesale murder and robbery. Some of the gang escaped as soon as they found public vengeance aroused against them; a few were taken prisoners, the chief himself lost his life at the hands of one of his own men, who was tempted by the large reward offered for Wilson's head. Not long after, in the upper room of this mysterious cavern, were found about sixty skeletons, which confirmed the tale of systematic confidence, betrayal and robbery.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY was organized in 1798, and was formed from a part of Green County. It borders on the State of Tennessee, and received its name from the Cumberland River, which flows through its territory. It is bounded on the north by Adair County; on the east by Russell and Clinton; on the south by the State of Tennessee; on the west by Monroe and Metcalfe Counties, and by the census of 1880 had a population of 8,894. The territory of Cumberland was originally extensive, and from it were formed wholly or in part Wayne County in 1800; Monroe in 1820; Russell in 1825; Clinton in 1835, and Metcalfe in 1860. The county is of a rough and uneven surface; the hills are of thin soil, the valleys rich and fertile. Grain and grass are extensively produced; also tobacco and stock.

Burksville, the seat of justice, is situated on the Cumberland River, in the southeast part of the county, and was incorporated in 1810; in 1880 it had 434 inhabitants. Besides the county buildings, it has the usual supply of stores, churches, etc. Marrow Bone is a small village in the western part of the county.

Cumberland County has its full quota of natural wonders and curiosities. The following was published of an oil well in the county:

The American Oil Well is situated three miles above Burksville, on the bank of the Cumberland River. About the year 1830, while some men were engaged in boring for salt water, and after penetrating about 175 feet through a solid rock, they struck a vein of oil, which suddenly spouted up to the height of 50 feet above the surface. The stream was so abundant and of such force as to continue to throw up the oil to the same height for several days. The oil thus thrown out ran into the Cumberland River, covering the surface of the water for several miles. It was readily supposed to be inflammable, and upon its being ignited, it presented the novel and magnificent spectacle of a river on fire, the flames literally covering the whole surface for miles, reaching to the top of the tallest trees on the banks of the river, and continued burning until the supply of oil was exhausted. The salt borers were greatly disappointed, and the well was neglected for several years, until it was discovered that the oil possessed valuable medicinal qualities. It has since been bottled up in large quantities, and is extensively sold in nearly all the States of the Union.

There is a cataract—a miniature Niagara—near the mouth of Little Renick Creek, that is quite picturesque. The stream falls perpendicularly some twenty feet and presents a fine spectacle. Near here there is a tradition that a severe battle was fought between the savages and their pale-faced foes—the early settlers. The whites were victorious, but the Indian graves, that long were to be seen in the vicinity, attest the valor of the savages and the stubbornness with which they contested the white man's right to the country.

DAVIESS COUNTY was formed in 1815, from a part of Ohio County, and was the fifty-eighth in the order of organization. It bears the name of Col. Joseph Hamilton Daveiss, though from some cause, the *ei* was transposed in the spelling of the name of the county.\* It lies on the Ohio River, and is one of the large and wealthy counties of the State. It is bounded on the north by the State of Indiana, from which it is separated by the Ohio River; on the east by Ohio and Hancock Counties; on the south by McLean and Ohio; on the west by McLean and Henderson, and in 1880 it had 27,730 inhabitants. It is the sixth in the State in point of population, and ranks nearly as high in point of wealth. The soil is rich, resting upon clay, and is peculiarly well adapted to the growing of tobacco, making this the third county (by the last census) in its production. The crop statistics for 1880 were as follows: Corn, 1,392,599 bushels; oats, 79,946; rye, 10,694; wheat, 147,303,

\*The orthography of several counties in the State has been changed, apparently without design; Green county being named for Gen. Greene; Muhlenburg for Rev. and Gen. Muhlenberg; Calloway for Col. Callaway, and Menifee for Hon. Richard H. Menifee.—*Collins*.

and tobacco, 9,523,451 pounds; and stock, horses and mules, 8,090 head; cattle, 12,090; sheep, 8,412, and hogs, 37,699. The county is well watered and drained by the Ohio and Green Rivers and their tributaries, which are Two Mile, Knob Lick, Panther, Rhodes, Yellow, Delaware, Puppy, Blackford, Green Creeks, etc.

Owensboro, the capital city of the county, is beautifully situated on an elevated plateau overlooking *la belle riviere*, and by the last census had a population of about 10,000. It was named for Abraham Owen, a gallant soldier who fell, as did the brave Col. Daveiss, at the battle of Tippecanoe. It is a handsome and thriving city, and bears the name of being one of the best business points on the Ohio, between Louisville and Paducah. It has an elegant court house and many other handsome buildings, both public and private. Its business houses, churches, residences, etc., are not excelled by any city of its wealth and population in the State. It has banks, newspapers, gas works (no reflection intended by mentioning gas works and newspapers together), a number of manufactories, tobacco warehouses, etc. Its educational facilities are excellent, and comprise public and private, Protestant and Roman Catholic schools.

Whitesville is a small town of 200 or 300 inhabitants, and is about fifteen miles from Owensboro. Other towns and postoffices are Masonville, West Louisville, Yelvington, Oakford, Knottsville, Pleasant Ridge, Sorghotown, Curdsville and Birk City. Most of these are either on the Ohio or Green River, and several of them are merely steam-boat landings and shipping points.

Not only does Daviess possess a rich soil, but the county is rich in mineral wealth. Coal is to be found in almost every section, and much of it of a superior quality. Iron ore exists, but not in sufficient richness to be valuable. Salt water, too, may be obtained by boring to a depth of 500 feet. Potter's clay in inexhaustible quantities exists. A fine vein, some 15 feet thick, about the same depth below the surface and five miles in length, borders the river above and below Owensboro. South of the city a few miles is a vein of fine white clay. Springs possessing medicinal properties abound in different parts of the county.

The Owensboro & Russellville Railroad, now a portion of the Louisville and Nashville system, runs north and south through the center of the county, and has been of great advantage in promoting the wealth and prosperity of the country through which it passes.



The road was originally intended as a part of a great through line from the South to St. Louis, Cincinnati and Chicago, but it fell in to the hands of the Louisville & Nashville management, and now can never be more than a local feeder to that gigantic system.

Col. Joseph Hamilton Daveiss, for whom this county was named, was a native of Virginia. He was a lawyer of ability, and one of the bright and shining lights of the Kentucky bar, when it boasted of such men as Clay, Boyle, Nicholas, Breckinridge, Rowan, Bibb, Allan and other intellectual giants. He read law with George Nicholas, and was in a class with Isham Talbott, Felix Grundy, William Garrard, William B. Blackburn, Jesse Bledsoe, William Stuart and John Pope, all of whom left their names engraved high on the roll of their country's fame. He was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in 1795, and rose rapidly to distinction. In the trial of Aaron Burr, at Frankfort, for conspiracy against the United States Government, Daveiss prosecuted him. [See Chapter XII of this volume.] Without following his brief career, it is enough to say, that as a lawyer he stood second to none of his time. After residing for a time in Danville and Frankfort, he removed to Owensboro, this county, near where he had acquired large landed possessions. In 1809 he removed to Lexington, and in the fall of 1811 joined the army of Gen. Harrison. In the battle of Tippecanoe, which followed on the 7th of November (1811), he fell in a charge made against the Indians at his own urgent solicitation.

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EDMONSON COUNTY was formed in 1825, and was the seventy-ninth organized in the State. Hart, Warren and Grayson contributed its territory, and it was named for Captain John Edmonson, a Virginian, who came to Kentucky in 1790, and settled in Fayette County, and who commanded a company of riflemen in Col. John Allen's regiment, and was killed in the disastrous battle of the river Raisin. The Green River divides the county, flowing from east to west nearly through the center, and, with its tributaries, affords excellent drainage. It is bounded on the north by Grayson County; on the east by Hart and Barren; on the south by Warren; on the west by Warren and Butler, and by the last census it had 7,222 inhabitants. The land is rolling, and in places rough and hilly; upon the whole the county is rather a poor one as regards agriculture, but it is rich in natural

wonders and in mineral wealth. The Mammoth Cave, one of the great natural wonders of the world, and the most extensive cavern ever discovered or explored, is situated in this county. It is only half a mile from the Green River, and about eight miles from the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. For an excellent historical description of this great wonder of nature, the reader is referred to appendix A, of this volume. There are several other caves in the county, but none of such dimensions as the Mammoth, certainly none are that have been explored. In different parts of the county are mineral springs, and coal is considered almost inexhaustible.

The census of 1880 shows the number of bushels of corn raised to have been 328,159; wheat, 22,858; pounds of tobacco, 450,676; and other crops in similar proportion.

Brownsville, the seat of justice, is a small village of only a few hundred inhabitants. It was laid out in 1828, and was named for Gen. Jacob Brown. It is situated on the Green River, and is near the center of the county. It is well supplied with churches and schools. Other villages and postoffices are Rocky Hill, Cornelian Springs and Big Reedy.

Edmonson County, hitherto, has been almost without railroads. The Louisville & Nashville passes through the southeast corner—Rocky Hill Station being in the county. Recently a project has been inaugurated to build a road from Glasgow Junction, on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, to the Mammoth Cave, and at the present writing (December, 1886) the new road is opened for business and travel.

Indian Hill is one of those peculiar elevations common in Kentucky. It is about a mile in circumference, and rises gradually, and with great regularity on all sides (except one, which is nearly perpendicular), to a height of about 100 feet above the level of the surrounding plain. Upon the summit of the hill were indications of a fortification, and in the immediate vicinity were a number of mounds and burial places. Not the least curiosity of the place is a fine spring of water issuing from the rock on the brow of the hill. Dismal Rock, on a small stream called Dismal Creek, is a perpendicular rock rising to an altitude of 160 feet.

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ELLIOTT COUNTY is one of the modern counties of the State, having been created since the civil war (in 1869), and was the one hundred and fourteenth organized.

Lawrence, Morgan and Carter contributed its territory, and Judge John M. Elliott furnished it a name. It is a small county lying in the northeastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Carter County; east by Lawrence County; south by Morgan County; west by Rowan County, and in 1880 it had a population of 6,567. High hills surround it on three sides, and the streams which flow into the Big and Little Sandy Rivers and the Licking, form a succession of romantic and picturesque valleys, rich and fertile and highly productive. Grain, grasses and tobacco are produced; also stock raising receives considerable attention.

Elliott County (until recently a part of other divisions) has its settlement and pioneer history included in the sketches of them. But little of interest attaches to its history individually, and the words of Montesquieu might apply aptly to it. "Happy," said the great French author, "is that nation whose annals are tiresome." This has been the case with Elliott County until recently. Within the past few weeks (October, 1886), considerable excitement has been produced in regard to the story of diamond fields, which are supposed by some to exist in the county. The belief is founded on the fact that Prof. Lewis, a well known American geologist and mineralogist, had seen in the county "the same geologic conditions that surrounded the diamond beds at Kimberley in South Africa." The wild and highly colored reports, however, contain nothing definite enough to render them historical, and until further developed must remain something of a romance.

Martinsburg, the county seat, is situated near the center of the county, and is a small place with less than a hundred inhabitants by the last census. It was originally called Sandy Hook, but was, for some cause not material to this sketch, changed to the present name. Newfoundland is a small village in the northeastern part of the county.

ESTILL COUNTY was organized in 1808, and was taken from Madison and Clark Counties. From its original territory have been formed, wholly or in part, Breathitt County in 1839; Owsley in 1843; Powell in 1852; Jackson in 1858, and Lee in 1870. It is bounded on the north by Powell and Clark Counties; on the east by Lee and Powell; on the south by Jackson and Owsley; on the west by Madison, and in 1880 it had 9,860 inhabitants. The Kentucky River flows nearly through

the center of the county from the southeast to the northwest, with the following tributaries: the Red River, which forms the northern boundary line, and Buck, Miller's, Station Camp, Cow and Drowning Creeks. The southern half of the county is rough and broken, and the land poor; the river and creek bottoms are rich, and produce corn, oats, wheat, grass and tobacco abundantly. The eastern part of the county is rich in mineral wealth and resources. Coal and iron ore abound of a very superior quality, and lead ore has also been discovered but never mined to any extent. Collins thus describes the mineral resources:

The "Red River Iron District" is mainly confined to Estill County. The iron ores of the region produce iron of unsurpassed excellence. The first iron works in the county were located on the Red River, in the northeast corner, about 1810, and embraced a blast furnace, knobling fire and forge. About 1830 the Estill steam furnace was built, ten miles southeast, on the mountain which divides the waters of the Red River from those of the Kentucky, and the smelting discontinued at the furnace on Red River; at the same time the works at the "forge" were greatly improved for the manufacture of bar irons, blooms, nails and castings. The Red River Iron Works soon became celebrated for the good quality of the metal produced. About 1840 a new rolling-mill supplanted the old forge, and coal from near the Three Forks of the Kentucky River was employed as fuel; this coal was flat-boated from Beattyville down river fifty miles, wagoned nine miles up Red River to the iron works; it was not found suited to make good iron, and its use was abandoned. About 1860 the manufacture of iron at the mill was discontinued.

In 1865 "The Red River Iron Manufacturing Company" was chartered, and organized with a cash capital of \$1,000,000, which sum was actually expended in the purchase of all the estate belonging to the Red River Iron Works, and in the improvement of that property. The works at the old forge on Red River were not revived, but the mills there were rebuilt and improved. Estill furnace was put in blast in May, 1866, many buildings erected, turnpike roads built, and the iron wagoned eight miles, to Red River, and shipped by flat-boats. In 1868 the company began and in less than two years completed two of the largest charcoal furnaces in the world, with inclined planes, tramways, macadamized roads, mills and shops, and homes for over one hundred families, employing 1,000 men for more than a year. A town was chartered at the new furnaces, called Fitchburg, after the two brothers, Frank Fitch, the general superintendent, and Fred Fitch, the secretary and treasurer. In 1869 the iron from Estill furnace was diverted from the Red River route, and wagoned three miles to Fitchburg; thence, together with the product of the two great furnaces, which went into blast March 4, 1870, taken by a new tramway six miles to Scott's Landing, on the Kentucky River, near the mouth of Miller's Creek. In 1871 nearly 10,000 tons of pig iron were turned out, valued at \$600,000.

Irvine, the county seat, is situated on the north bank of the Kentucky River, near the center of the county. It is quite a thriving town with 1,676 inhabitants by the last census, and was named in honor of Col. William



Irvine. It has a handsome brick court house, several churches, and excellent schools, with the usual number of business houses, shops, etc. Wisemantown is a small village on the Kentucky River about two miles from Irvine.

There are a number of springs, in the county. Those known as the Estill Springs have been quite a watering-place. A peculiarity is, that there are five springs and the water of no two alike. Sweet Lick Knob, standing above the springs, commands one of the finest views known in the country.

The county was named in honor of Capt. James Estill, a native of Virginia, and an early settler in Madison County. He was a gallant soldier and thoroughly versed in Indian warfare. He was killed in a battle with the Indians, fought in what is now Montgomery County, and which is described as one of the severest ever fought in Kentucky, according to the numbers engaged.

FAYETTE COUNTY is one of the original three counties into which Kentucky County was divided, in 1780, by act of the Virginia Legislature. It occupied about one-third of the present State, its boundaries being as follows: "All that part of the county of Kentucky which lies north and east of the line, beginning at the mouth of the Kentucky River, and up the same and its middle fork to the head, and thence south to the Washington line."\*

It was named in honor of the Marquis de La Fayette, that zealous friend of American liberty. The county was formed at a time when the country rang with praises of the patriotic Frenchman, who, though a representative of a noble family, and a citizen of one of the proudest kingdoms on the globe, sacrificed it all to assist in securing the independence of the American Republic; and it seemed but right and proper that the new county should bear his name.

Fayette County is situated in the central part of the State, and is considered the very heart, or "garden spot of the world," the famous "blue grass region of Kentucky." It is drained by the Kentucky River and its tributaries, and is bounded on the north by Scott County; on the east by Bourbon and Clark Counties; on the south, by Jessamine and Madison Counties, the latter of which it is separated from by the Kentucky River; and on the west by Woodford County. It contains about 275 square miles, and in 1880

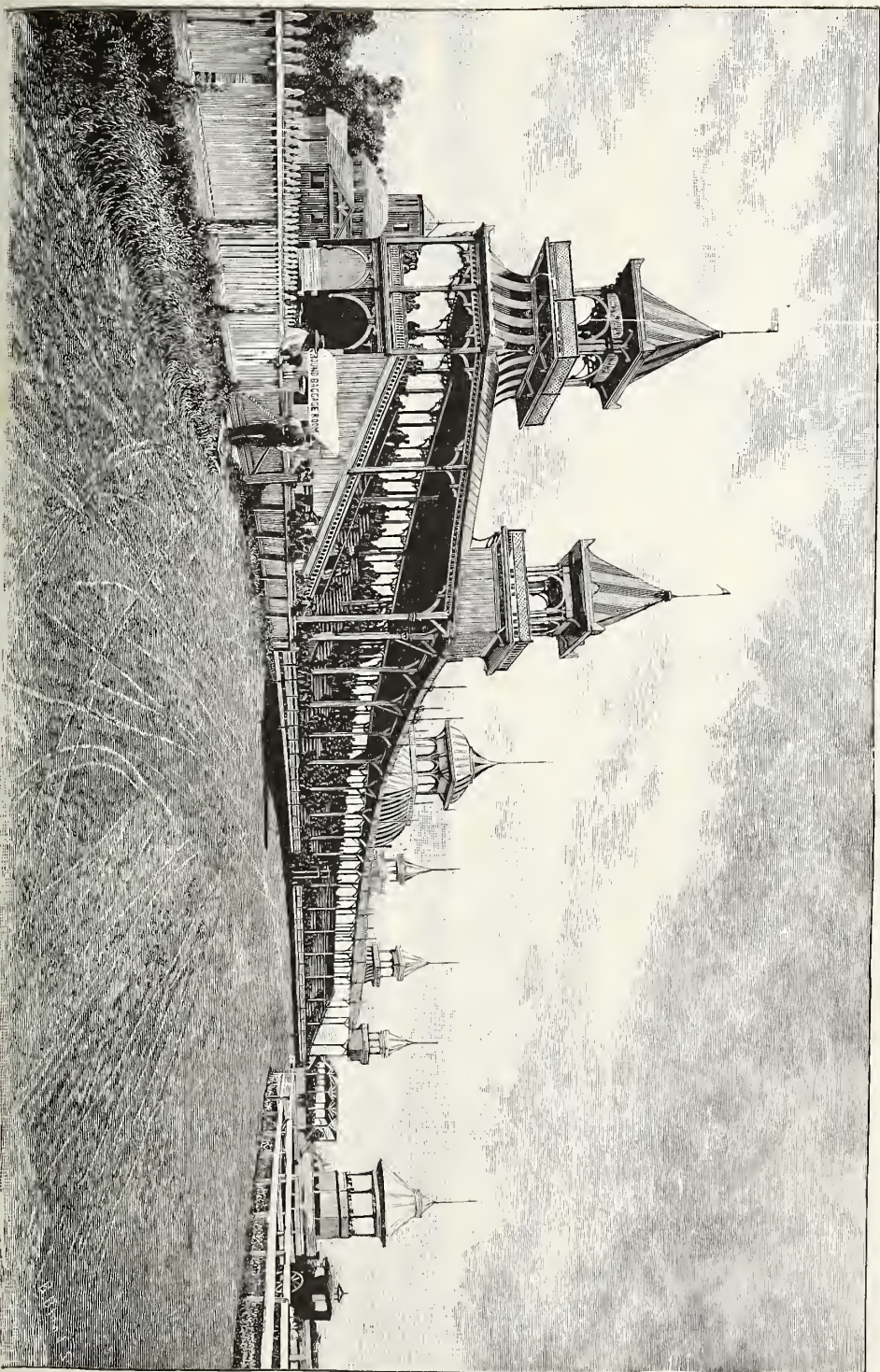
had 29,023 inhabitants. The land lies well, is gently rolling or undulating, rich and productive, and well merits the title of "garden spot of Kentucky"—or of the world. It is one of the finest stock-producing counties of the State, and its name abroad is without rival in that regard. Its through-bred horses are the finest in the world and command the highest prices, while its blooded cattle are unsurpassed in any land. Hogs and sheep are also raised; corn and hemp are grown extensively, while of late years tobacco has become quite a staple product.

The county is well supplied with railroads, the great modern factor in material and social progress. The Louisville & Nashville, the Cincinnati Southern, the Kentucky Central, and the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroads, pass through the county, giving means of travel and transportation in every direction. In addition to these roads, all completed and in successful operation, there are several contemplated roads, that, when built, will also penetrate the county. Add to the railroads, the perfect system of turnpikes, and Fayette County, indeed, seems to be blest in its highways of travel.

The first settlement in Fayette County was made upon the present site of Lexington. As early as 1775 a number of pioneers, among whom were Robert Patterson, William McConnell, Simon Kenton, John and Levi Todd, John Maxwell, James Masterson, Isaac Greer, visited this region, and pitched their camp at a fine spring upon the spot where Lexington now stands. Here McConnell, assisted by his comrades, built a small cabin, as a claim for title to the lands. This, however, was all that was made toward an actual settlement until 1779, when Col. Robert Patterson, with twenty-five men, came over from Harrodsburg, and about the 1st of April commenced the building of a block-house near the site of the McConnell hut. From this dates the permanent settlement of Fayette County, and other stations and block-houses within its limits followed in quick succession. Bryant's and Grant's Stations were settled in the same year (1779), and a few years later found forts and block-houses at Boone's, Masterson's, McLean's, McGee's, and at other points. These stations, however, were not established without grave difficulties being encountered. For nearly two decades it was an almost daily struggle between the whites and savages for possession of the country. Against Lexington and Bryant's Stations were hurled some of the most formidable expeditions of the Indians which Kentucky, with all its border warfare, ever experienced. But in

\*The present State of Tennessee was known as the "District of Washington," and was represented by deputies chosen by the Colonial Assembly of North Carolina.





FAYETTE COUNTY FAIR GROUND—LEXINGTON.





the early glimmer of the century, now reeling off the last quarter of its course, the Indian power, in Kentucky, began to weaken, and the savages, despairing of driving the pale-faced invaders from the soil, eventually gave up the struggle, and peace settled over the country.

Lexington, the seat of justice of the county, and the metropolis of the blue-grass region, is situated on the Elkhorn Creek, near the center of the county. It is distinguished as being the first capital of the State, a fact described in the sketch of Frankfort. It is one of the most beautiful inland cities in the Southwest, and by the last census had 16,656 inhabitants. Its fine educational facilities long ago won for it the appropriate title, "Athens of the West." It is the seat of the Kentucky University, formerly Transylvania, the State Agricultural and Mechanical College; the Hamilton Female College; St. Catherine's Academy; Sayre Female Institute, and a most excellent system of public schools—both white and colored. The press is an able one, and comprises among its papers the *Transcript*, the *Press*, the *Gazette*, etc., all ably conducted newspapers. The city is not lacking in religious facilities, having twenty or more churches, some of them as stately temples of worship as are to be found. Recently a new court house has been built, one of the finest in the State, which is an ornament to the town, and at this time (1886) a new government building is being erected.

Lexington received her name in honor of the little village away up in Massachusetts, where was fired the first gun of the Revolutionary war. While the little band of pioneer hunters were encamped at the spring above mentioned, they received the news of the battle of Lexington. Says Ranek:\*

The name of the settlement that was to be was discussed with animation. One suggested "York" another "Laneaster," but both were dropped with a shout for "Lexington" as the conversation turned to the strange news that had slowly crept through the wilderness, and which, after being weeks on the way, they had just heard, of how King George's troops, on the 19th of April, 1775, had called Americans "rebels," and shot them down like dogs at Lexington, in Massachusetts Colony. The story of Lexington's christening—the historic fact of how she got her name—is as romantic as the legend of the beautiful princess Pocahontas, and is an incident far more interesting because more true than the fabulous one told of the founding of ancient Rome.

This christening of Lexington was the first monument raised to our Revolutionary dead. Here in the vast illimitable wilderness—the almost uninhabited territory of the royal province of Virginia—a band of simple pioneers more than a hundred years ago be-

stowed this tribute upon those patriots who were first to seal their devotion to the cause of liberty with their lives. Those pioneer hunters—the forlorn hope of civilization in the dark and bloody ground—have passed away. The grass has grown over their graves, and the daisies have bloomed above their lowly beds, but the spot named by that lone camp-fire in the wilderness has become a city more beautiful than Damascus, the "fair city of the plain." It has become the center and metropolis of one of the finest sections of country upon which the sun ever shone, and which has long been famed as the seat of learning, and of "poetry and eloquence."

Athens is situated in the southeastern part of the county, and is but a small, unpretending village. Other postoffices and villages are Sandersville, Donerail, Greendale, Walnut Hill, East Hickman and Yarnallton. The largest of these comprises but a few houses, a store or two, a postoffice, blacksmith shop, etc.

Much of the early history of Lexington and Fayette County may be found in preceding chapters of this work. Sketches of most of the wise and great men have been given elsewhere. Among these latter are Henry Clay, the "sage of Ashland," the great American commoner; John Breckinridge, the first of that illustrious family in Kentucky; John Bradford, the pioneer editor of the West; Joseph Cabell Breckinridge, Robert Wickliffe, Judge David R. Atchison, Prof. C. S. Rafinesque, the eminent archæologist; Gen. John C. Breckinridge, Judge A. C. Woolley, Col. Joseph Hamilton Daveiss, George Nicholas, William T. Barry, Gen. John H. Morgan, Dr. Benj. W. Dudley, George Robertson, Dr. Charles Caldwell, and a host of others past and gone. So much has been said of these eminent men in the periods of the general history where they figured, that to sketch them here would but make of it a "twice told tale."

Fayette County abounds in caverns, springs, natural wonders, ancient remains of the prehistoric race, etc. In the northern part of the county are what appear to be the remains of Indian fortifications. Near Lexington were works that evidently belonged to the prehistoric period. One of them was visited by Prof. Rafinesque, in 1820, who made maps and plats of it and presented them to the Smithsonian Institution. There were a number of others around Lexington. A work, resembling a fortification, was just west of the town, near the Frankfort road. A group of mounds and graves were a short distance south of the city, and two groups were on the south side of north Elkhorn Creek, about

\*In History of Fayette County, p. 223.



a mile from each other. There is a tradition that the first settlers of Lexington found a well, "regularly and artificially built, and with stone," a domestic convenience unknown among the American Indians; and that curious earthen vessels were plowed up, such as only could have been manufactured by at least a semi-civilized people. Of the "caves and caverns," to be found all over the county, such wonders of nature are too common in Kentucky to call forth here even a description.

FLEMING COUNTY was one of thirteen organized in 1798. It was taken from Mason, was the twenty-sixth formed, and was named in honor of Col. John Fleming. It is situated in the northeastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Mason and Lewis Counties; on the east by Lewis and Rowan; on the south by Rowan and Bath; on the west by Nicholas and Robertson, and in 1880 had 15,221 inhabitants. It is well watered by the Licking River, Fleming, Fox and Triplett Creeks, and a number of other small streams tributary to them. The soil of the county is varied in quality, and the surface diversified. The western portion is rolling, the soil resting on limestone, and is rich and productive; the eastern and northeastern portions are hilly and mountainous, with rich creek bottoms interspersed. The products are corn, wheat, clover, tobacco, hemp, etc. Stock raising also receives considerable attention. The Maysville division of the Kentucky Central Railroad passes through the northwestern part of the county, which has improved in a slight degree the transportation facilities.

The first whites who visited the territory, now comprised in Fleming County, were surveyors. A surveying party, under Gen. William Thompson, were here as early as 1773. Another party, under Col. James Perry and James Hamilton, were here quite as early. These may be considered the advance guard of the early settlers. George Stockton, taken prisoner when a child and brought up among the Indians, afterward established Stockton's Station (in 1787) near the present site of Flemingsburg. Stockton was a strange compound of white man by birth and Indian by adoption. He was an exile from civilization in his native Virginia, and had sought the solitudes of the pathless woods in exchange for the trammels of civilized society. Of the latter he could not endure its restraints, and he despised its comforts and pleasures. He had hunted in the Indian chase, talked in their dialect, danced their dances, and was

much attached to many of their customs. Robert Stockton and Beacham Rhodes were compeers of George Stockton, also Zadok Williams. He was killed by Indians, in 1790, while working in the field near Stockton's Station.

Fleming's and Cassidy's Stations were early settlements in the county. The latter was settled by Michael Cassidy, an Irishman by birth, but who came to America in his early youth, served in the Revolutionary war, came to Kentucky after it was over, and settled the station that bore his name. Fleming's Station was named for Col. John Fleming, for whom both the county and its capital were named. He was a native of Virginia and came to Kentucky in 1787, and located first in what is now Clark County, but in 1790 came here and located Fleming's Station, where he died in 1794. He was a true pioneer, and took an active part in subduing the wilderness. Many incidents could be related of Fleming, Cassidy and Stockton.

Another early settler, and a very important personage in the county, was "Ben," a colored man, and the first of that "fated race" to come hither. He was an unadulterated negro, black as the gates of "Sheol," with teeth that bore the appearance of marble slabs set up around a coal-pit. Ben was devoted to his master, and hated an Indian with the utmost zeal. He could handle a rifle expertly, and under his unerring eye many an Indian bit the dust. Ben lived to an old age, and died honored by his white friends.

Flemingsburg is the county seat and is situated in the northwestern part of the county on the Maysville & Mount Sterling Turnpike, about seventeen miles south of Maysville. It has an excellent brick court house, several handsome churches, first-class schools, a newspaper, and the usual number of stores, shops, etc. It was incorporated in 1812, received its name from the same source that the county did, and in 1880 had a population of 811 souls. Elizaville is a village of 148 inhabitants, situated about five miles from Flemingsburg. Sherburne, with a population of 177, is situated on the Licking River in the southwestern part of the county. Poplar Plains, a village with 278 inhabitants, is situated near the center of the county. Hillsboro has 194 inhabitants, and is located nine miles southeast of Flemingsburg. Mount Carmel is situated east of Flemingsburg, and has 185 inhabitants. Tilton, by last census, had 94 inhabitants, and is six miles south of Flemingsburg. Other small places are Farmville, Centerville and Ewing.

FLOYD COUNTY was organized in 1799 from parts of Fleming, Mason and Montgomery Counties, and was the fortieth in the catalogue of counties. It was an unwieldy district, and as its population increased, the following counties were wholly or in part formed from it: Clay, in 1806; Harlan, in 1819; Perry, in 1820; Lawrence, in 1821; Pike County, in 1821; Morgan, in 1822; Breathitt, in 1839; Letcher, in 1842; Johnson, in 1843; Rowan, in 1856; Boyd, Magoffin and Wolfe, in 1860; Elliott, in 1869, and Lee, in 1870. It was named for Col. John Floyd, a prominent man in the early history of Kentucky. It lies in the eastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Johnson and Martin Counties; on the east by Pike County; on the south by Pike and Letcher Counties; on the west by Letcher, Perry, Breathitt and Magoffin Counties, and in 1880 had a population of 10,176. It is mountainous, the hills rising in places to an elevation of 500 feet above the general level. Corn is the principal crop, although wheat and flax are extensively cultivated. The mountains afford fine range for stock.

The county abounds in coal. Collins' history furnishes the following on the subject:

Five or six different beds of coal overlies each other in the hills around Prestonburg. The main bed, which averages about four feet, with a clay parting ten inches from the top of the coal, which thickens up stream, toward the south, to eight inches, and thins down stream to half an inch, is situated seventy to eighty feet above the bed of the Big Sandy River; one sixty and one 150 feet higher, one forty or fifty feet lower, one at low water and one below the bed of the river. A bed of coal, supposed to be a distinct bed, crops out just opposite Prestonburg, ninety-eight feet above the river, which is of a compact, close texture, approaching cannel coal, and is different from the main coal in appearance, fracture, composition and roof. The coal bed of Col. Martin, two miles above Prestonburg, on the east branch of Big Sandy, sixty feet above the river, has three feet, ten inches to four feet of remarkably pure coal; is but little changed in form in burning, and has but little bitumen—a material which acts injuriously in a coal used for smelting iron. The main bed of coal is one of the best in Kentucky for manufacturing purposes.

Prestonburg, the seat of justice, is a small town of 265 inhabitants by the last census. It is situated on the Big Sandy River, about seventy miles above its mouth, and was named in honor of Col. John Preston, who owned the land upon which it was laid out. With the rich mineral wealth lying contiguous it should, with railroad facilities, become a great manufacturing point. Other villages are Lanesville and Martinsdale, both small places.

The Burning Spring is one of the natural wonders of Floyd County. It is situated

about seventeen miles from Prestonburg and constantly emits a heavy, thick sulphurous vapor, which ignites upon the application of fire. This rather strange phenomenon imbued the superstitious among the pioneers with the idea that the "fire-spring" was but a by-way to "Sheol."

To the "Swift Silver Mine,"\* the county was indebted for its first white visitors. They were roving backwoods men, who are supposed to have come to eastern Kentucky in search of this fabled silver mine—this Eldorado of the mountains. Little beyond tradition, however, is known of them or their visit. As early as 1775 a party of hunters—William Pittman, James Fowler and William Thornton—came out from Virginia, and in pursuit of game camped for a short time on Beaver Creek in the present county of Floyd. They discovered a salt lick, which they called "Fowler's Lick," and from which salt was manufactured in early days.

Col. John Floyd, for whom this county was named, was a native of Virginia, and of Welsh origin. He was born in 1750, and was well educated for that early period. He came to Kentucky with his parents in an early day, and settled in the present county of Jefferson. He established Floyd's Station on Beargrass, and as an instance of the danger of the times and the perils the early settlers incurred, Col. Floyd and two of his brothers were killed by Indians. Much of the adventures and pioneer life of Col. Floyd may be found in preceding chapters of this volume.

FRANKLIN COUNTY, distinguished for having the State capital, was formed in 1794, and bears the name of the philosopher and statesman, Benjamin Franklin. Woodford, Mercer and Shelby Counties contributed its territory, and in turn it contributed to the formation of Gallatin, Owen and Anderson Counties. It is bounded on the north by Henry and Owen Counties; on the east by Scott and Woodford; on the south by Anderson and Woodford; on the west by Shelby and Henry, and by the census of 1880 it had a population of 18,699. The Kentucky River flows north nearly through the center of the county, and with numerous tributaries, comprising North and South and Main Elkhorn, Big and Little Benson and Flat Creeks, drains and waters it well. The surface of the country is diversified. A small section, lying next to Scott and Woodford Counties, is undulating, and is rich

\*See sketch of Bell County.



blue-grass lands. Along the Kentucky River it is broken and hilly, and in many places tall, perpendicular cliffs "rear their lofty crests on high." There is sufficient water-power in the county to operate thousands of factories, and that Frankfort is not a great manufacturing center is more a lack of enterprise on the part of the people than otherwise. The principal crops are corn, wheat, rye, hemp, barley, tobacco and ——— whisky. Stock raising receives a full share of attention, and much interest is manifested in blooded animals. The Lexington & Frankfort division of the Louisville & Nashville system passes through the county, and is one of the pioneer railroads of the West. [See chapter on internal improvements.] With the advantage of both railroad and river transportation the county is blest beyond many of her neighbors.

The first settlement made in what is now Franklin County was at a place called Lees-town, which was laid out on the river about a mile below the present town of Frankfort. A station or block-house was built there in 1776 by Hancock Lee (for whom the place was called), Cyrus McCracken and others. It became quite a stopping place for the early settlers, and at one time was a rather important point, described as "regularly laid out and flourishing." It never, however, arose to any prominence, as was predicted of it, but when the capital was located at Frankfort, it gradually fell into decay, and the "remembrance of its glory has almost faded from the minds of men."

Frankfort, the seat of justice of the county and the capital of the State, is situated on the Kentucky River about sixty-six miles above its mouth.\* It stands in a valley, and is surrounded by hills that in the barbarous ages might have served as walls of the city. Ancient Rome, we are told, sat proudly on her seven hills, but in the case of Frankfort "the eternal fitness of things" is reversed, and the seven hills sit upon the town. It was chosen as the capital of the State in December (accepted on the 8th), 1792, and the first session of the second Legislature was held "in the house of Andrew Holmes at Frankfort on the Kentucky River."

The first constitution, adopted in convention at Danville, April 19, 1792, required the General Assembly to meet at Lexington on June 4, 1792, and provided the following mode for fixing the seat of government. The House, during the sessions in 1792, should choose by ballot twenty-one persons, from

whom the representatives from Mercer and Fayette Counties should alternately strike one, until the twenty-one should be reduced to five, who, or any three of them concurring, should "have power to fix on the place for the seat of government, to receive grants from individuals therefor, and to make such conditions with the proprietors of the land as to them should seem right, and should be agreed to by the proprietor, and lay off a town thereon in such manner as they should judge most proper. Accordingly, on June 18, 1792, John Allen and John Edwards, of Bourbon County; Robert Todd, of Fayette; Henry Lee, of Mason; and Thomas Kennedy, of Madison, were chosen commissioners. During the summer and fall ensuing, they visited the several points which made proposals—Legerwood Bend, Delaney's Ferry, Petersburg, Louisville, Lexington, Frankfort and Leestown (one mile below Frankfort), canvassed them thoroughly, and on December 5, in session at Lexington, resolved that "Frankfort was the most proper place for the seat of government." John Edwards was absent, two of the board (Robert Todd being one) were in favor of Lexington, and two of Frankfort. Gen. Todd, although largely interested as the owner of much land near Lexington and a resident there, rather than have it said that his judgment was biased by interest, changed his vote and gave to Frankfort the three votes necessary. December 8 the report of the committee was approved by the Legislature, and the question settled. \* \* \* The proposition which induced this location was: First. By Andrew Holmes, to convey to the Government: (a) For seven years the house and tenement lately occupied by Gen. James Wilkinson; (b) absolutely, the lots marked Public Ground, Nos. 58, 59, 68, 74, 75, 79, 83 and 84; (c) choice of thirty lots yet unsold, or alternate—choice of half of all the unsold (74) lots, and if more space is requisite, will lay off into half-acre lots fifty acres more and convey one-half of them; (d) the rents of warehouse for seven years; (e) ten boxes 10x12 window glass, 1,500 pounds nails, £50 (\$166½) worth of locks and hinges, and an equivalent of stone and scantling for building, all delivered upon the Public Ground, or, in place of the latter, stone that will build 1,500 perches of wall in any part of Frankfort, and the use of his saw-mill, carriage, wagon, and two good horses until a sufficiency of scantling for a State-house is procured, and the privilege of timber from any part of his tract. Second. The bond, dated August 9, 1792, of eight citizens of Frankfort—Harry Innes, Nat Sanders, Bennett Pemberton, Benjamin Craig, Jere Craig, William Haydon, Daniel James and Giles Samuel—to pay to the commissioners \$3,000 in specie (gold or silver).\*

Frankfort is becoming quite a manufacturing center, the lumber and whisky interests being the most prominent. The efforts made from time to time to remove the capital, and the agitation consequent thereto, has greatly retarded the growth of Frankfort, and at the same time prevented the erection of public buildings creditable to the great State of Kentucky. The capital, doubtless, will never be removed—it never should be—and the retaining of the old buildings is a disgrace to the town and the State. The capital should not be removed unless the State cemetery is removed with it; to remove one without the other would be an outrage upon the people

\*Frankfort, it is claimed, attained its name in consequence of a skirmish that occurred on the spot where the town now stands, between a band of Indians and William Bryant, Nicholas Tomlin, Ellisom Williams, Stephen Frank and others. Frank was killed in the fight, and to perpetuate his memory, the place was called Frankfort.

\*Collins, Vol. II, pp. 181-182.

of the State, after all the money that has been spent in removing thence their historic dead. These suggestions are not history, but the opportunity to give a word of advice to the people, is too good to be lost—that word of advice is, *build a creditable State-house at Frankfort.*

Besides the government buildings, Frankfort has a good court house, clerk's offices, the State arsenal and the State prison. It has good schools, a number of handsome churches, several excellent hotels, an able press and good business houses. It is well laid out, with broad streets crossing at right angles, and is divided into North and South Frankfort by the river, and into East and West Frankfort by the railroad. Other towns and postoffices in the county are Ducker's, Bridgeport, Bell Point, Benson, etc.

Franklin County is possessed of considerable mineral wealth. Lead ore, but not in sufficient quantities to justify mining, exists; potter's and fire clay are found in the valley near Frankfort. Five miles east of Frankfort, and on the railroad, there is a fine limestone, valuable for building purposes, and the Kentucky River marble is unexcelled as a building material. This latter stone exists in apparently inexhaustible quantities. A number of mineral springs are found in different parts of the county.

The lives of some of Kentucky's great men are interwoven with the history of Franklin County. Among these are the Browns, Gov. George Madison, Col. Solomon P. Sharp, Isham Talbot, Judge Harry Innes, Hon. Thomas Todd, William Murray, Hon. Amos Kendall, Hon. George M. Bibb, Gen. G. W. Smith, Col. Albert G. Holges, and many others who made their marks in the world. Col. Hodges is noticed in connection with the press of the State; Col. Sharp, Gov. Madison and Judge Bibb in the political history. Gen. Smith was born at Georgetown, this State, in 1822. He graduated from the Military Academy at West Point; served in the United States Army during the war with Mexico. In the late civil war he served in the Confederate Army; rose to the rank of major-general and to the command of the Confederate capital and the Department of Virginia. He was a most exemplary officer and an able commander.

Hon. Amos Kendall was a native of Massachusetts, where he was born in 1789. His early education was limited, but he finally succeeded in obtaining an entrance into Dartmouth College, from which he graduated. He studied law and came to Kentucky in 1814, locating at Lexington. He was a writer

of considerable note, and became one of the pioneer editors of the State, being editorially attached to the *Argus of Western America*, one of the early papers published at Frankfort. He was one of the champions of Gen. Jackson, which led to his being appointed fourth auditor of the treasury when the General became President, and later, Postmaster-general in his cabinet. He was tendered a foreign mission under President Polk, but declined it. He died in Washington City in 1869, at the age of eighty years.

William Murray came to Kentucky soon after the State was admitted into the Union. He was noted as leader in the debate upon the "Resolutions '98," and for voting against them. He is described as a bold and eloquent man, an aggressive politician and a brilliant speaker; a man of whom his contemporaries never spoke except in terms of unqualified admiration, and "was probably the most accomplished scholar among all the eminent men of Kentucky at that day." He was a lawyer of sufficient ability to cope successfully with such men as George Nicholas, John Breckinridge and Henry Clay—the giant intellects of the early Kentucky bar. He emigrated to Natchez, Miss., in 1803, and died soon after.

The Todds were one of the prominent families of Kentucky. Hon. Thomas Todd was at one time chief justice of Kentucky, and afterward associate justice of the supreme Court of the United States. He was a son of Richard Todd, and was born in Virginia in 1765. His father died while he was yet an infant, leaving his family in limited circumstances, and it was a hard struggle for young Thomas to receive an education; but by strong perseverance he succeeded, and studied law with Judge Innes, who was a relative of his mother. He filled many important positions during life, which he discharged with great ability, and to detail which would require a large volume.

Judge Harry Innes was a native of Virginia, and was of Scotch descent. He was well educated, and was a classmate of President Madison. Graduating in law, he at once entered into practice, and acted a prominent part in Virginia until 1785, when he was appointed attorney-general for the district of Kentucky; in 1787 he was appointed judge of the United States Court for Kentucky, a position he held until his death in 1816. In addition to his legal duties, he filled other positions in Kentucky, among which was member of the local board of war for the western country. His connection, or reported connection, with the Span-



ish intrigue, cast a shadow upon his good name; but the charge of complicity in that affair has always been disputed by his friends.

Hon. Isham Talbot was a native of Virginia, and was born in 1773. When quite young his father came to Kentucky and settled in Mercer County. Mainly through his own perseverance and exertions he received a good classical education. He studied law with Col. George Nicholas, and soon after his admission to the bar he removed to Frankfort. Clay, Bledsoe, Bibb, Daveiss, Rowan and such master spirits then adorned the bar, and among these Talbot was a conspicuous figure, and as a lawyer their equal. He died in 1837 in his sixty-fifth year.

Hon. John Brown was born in Virginia, September 12, 1757. His father was a Presbyterian minister, an accomplished scholar, and for "forty-four years pastor of the church at Providence Meeting-house in Rockbridge." The family was poor, and John received no patrimony beyond a good education. He was sent to Princeton College, and was a student in that institution at the time of the memorable retreat of the American Army through the Jerseys during the Revolutionary war. He afterward completed his education in the college of William and Mary, studied law with Thomas Jefferson, and removed to Kentucky in 1782. From that time forward he took a prominent part in the affairs of the State. Kentucky sent him as a delegate to the Virginia Legislature, and after the State was admitted into the Union he was three times elected to the United States Senate, being the first man sent to the United States Senate from the Mississippi Valley. His public service embraced a time when he was brought into intimate associations with Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. In company with Gen. Charles Scott, Col. Benjamin Logan, Judge Harry Innes and Gov. Shelby, he was honored by Washington with a military trust—"with power to enlist men, commission officers, and carry on war at home and abroad." Says his biographer: "With Gen. George Rogers Clark, Gov. Shelby, Govs. Scott and Madison, and with Judges Innes and Todd, and Cols. Nicholas and Breckinridge, and their illustrious associates, he held the most confidential intercourse, and their attachment, commenced in periods of danger and under circumstances of trial, never wavered."

Hon. James Brown, Dr. Samuel Brown and Dr. Preston W. Brown, were brothers of Hon. John Brown. James was a distinguished lawyer, and a brother-in-law of Henry Clay—both having married daughters of Col.

Thomas Hart. Samuel was an eminent physician, and for many years was a professor in the medical department of Transylvania University. Preston, the youngest of the brothers, was also a prominent physician.

FULTON COUNTY lies in the Jackson Purchase, and was created in 1845. It was formed from Hickman County, was the ninety-ninth organized in the State, and was named in honor of Robert Fulton, the great inventor. It is bounded on the north by Hickman County and also on the east; on the south by the State of Tennessee; on the west and northwest by the Mississippi River, and by the census of 1880 it had a population of 7,977 souls. It is divided between Mississippi bottoms and uplands. The bottoms are mostly subject to overflow; the land generally is very productive—corn, wheat and tobacco are the principal crops; stock raising receives considerable attention. The following is from the crop report of 1880: Corn, 612,202 bushels; oats, 10,835; wheat, 93,795; tobacco, 410,337 pounds; horses and mules, 2,654 head; cattle, 4,731; sheep, 3,012, and hogs, 14,154. The county is watered and drained by the Mississippi River, and by the Little Obion, Bayou du Chien, Mud, Rush and Dixon Creeks.

Fulton County occupies the extreme west end of the State. It enjoys the peculiarity of being cut into by the Mississippi River, and in traveling from the east to the west end of the county along the State line, one must necessarily pass through about eight miles of Tennessee territory. This is in consequence of a sharp curve of the river, known as "Madrid Bend," into Tennessee, literally cutting off the extreme west end of the county, and forming it into an island by the river and State line.

Among the early settlers of the county were a Mr. Mills, Robert and Samuel McKinney, A. M. Rush, John and Ben Meneese, Hugh Sparkman, and a man named Drummond. The following incident is related of these last named settlers: One night Ben Meneese, Sparkman and Drummond decided to plunder one William Bailey, who lived near by. The latter, as also did his wife, attempted to argue them out of it and have them depart in peace, but to no purpose. They persisted, when Bailey leveled his rifle and shot Meneese dead. Bailey gave himself up to the officers of the law, but was acquitted on the plea of having acted in self-defence. Sparkman was afterward sent to the penitentiary.

Hickman, the seat of justice, was originally called Mills' Point, for its first settler, Mr. Mills. The name is said to have been changed to Hickman in honor of the wife of W. Marr, who at one time owned not only the land upon which the town was laid out, but several thousand acres contiguous to it. It stands on the bank of the Mississippi River, about forty-five miles below the mouth of the Ohio. It has a brick court house, an excellent newspaper—the *Courier*—several flourishing stores, a good school, and a number of churches.

Fulton Village, in the eastern part of the county, is a thriving place. It is at the crossing of the Illinois Central and the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroads, and by the last census had 826 inhabitants. It is situated on the State line—a part of it being in the State of Tennessee. It has a bank, several large stores, two newspapers—the *Fultonian*, and a Baptist paper, the *Gleaner*—an excellent hotel, and a number of handsome churches and residences. Jordan Station is a small place on the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, about ten miles from Hickman.

Fulton County was in the great earthquake of 1811, though but an unbroken wilderness at the time. So much has been written upon the subject of that great "upheaval of nature," that a description of it here would be superfluous. But to this day there are traces of it to be seen in this county. For instance, Reel-Foot Lake, which is in Fulton County and across the river from New Madrid, where the earthquake was severest. It was formed by the earthquake "blowing sand out of a chasm, and depositing it near the mouth of Reel-Foot Creek, causing a sudden damming of its waters, which spread over the adjacent low grounds." The lake is some forty miles long and from a mile to eight miles in width, and now, after more than three quarters of a century, it is still over twenty feet deep in places—it is deep enough to be "blue water."

Clay Lick; thence down the river within two and a half miles of the mouth of Eagle Creek; thence a direct line till it strikes the road from Shelbyville to the mouth of Kentucky River two miles north of Henry Dougherty's; thence a direct line to the beginning." It contributed to the formation of Owen County in 1819; to Trimble County in 1836, and in 1838 to Carroll County. It lies in the north part of the State, bordering on the Ohio River, and is bounded on the north by it and Boone County; on the east, southeast and south by Grant and Owen Counties, and on the west by Carroll County. By the census of 1880 it had a population of 4,832. It is of a rough, uneven surface, but generally productive, especially the river bottoms. It is well timbered: walnut, beech, hard maple, ash, poplar, oak, hickory, etc., predominating. Grain, grass and clover are the principal crops and are grown in abundance. The following are the statistics for 1880: Corn, 401,996 bushels; oats, 18,844; wheat, 38,216, and tobacco, 1,265,367 pounds. Stock raising receives considerable attention, and, of late years, gardening has become quite an industry. The county has the advantage of the Ohio River and of the short line division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad in marketing its products.

Among the early settlers of the county were George Lee, William Thomas, John Grimes, Hugh Gatewood, Martin Hawkins, the Pickets, John Fister, etc. The first settlements were made in that part of the county afterward stricken off into Carroll County.

Warsaw is the seat of justice, and was originally called Fredericksburg. By the last census it had 666 inhabitants. It is beautifully situated on the Ohio River, about seventy-five miles above Louisville. It has a brick court house, excellent schools, both select and public, several churches, and the usual number of stores, shops and other business establishments. Other towns, villages and postoffices are Glencoe, Napoleon, Sparta, Liberty, Zion, Elliston, etc.

GALLATIN COUNTY was formed in 1798, from Franklin and Shelby Counties, was the thirty-third county, and was named for Albert Gallatin, a prominent statesman in the early period of the republic. Its original boundaries were as follows: "Beginning six miles above the mouth of Corn Creek; thence up the Ohio River to the mouth of Big Bone Creek; thence south with the Campbell County line sixteen miles; thence to the Kentucky River at Rock Spring, near

GARRARD COUNTY dates its origin back to 1796. The counties of Madison, Lincoln and Mercer contributed its territory, and the Hon. James Garrard, then governor of the State, contributed a name for the new division. It lies in the central portion of the State, and is bounded on the north by Jessamine County, from which it is separated by the Kentucky River; on the east by Madi-



son County; on the south by Lincoln and Rock Castle Counties; on the west by Lincoln, Boyle and Mercer Counties; and by the last census it had 11,704 inhabitants. It is drained by the Kentucky and Dick's Rivers and their tributaries. The land lies well, being undulating or rolling, and highly productive. The principal products are corn, wheat, oats, rye, grasses, etc.; and the exports, horses and mules, hogs, cattle and sheep. The following statistics are shown by the report of 1880: Corn, 828,173 bushels; oats, 21,356; rye, 18,423; wheat, 143,960; horses and mules, 4,835 head; cattle, 8,725; sheep, 10,266; and hogs, 25,251. The county contains some mineral wealth, although not as rich as the more mountainous counties. Shot iron ore was found near the Dick's River, but not in sufficient quantities to be very valuable. Lead ore is found in the Kentucky River marble in small veins. Says Mr. Collins:

The White Lick is an area of ground, embracing about ten acres, on Paint Lick Creek, about twelve miles east of Lancaster. The ground is deeply indented with ravines, and marks resembling the track of wagon wheels, newly made, are now plainly visible, and have been visible since the settlement of the country in 1785. After a heavy rain the water which flows into the creek from this area gives the stream a white appearance, resembling milk, for several miles.

Lancaster, the capital of the county, is a place of 1,234 inhabitants (in 1880), and is situated on the Richmond branch of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. It has a good court house, several handsome churches, first-class schools, and is a place of fine business enterprise. The other villages and postoffices are Fitchport, Hyattsville, Paint Lick, Bryantsville, Lowell, Tetersville, etc.

Garrard being taken from the old historical counties of Madison, Lincoln and Mercer, its settlement is described in the history of those counties. A sketch of Gov. Garrard, for whom this county was named, is given in the history of Bourbon County.

GRANT COUNTY extends back in its history to 1820, when it was created out of the western part of Pendleton County, and was the sixty-seventh in the order of formation. It lies in the northern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Gallatin and Kenton Counties; on the east by Pendleton; on the south by Harrison, Scott and Owen; on the west by Owen and Gallatin, and by the last census (1880) had 13,083 inhabitants. Its water courses are Eagle Creek, Clark's, Arnold's, Ten Mile, Crooked, Fork Lick, and

Grassy, some of which flow into the Kentucky and some into the Licking River. The surface is rolling or undulating, and in some portions the land is very rich and productive. The principal crops are corn, wheat, oats, grasses, etc. Stock raising receives due attention. The "Dry Ridge," as it is called, is a ridge or range of hills extending nearly north and south through the county, and is a spur of the Cumberland Mountains. It forms the divide between the Kentucky and Licking Rivers, and extends in an unbroken range to Covington on the Ohio River. Collins thus describes a tree that was once a landmark in this section:

A poplar tree 9 feet in diameter was a notable object for many years. It grew near the present Baptist church, above the village of Dry Ridge, and was cut down in 1831. The late Philip S. Bush, then a candidate for the legislature, rode up on horse-back, alongside of the tree as it lay prostrate, and found he could barely reach the top of it with his hand. Much of the timber, especially the poplar, walnut and beech, on the main ridge, was very large; this, with the unusual growth of the spice bush, indicated the remarkable fertility of the soil.

Williamstown is the seat of justice, and is situated near the center of the county on the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, about forty miles south of Cincinnati. It was named in honor of William Arnold, one of the earliest settlers of the county, and was laid out in 1825. It was originally called Philadelphia, but the name afterward changed to that of its founder. It had, in 1880, a population of 751. It has a brick court house, and is well supplied with religious and educational facilities. Crittenden, in the extreme north part of the county, on the railroad, and named for Hon. John J. Crittenden, is a village of 323 inhabitants. Other villages are Dry Ridge, Sherman and Downingsville.

Among the early settlers of the county were William Arnold, John Zinn, William Layton, Henry Childers, Philip Gaugh, James Theobald, James Gaugh, a Mr. Clark and a Mr. Howe, Charles Daniel, Littleton Robinson, Charles Secrest, etc. Arnold settled on the site of Williamstown, and the others at different points in the county.

There are conflicting statements as to the source whence the county derived its name. One is that it was named for Col. John Grant, a North Carolinian, who established a station in the present county of Fayette in 1779; was driven away by the Indians, and returned to North Carolina, came back to the same station in 1784, then went to Illinois, but came back to Kentucky and died here. Another statement is that it was named for Samuel Grant, who was killed by the Indians in 1794 near the Ohio River. in the present

ate of Indiana, and who was a brother of  
en. Squire Grant and Col. John Grant.

GRAVES COUNTY was carved out of Hickman, and was named in honor of Capt. Benjamin Graves. It was formed in 1823, and is the seventy-fifth in the list. It is situated in the "Jackson Purchase," is oblong in shape, is fifteen congressional townships, and is bounded on the north by McCracken County; on the east by Marshall and Calloway; on the south by the State of Tennessee; on the west by Ballard and Hickman Counties, and in 1880 had a population of 24,138. Tobacco is the great staple, but corn, wheat, oats, and grass are produced in large quantities; also stock raising is carried on extensively. The agricultural report for 1880 shows the following: corn, 1,540,245 bushels; oats, 52,876; wheat, 47,925; tobacco, 8,901,434 pounds; horses and mules, 9,748 head; cattle, 9,758; sheep, 216, and hogs, 43,988. The principal streams are the Clark's River, and Mayfield, Little Obion, Brush, Little Mayfield and Barn Creeks. The surface is gently rolling, with slight hills in the northern and southern parts, and originally had a heavy forest growth of oak, hickory, sassafras, poplar, sweet gum, elm, and a heavy undergrowth of bushes, vines, etc.

Few settlements were made in the county prior to its organization. About the year 1820 Michael Eaker and William Armstrong settled in what is now Lynnville Precinct. The Washams also came in 1820, and settled in the eastern part of the county. A settlement was made in the southern part of the county near the State line, in 1822-23, by Col. J. E. Dodge, Ulysses Dodge, Campbell, Duncan and Moses Oliver.

Mayfield, the seat of justice, is situated on the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad, twenty-six miles south of Paducah, and is a thriving little city of 1,839 inhabitants by the last census. It has a brick court house, several handsome churches, and excellent schools, both white and colored. A handsome college building has recently been erected and a college under the auspices of the Christian Church established. Two good newspapers, two banks, several flourishing stores, and a number of small manufacturing establishments, together with two or three tobacco warehouses, show something of the town's prosperity.

Wingo is a village in the southwest part of the county on the railroad about twelve miles below Mayfield. It had 212 inhabitants in

1880, and is an enterprising village. Pryorsburg is the first station on the railroad below Mayfield, and had 129 inhabitants. Other villages and postoffices in the county are Lynnville, Farmington, Hickory Grove, Water Valley, Boydsville, Symsonia, Feliciana, Dukedom, etc.

Capt. Benjamin Graves was a victim of the disastrous battle of the river Raisin. He was a native of Virginia, but came to Kentucky when quite young, and located in Fayette County. He followed farming, but represented the county several terms in the Legislature. In the war of 1812 he was one of the first to offer his services to the Government, and sealed his devotion to his country on the bloody field of Raisin.

GRAYSON COUNTY was formed, in 1810, from Hardin and Ohio Counties, and was the fifty-fourth organized. It is bounded on the north by Hardin and Breckinridge; on the east by Hart; on the south by Edmonson; on the west by Ohio and Butler, and in 1880 had 15,784 inhabitants. It was named in honor of Col. William Grayson, a Virginian, and a distinguished politician and statesman. The county is well drained by the following water courses: Rough Creek, Big and Little Clifty, Nolin, Rock, Caney, Bear and Short Creeks. Fine timber is abundant, and has become a source of considerable commercial enterprise. The land is mostly thin, the soil of a poor quality, and the country of a rather level surface. Coal has been found plentifully in certain sections; also iron ore. Tobacco and grain are the principal agricultural products, the last census showing the following: Corn, 597,346 bushels; oats, 82,531; wheat, 64,545; and tobacco, 1,065,244 pounds. The Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad passes through the county, and has been of great benefit to its commercial prosperity.

Leitchfield, the capital of the county, is situated on the railroad above mentioned, seventy-five miles from Louisville, and is a thriving and enterprising place of 491 inhabitants by the last census. It was named for Maj. David Leitch, a liberal and go-ahead kind of a man, who was the patentee of the land on which it stands, and donated the site of the town. It has a handsome brick court house, several churches, good schools, a number of flourishing stores, a newspaper, the *Gazette*, and the usual supply of professional men.



Caneyville is a village of 235 inhabitants, and is situated on the railroad below Leitchfield. It is a village of considerable business enterprise. Other towns and postoffices are Big Clifty, Annetta, Clarkson, Falls of Rough, Grayson Springs, Horntown, Ready, Red Oak, Millerstown, Short Creek, Shrewsbury, Spring Lick and West Clifty.

Among the curiosities of nature to be found in this county are springs, foot-prints, etc. In the solid limestone rock, some five miles from Leitchfield, human foot-prints were found as perfectly formed as if recently made in clay. These tracks no doubt appeared as wonderful to the first white settlers of Grayson as the human foot-prints did to Crusoe when discovered upon his lonely island. The following published story savors somewhat of Mulhaddon romance:

On the slope of a hill, twelve miles from Leitchfield, are to be seen in the solid rock, two inches deep, the hoof or foot-tracks of horses, mules and colts, some of them shod; they showed that some of the animals were walking; others running; in size some were six inches across. In stripping off the earth on which the timber is growing these tracks can be seen covering acres of ground.

The celebrated Grayson Springs, which have long been a favorite summer watering-place, are situated about two miles from the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad, and some five miles from Leitchfield. A remarkable feature of these springs is their number, there being nearly one hundred, it is said, upon a quarter of an acre of ground. A still more remarkable feature is the difference in temperature, some of them being very cold and others very warm. They possess strong medical properties, and are said to be more strongly impregnated with sulphur than any other springs in the United States. They are highly improved with good hotel accommodations, amusements, and are much resorted to during the summer months.

GREEN COUNTY is as old as the State, and was organized in 1792, soon after the State was admitted into the Union. It was the sixteenth county created, and the last of seven formed that year. It was taken from Lincoln and Nelson Counties, and was named after Gen. Nathaniel Greene, a gallant soldier and an able officer of the Revolutionary war. From it have been formed, wholly or in part, the following counties: Cumberland and Barren in 1798, Adair in 1801, Hart in 1819, Taylor in 1848, and Metcalfe in 1860. It is situated in the central portion of the State, and is bounded on the north by Hart

and Taylor Counties; on the east by Taylor and Adair; on the south by Adair and Metcalfe; on the west by Hart, and in 1880 had 11,871 inhabitants. It is drained by the Green River and its tributaries, and is of a generally undulating surface, but hilly in places, with a soil based on red clay and limestone. Tobacco is the staple product of the county, but grain, grass and clover are also raised, and stock receives considerable attention.

Settlements were made in Green County very early. Pitman's Station, on Green River, near the mouth of Pitman Creek, was established about 1779-80. Glover's Station, on the site where Greensburg now stands, was established in 1780; Skagg's Station in 1781; Gray's Station, about eight miles from where Greensburg stands, was established in 1790. Several other stations were established very early.

The Long Hunters, in 1770, established a camp two miles east of where Gray's Station was afterward made, and on the Caney Fork of Russell's Creek. They were under the leadership of Col. James Knox, and were a band of hunters from North Carolina and Virginia, who spent several years in the wilderness of Kentucky hunting and trapping. From the length of their stay they received the name of Long Hunters, and are more fully described in the sketch of Bell County.

Iron ore was found in the western part of the county, on Brush Creek, of an excellent quality, and in quantities to pay well for working. Several furnaces were erected some years ago, which did quite an extensive business. Concerning a natural wonder in the county, Allen's history of Kentucky has the following:

A burning well on the north bank of Green River, four miles east of Greensburg, has been a subject of interest ever since it was dug, by Samuel White, in 1828. When first bored it discharged great quantities of oil and gas, the coal-oil and rotten egg odor of which is observable at times at a distance of ten miles. Efforts were made to fill up the well, but failing to shut off the gas, it was accidentally set on fire. The flames extended from three to six feet above the ground, in a volume as large as a hog'shead, and burned for months, with little or no diminution. Notwithstanding these and similar indications, all efforts, during the epidemic a few years ago, to obtain oil in paying quantities entirely failed.

Greensburg, the capital of the county, is situated on the north bank of the Green River, a little east of the center of the county, and is the present southern terminus of what was the old Cumberland & Ohio Railroad, now controlled by the Louisville & Nashville system. It has the usual public buildings, a good newspaper, the *Times*, sev-

eral churches, schools, etc., and by the last census had 620 inhabitants. Other towns and postoffices are Osceola, Somersville, Allendale, Catalpa Grove and Haskinsville.

Col. William B. Allen, a Kentucky historian, was a native of this county, and was born in 1803. He received a liberal education, and, having studied law, was admitted to the bar and began practice. He held numerous public positions, the duties of which he discharged satisfactorily. He was a writer of considerable merit, and in 1872 published a history of Kentucky, a book of some 450 pages.

GREENUP COUNTY was taken from Mason in 1803, and was the forty-fifth created. It was named in honor of Christopher Greenup, the third governor of the commonwealth. Greenup lies in the northeastern part of the State and is bounded on the north by the Ohio River; on the east by the Ohio River and Boyd County; on the south by Carter County; on the west by Lewis County, and in 1880 it had a population of 13,371 souls. It is rich in mineral resources, and also has some fine farming lands. It is watered and drained by a number of small streams flowing into the Ohio River. It has the benefit of both railroad and river transportation. The principal products are corn, wheat, oats and grass; the chief exports, live-stock, coal, etc.

Greenup, the seat of justice, is situated on the Ohio River 133 miles above Cincinnati. It was originally called Greenupsburg, but owing to the similarity of the name with that of Greensburg, the county seat of Green County, much confusion was caused in the mail for the two towns, and in 1872 the Legislature passed an act changing the former to Greenup. It is an enterprising town of 833 inhabitants, and stands upon an elevated and beautiful bottom. Considerable business is done, and there are in the town a number of flourishing stores and business houses. It has the usual public buildings, churches, schools and professional men.

Springville is a village on the Ohio River opposite Portsmouth, Ohio, and has 321 inhabitants. Lynn, formerly called Liberty, is ten miles from Springville. Other villages are Riverton, Hunnewell, Laurel Furnace, Pennsylvania, etc.

There were few traces of Indian villages found in Kentucky by the first white settlers. The remains of one of these is in the present county of Greenup, and was built by the Shawanese Indians and French traders.

There is no means of knowing when it was established, but it was previous to 1753—the time of the old French and Indian war. When first seen by the settlers of Kentucky (about 1773) it consisted of some twenty log cabins with clapboard roofs, doors, windows, chimneys, and cleared ground, and other evidences of civilization. All traces of the village had disappeared by the year 1800, and no evidence was ever found of the French having left the river and penetrated into the country. Mr. Collins gives the following of some of the old citizens of Greenup County:

Mrs. Mary Gray died in Greenup County November 25, 1872, aged one hundred and thirteen years, eight months and sixteen days. Her mother, Mrs. Bonafil, lived to be one hundred years old. Her husband, Thomas Gray, was born in 1755 and died in 1819, aged sixty-four years. Their first-born, a son, lived to the age of ninety years. Four of their children are now living: Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Smith aged eighty-three; Elias Gray, aged eighty-eight; Miss Nancy Gray, aged seventy-three, and Joseph Gray, aged seventy. Mary Gray's descendants are: first generation, children 13; second generation, grandchildren, 65; third generation, great-grandchildren, 617; fourth generation, great-great-grandchildren, 337; fifth generation, great-great-great-grandchildren, 44; total, 1,076.

The above would indicate that the county has a healthy climate.

The mineral resources consist chiefly of iron ore and coal. Seven varieties of ore were found in a single neighborhood. The "big block ore," one of these varieties, yielded 47.69 per cent of iron, and the richest ore found in the county yielded 60.90 per cent. "Taking the united thickness of the different beds in a single hill at five feet, and the specific gravity of the ore at three—then each acre of land underlain by these ores is capable of yielding from 6,000 to 7,000 tons of iron, worth in the form of pig iron at least \$180,000. The same hills usually contain beds of coal with a united thickness of five to six feet; which, after deducting for waste and slack, would yield 8,000 to 10,000 tons of coal, worth from \$16,000 to \$20,000." \*

Some of the most elaborate remains of the prehistoric period, found in the Ohio Valley, are located in this county. Prof. Rafinesque, the eminent archæologist, gives a very interesting description of them from a scientific standpoint, the principal points of which will be found in a preceding chapter of this volume.

Christopher Greenup, for whom this county was named, was elected governor of the State in 1804. He was born in Virginia when it was a colony of the British Crown (in 1750), and came to Kentucky immediately

\* Prof. Robert Peter, in State Geological Survey.



after the close of the Revolutionary war—a war in which he took an active and prominent part. He studied law and was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Kentucky when it was a district, subject to the laws of Virginia. He held a number of public positions, in all of which he discharged his duties conscientiously and satisfactorily. The highest and most important position to which he was called was that of governor, and his administration was characterized throughout by wisdom and patriotism.

HANCOCK COUNTY, the eighty-third in the order of formation, was created in 1829, and is indebted to Breckinridge, Ohio and Daviess Counties for its territory, and to John Hancock, a Revolutionary patriot, for a name. It lies on the border, being separated from Indiana by the Ohio River, with Breckinridge County on the east, Ohio on the south, and Daviess on the west. By the census of 1880 it had a population of 8,563 souls. The bottoms along the Ohio are generally broad, level and very rich, but subject to occasional overflow. The country back from the river is somewhat rolling and hilly, and the soil poorer, but produces fairly well. The principal products are corn, oats, wheat and tobacco, as are shown by the following figures from the last census reports: Corn, 389,305 bushels; oats, 23,522 bushels; wheat, 39,868 bushels; tobacco, 2,155,180 pounds. Of somewhat recent organization, the county's early settlement is included in that of the surrounding counties.

Hawesville, the capital of the county, is situated on the Ohio River, 120 miles below Louisville, and was named for Richard Hawes, the original proprietor of the land upon which it stands. It had, in 1870, a population of 855, and in 1880 it had 872, an increase in ten years of—seventeen! It has a court house, several churches, schools, a newspaper, and a number of flourishing stores.

Lewisport is situated on the Ohio about fifteen miles below Hawesville. It had a population in 1880 of 362, and is quite an extensive shipping point. Pellville is a small village of a 100 or so inhabitants.

There are four beds of coal in Hancock County, in a section of 270 feet of the strata overlying the main Hawesville coal (which is from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 feet thick); the first, 85 feet above, 19.8 inches thick; the second,  $21\frac{1}{2}$  feet above this, 16 inches thick; the third,  $68\frac{1}{2}$  feet above this, 16 inches thick, and the fourth,  $31\frac{1}{2}$  feet above this, 31 inches thick. Hawesville coal is superior to Pittsburgh coal in several

respects; First, in completeness of combustion, or freedom from waste in burning, leaving only  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to 7 pounds of unburnt coke in the grate, where Pittsburgh coal leaves over 9 pounds; second, in causing rapid evaporation—converting into steam, in one hour,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  cubic feet of water, while Pittsburgh coal only evaporates 10 pounds. In equal weights of the two coals, one pound of the Hawesville coal evaporated 7.34 pounds of water  $212^{\circ}$ , while one pound of Pittsburgh evaporated 8.2 pounds.\*

Additional to the coal above described, the famous Breckinridge cannel coal extends into this county. The main mines are on the line between Hancock and Breckinridge Counties. A full description of them is given in the sketch of Breckinridge County.

There are some remains of the ancient inhabitants in this county, including mounds and fortifications. There is a mound, or ancient cemetery, on the river five miles above Hawesville, where innumerable human bones have been found. The spot is a romantic and picturesque one, and indicates that the prehistoric people were not insensible to beauty. Near this mound is a spring from which flows tar, similar to the tar spring in Breckinridge.

About four miles above Hawesville, and about three-fourths of a mile from the Ohio River, there is a natural curiosity which is worthy of note.—It is a natural fortification, being a circular table of land, surrounded on all sides by a cliff of from 50 to 125 feet in height, generally projecting at the top, and impossible of ingress or egress to stock, and makes it a fine park for deer. By a little work in digging, it might be rendered impregnable; and if it were so situated as to command some water course or strait, or exposed point on the frontier might be made valuable to the country. Where located, it is thought to be a favorable site for an armory or a garrison, as a communication could be easily opened to the Ohio River by a railroad three quarters of a mile long.†

HARDIN COUNTY lies in the north central part of the State, a narrow point of its territory extending to the Ohio at the mouth of the Salt River. It was created in 1792 by the first Legislature after Kentucky was admitted into the Union as a State, and was carved out of Nelson County. Originally its area exceeded that of the State of Delaware by nearly one-third, and was almost equal to that of the State of Connecticut. From its territory have been formed, wholly or in part Breckinridge, Daviess, Edmonson, Grayson, Hart, La Rue, Ohio and Meade Counties. It is bounded on the north by the Ohio River and by Bullitt and Meade Counties; on the

\*The Geological Survey.

†Collins, Vol. II, p. 305.

east by Bullitt, La Rue and Nelson; on the south by Grayson, La Rue and Hart; and on the west by Breckinridge, Meade and Grayson. By the census of 1880 it had a population of 22,500, and is one of the largest counties in the State. It has a diversified surface, alternating between rough and rugged hills in the north part, the "barrens" in the central part, and the undulating plains in the southern part. Grain and tobacco are the staple products, the statistics of 1880 showing as follows: Corn, 1,331,070 bushels; oats, 62,435 bushels; wheat, 250,781, and tobacco 374,302 pounds. Stock raising receives considerable attention, being in 1880 as follows: Horses and mules, 8,979 head; cattle, 13,041; sheep, 13,230, and hogs, 41,440. Its principal water-courses are the Salt River, which flows along a part of its northern border; the Rolling Fork, Nolin and Rough Creeks, the last named having its source in the county, and years ago was a famous place for camp-meetings.

Hardin County was named in honor of Col. John Hardin, a name conspicuous in the early history of Kentucky. [See historical sketch of Breckinridge County.] He was born in Fauquier County, Va., October 1, 1753, and was a son of Martin Hardin, who removed to Pennsylvania and settled on the Monongahela River when John was a mere boy. He was literally a child of the frontier. His education was not of books, but of mental and physical laws—iron to the nerves and a sleepless energy to the resolution; his composition combined all the natural elements of the valiant soldier and wise statesman. His life was spent, not in studious halls, where college lore is conned, but in the great wilderness, where, to insure self-preservation, every faculty needed to be trained to a perfection equal almost to the smell of the Siberian blood-hound. In the use of the rifle he had few equals, and in the art of hunting perhaps he had none. These accomplishments made him one of the most expert scouts on the border. He served in Dunmore's campaign against the Indians in 1774, and in the following autumn was in another expedition, under Capt. Morgan, in which he was wounded. He served with distinction during the Revolutionary war, and was offered a major's commission for gallant conduct, which he declined, on the ground that he could be of more service to the Continental Army as a scout—an instance of pure patriotism that is but seldom met with. He came to Kentucky in 1780, and located considerable land. He served with Gen. George Rogers Clark, in the Illinois campaign, as

his quartermaster. In 1787 he was appointed county lieutenant of Nelson County, with the rank of colonel, having brought his family thither in 1786. He commanded an expedition of 200 men into the Indiana country, in the fall of 1789, for the purpose of breaking up marauding parties of savages, who were in the habit of crossing into Kentucky and stealing horses. Upon one of the tributaries of the Wabash he encountered a small band of the Shawanese and defeated them without loss to his own party. After settling in Kentucky he took a prominent part in every expedition against the Indians, except that of St. Clair's, until his death. In 1792 he was sent by Gen. Wilkinson, the military commander in the West, on a peaceful mission to the Indians beyond the Ohio, and was treacherously murdered by them after reaching their country, his body left to rot unburied, his flesh food for wild beasts, and his bones the sport of the storm. A rich and flourishing county in Ohio bears his name, and a town, called Hardin, was laid out upon the spot (in Shelby County, Ohio), where he was murdered. Among his descendants have been many prominent lawyers and statesmen of Kentucky.

As early as 1780 what is now Hardin County was occupied by the whites. In the latter part of the year, Samuel Haycraft, Andrew Hines and Thomas Helm settled upon the site of Elizabethtown. These pioneers each built a fort or block-house within supporting distance of the other; that built by Helm occupied the spot where the residence of the late Gov. Helm stands; Haycraft's was on "the hill above the Cave Spring," while Hines' occupied "the other angle of the triangle." Each of these block-houses or stations had its little colony, among whom were Jacob Vanmetre, Sr., Jacob Vanmetre, Jr., Rev. John Garrard, David Hinton, Nicholas Miller, John Vertrees, Miles Hart, Thomas, Brown, Shaw, Freeman and several others. Christopher Bush was an early settler of Elizabethtown. One of his daughters became the second wife of Thomas Lincoln, the father of the late President Lincoln.

Elizabethtown, the capital of the county, is situated at the junction of the Louisville & Nashville and the Chesapeake, Ohio & South-western Railroads, forty miles south of Louisville. It stands on the southern slope of the Muldrow Hills, and was laid out, in 1793, by Col. Andrew Hines. Its name was given by Col. Hines, one story goes, in honor of his wife, whose christian name was Elizabeth, while another story is to the effect that the county



was named for Col. John Hardin, and the county seat for his wife. It had a population of 2,526 by the last census. There were three other towns in Hardin County when Elizabethtown was laid out, viz.: Vienna, at the falls of Green River; Hardin's Station, now Hardinsburg, in Breckinridge County, and Hartford, county seat of the present county of Ohio.

Towns and villages in the county besides Elizabethtown are West Point, on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Salt River; Sonora, Glendale, Nolin and Colesburg, on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad; Cecilia, Vine Grove, Rineyville and Stephensburg on the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern, and Big Spring, which is situated about equally in Hardin, Breckinridge and Meade Counties.

Hardin County has been the home of some distinguished men; the most noted were Abraham Lincoln and John L. Helm. The lives of these eminent men were somewhat similar, in that the latter was twice governor of Kentucky, and died just when entering on his second term; and the former was twice President of the United States, and was assassinated just when entering upon his second term. The families were more closely allied by marriage than by this political coincidence; the wife of Gen. Ben Hardin Helm, the distinguished son of Gov. Helm, and the wife of President Lincoln were sisters. Although the two men divided on the great questions that involved the country in the most terrific civil war of modern times, yet they had an unbounded respect for each other.

Gov. Helm was a native of Hardin County, was a prominent lawyer and eminent statesman, and an able financier. He was a gentleman of the old school; courteous, hospitable and chivalrous; a man of incorruptible integrity, both in public and private life. A sketch of him appears in connection with the history of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad in a preceding chapter of this volume.

Gen. Ben Hardin Helm, of whom much is said in the chapters devoted to the civil war, was born June 2, 1832, and was a son of Gov. Helm and a grandson of the great criminal lawyer, Ben Hardin. He graduated in the military academy at West Point in 1851, and entered the regular army as a lieutenant of cavalry, but in a short time resigned, returned home, studied law, and was admitted to the bar. He filled several positions of honor, and upon the breaking out of the war, though tendered a commission in the United States Army by his brother-in-law, President Lincoln, declined it, and entered the Con-

federate service as colonel of the First Kentucky Cavalry. He rose to the rank of brigadier-general, and, as commander of the famous "Kentucky Confederate Brigade," fell in the battle of Chickamauga.

Abraham Lincoln, the martyred President of the United States, was born February 12, 1809, in that portion of Hardin County now included in La Rue, about two miles from Hodgenville. So much has been written of Mr. Lincoln, and so closely are the later years of his life interwoven with our national history, that anything written of him here would be but a repetition of what is familiar to all readers. Suffice it, his early years were passed in poverty and obscurity, from which, by his own will, perseverance and high-souled honesty, he climbed up, step by step, until he reached the highest position within the gift of the American people. His biographer thus closes a sketch of him:

The historian of this day can not do justice to this remarkable man. The Northern man would draw his character in terms of glowing eulogy; the Southern man would point his pen with bitterness and gall. The one would absurdly ascribe to him the lofty virtues of Washington; the other would class him with Grimaldi, the clown. Both would be wide of the mark. He was a man of quaint humor and genial disposition, patient, calm, self-poised and thoroughly honest. His administration of the Government was for no selfish or personal ends, but meant for the general good. The rectitude of his public conduct was above suspicion and his love of country must ever challenge admiration.

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HARLAN COUNTY was created in 1819 from parts of Floyd and Knox Counties, and was the sixtieth in the order of formation. It lies in the southeastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Perry and Letcher Counties; on the south and southeast by the State of Virginia; on the west by Bell County, and in 1880 it had 5,278 population. It is a rough, rugged, mountainous region, but with a fertile soil. It produces the very best timber of all kinds. The products are corn, wheat, rye and tobacco, with some stock raising. The Cumberland Mountains lie on its southeastern border; Pine Mountain separates it from Perry and Letcher Counties, and in the eastern part of the county is the Black Mountain, an arm of the Cumberland. The Cumberland River runs in a southwest course, and its tributaries in this region are Wallin's, Browney's, Puckett's, Catherine and Crank's Creeks. Greasy Fork, Wolf Creek and Beech Fork run northwestward into the Kentucky River.

Mount Pleasant, or Harlan Court House, is the county seat, and is situated near the

geographical center of the county. It is a small village of only a hundred or two inhabitants. During the late civil war, the court house was burned, and thereby many valuable papers and documents destroyed. The jail was also burned, as were a number of other houses in the town and county. Other villages and postoffices are Bailey, Leonard, Poor Fork, Salt Trace and Wallin's Creek.

Coal exists in large quantities in the county. In Little Black Mountain the coal deposit varies from three to six feet. In many places are indications of cannel coal, and it is believed to be plentiful in certain localities. Sandstone is found on Laurel Creek in ledges or slabs in various thicknesses.

The court house was erected upon a mound. When first seen by the whites large trees were growing upon this mound. When a second court house was erected (in 1839), in digging out a foundation upon the same site, human bones were found in profusion, thus proving that the mound had been one of sepulture. Beads and vessels of earthenware were also found among the bones.

The county was named in honor of Maj. Silas Harlan, a native of Virginia, and a frontier soldier of the true type. He came to Kentucky in 1774, and at once entered into the stirring scenes of that exciting period. He took part in the Illinois campaign under Gen. George Rogers Clark, from whom he received the highest praise for his gallantry. He was a major in the disastrous battle of Blue Licks, and fell in that bloody contest.

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HARRISON COUNTY was erected in 1793, and was the eighth formed after Kentucky was admitted into the Union. It was taken from Bourbon and Scott Counties, and is bounded on the north by Grant and Pendleton Counties; on the east by Robertson and Nicholas; on the south by Bourbon, on the west by Scott, and by the last census (1880) had 16,504 inhabitants. Harrison has contributed to the formation of the following counties: Campbell in 1794; Pendleton and Boone in 1798; Owen in 1819; Grant in 1820; Kenton in 1840, and Robertson in 1867. The south fork of the Licking River flows nearly through the center of the county, and the main Licking through the northeast corner. These, with a number of small tributaries, among which are Indian, Mill, Twin, Cedar, Beaver, West, Richland, Silas and Raven Creeks, afford ample drainage. About one-half of the county is very rich and productive, and lies in the

blue-grass belt; the other or northern portion is hilly, but has a rich soil that produces well and is adapted to grazing. Upon the whole the county is much above the average, the soil being based on red clay, with limestone foundation. The principal products are corn, oats, wheat, grasses and tobacco, the agricultural report in 1880 showing the following: Corn, 982,202 bushels; oats, 33,996; wheat, 240,045, and tobacco 1,201,972 pounds. The same report shows 6,921 horses; 1,639 mules; 7,612 cattle; 19,041 sheep, and 27,058 hogs. The Kentucky Central Railroad passes through the county, affording ample means of transportation.

The "pale-faced pioneers" were early on the soil of Harrison. A number of men in search of lands to improve, known as "Hinkston's Company" were here, according to the early records, as early as 1775. The company comprised John Hinkston, John Haggin, John Martin, John Townsend, James Cooper, Daniel Callahan, Matthew Fenton, George Gray, William Hoskins, William Shields, Thomas Shores, Silas Train, Samuel Wilson and John Wood. They established Hinkston's Station and Martin's in what is now Bourbon County, but made no permanent settlement. The capture of these stations is given in a preceding chapter. Another company of early settlers, who came about 1776, were George Bright, William Craig, James McMillen, Thomas Moore, William Nesbit, Col. Benjamin Harrison, James McGraw, Robert Thompson, Joseph Peak, William Huston and Robert Kean. These people did not all make settlements at this time nor at any time afterward, but the dates given show merely their first visit to the country. The early stations were captured by the Indians, and many of the early settlers killed or taken prisoners, and it was not until several years later that permanent settlements were made in what is now Harrison County.

Cynthiana, the county seat, was laid out in 1793 by Robert Harrison, and named in honor of his two daughters, Cynthia and Anna. It is situated on the south fork of the Licking River, and on the Kentucky Central Railroad, sixty-six miles south of Cincinnati, and thirty-seven miles from Frankfort. It contains a brick court house of the old style of Kentucky architecture, several fine churches, good schools, a number of flourishing stores, a couple of hotels, and an able press. In 1880 it had 2,100 inhabitants. It is a fine shipping point, and great quantities of live stock and farm products are shipped annually to Cincinnati and other points.

Cynthiana is noted as having been the



scene of two battles during the late civil war. The first occurred in the summer of 1862 between the Confederates under the famous raider, Gen. John H. Morgan, and the Federals under Col. John J. Landrum. The second battle was fought in June, 1864, between the Confederates, again under Morgan, and the Federals under Gen. E. H. Hobson. These engagements are detailed in the chapters devoted to the late civil war.

Harrison County is dotted with towns and villages. In addition to Cynthiana, there are in the county, Antioch, Berryville, Boyd's Station, Buena Vista, Claysville, Connorsville, Colemansville, Havilandville, Lair's Station, Leeslick, Leesburg, Oddville, Robertson's Station, Rutland, Scott Station and Tricum. These vary in population from 300 down to a single family, and a store and post-office.

The county was named for Col. Benjamin Harrison, an early settler and a prominent citizen of Bourbon County. He was the second member of the State Senate from that county, and was a member when Harrison County was formed. He held a number of prominent and important positions—among them first sheriff of Bourbon County—the duties of which he satisfactorily discharged.

Among the prominent citizens of the county were Maj. William K. Wall and Judge John Trimble. The latter is sketched in the political history of the State. Maj. Wall was born in Pennsylvania, but for sixty-one years was a prominent citizen of Harrison County. He was one of the first associate judges; was several times chosen to represent the county in both the Senate and House of Representatives of the State. He died in 1853, in his sixty-seventh year.

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HART COUNTY, as a separate and independent organization, dates back to 1819. It was formed from parts of Hardin and Green Counties, and was named for Nathaniel G. T. Hart, a son of Col. Thomas Hart, one of the early settlers of Lexington. The Green River flows through the county from east to west, dividing it nearly through the center. It is bounded on the north by Grayson, Hardin and La Rue Counties, on the east by Green County, on the south by Barren County, on the west by Grayson and Edmonson Counties, and in 1880 it had 17,133 inhabitants. The surface is generally rolling, but in some portions rough and hilly; the soil is mostly productive, and the county one of

the finest tobacco-growing sections of the State, as shown by its yield—2,229,626 pounds in 1880. A large amount of grain is annually produced, and hogs are shipped from the county in great numbers. The Green River is the principal water course, and is navigable for small steamboats as far up as Munfordville a greater part of the year. Nolin Creek is quite a large stream, and is used a good deal for flat-boating; it would furnish water-power for a number of mills and factories. Lynn Camp Creek flows through the county. Its name was obtained as follows: A man named Benjamin Lynn, an early settler here, once got lost in the forest, and his friends, in hunting for him, came to where some one, whom they supposed to be Lynn, had camped upon the bank of a small stream, and they at once christened it Lynn Camp Creek. The Louisville & Nashville Railroad (main line) passes through the county. Upon it in the county are the following stations: Munfordville, Rowlett's, Bacon Creek, Horse Cave and Woodland.

Munfordville, the county seat, is situated on the Green River and on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, and was laid out by Richard I. Munford, for whom it was named. It is a small town of not more than 500 inhabitants, but is a place of considerable business energy and enterprise. Horse Cave, or, as it is sometimes called, Caverna, is on the railroad, about seven miles south of Munfordville, and is a thriving town. Other towns of the county are Woodsonville, Leesville, Monroe, Hardyville, Barnetttsville, Three Springs, Hammondsville, Canmer and Priceville.

Hart County abounds in caves, wonderful springs, holes in the ground, and other freaks of nature. In the level country, some six miles from Munfordville, there was discovered a hole in the ground that excited much wonder and interest. This "bottomless pit" is described as circular in shape and sixty or seventy feet in diameter. It is funnel-shaped for about twenty-five feet from the surface, when its diameter narrows down to ten or twelve feet. It has never been explored below this point, and a rock thrown into it may be heard to strike against the sides of the hole until the sound dies away in the distance, giving rise to the belief that it is either "Symmes' Hole," or the by-way to "Sheol." Another Symmes' Hole is found on what is known as the "Frenchman's Knob." It has been explored 275 feet without finding any bottom; this is popularly believed to be the "short route" to China. Frenchman's Knob is quite an elevated spot,

and derives its name from the fact that a Frenchman was killed upon it by the Indians in the pioneer times. A very peculiar spring is described as being situated about three miles from Munfordville, near the Green River, which has the regular ebb and flow of the ocean tides. About noon each day the water rises twelve or fifteen inches above its usual level, flows over a mill-dam erected below it for a certain length of time, and then falls back to its former state; this occurs with the utmost regularity. The following incident, bordering somewhat upon the marvelous, is found in Collins' History, ascribed to a Harrodsburg paper:

In 1836 two gentlemen engaged in hunting in Hart County discovered, on the summit of a knoll or elevation, a hole large enough to readily admit a man's body. Curiosity led them to explore the mysterious place. At the depth of sixty feet they found themselves in a cave or room sixteen or eighteen feet square, apparently cut out of solid rock. The first object that met the eye was a human skull, with all the teeth entire; the floor of the room was filled with skeletons of men, women and children. Under the small opening through which they descended, the place was perfectly dry, and the bones in a state of preservation. An entire skeleton of the human body was obtained. They dug between four and seven feet, but found them equally plentiful as on the top; but there arose an offensive effluvia as they approached where it was a little damp. There was no outlet to the room, and a large snake, which they found there, and which appeared to be perfectly docile, passed around the room several times while they were in it.

Bear Wallow was formerly a noted place in the southeastern part of the county. In the early history of the State it was a great resort for hunters, who went there to shoot the bears that were attracted to the spot to drink at the spring and to wallow in the mud and water; hence the name.

In early times there was a powder-mill on Lynn Camp Creek, near the line of Green County. During the war of 1812 it manufactured considerable powder, also for a number of years after the war was over, but it is one of the industries that long ago passed out of existence, and few, perhaps, now remember anything about it.

Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner, the Confederate general, is a citizen of this county. [For sketch of Gen. Buckner see war history.]

HENDERSON COUNTY, one of the rich and prosperous counties bordering the Ohio River, was formed in 1798 from a part of Christian County, and was the thirty-eighth organized. From its territory have been created Hopkins County, in 1806; Union, in 1811, and Webster, in 1860. It is bounded on the north by the State of Indiana, from which it is sepa-

rated by the Ohio River; on the east by Daviess and McLean Counties; on the south by McLean and Webster; on the west by Union, and by the census of 1880 it had a population of 24,515. The Green River flows into the Ohio in the northeast part of the county. This, with the Ohio and its tributaries, affords excellent drainage. It has a front on the Ohio River of seventy miles, and on the Green of twenty or thirty. These bottoms, comprising near 60,000 acres of alluvial lands, are as rich and productive as any in the State. According to the agricultural report of 1880, Henderson produced more corn than any other county, and, except Christian, more tobacco. The agricultural productions of the county were as follows: Corn, 1,680,000 bushels; oats, 27,589; wheat, 124,990, and tobacco, 10,312,631 pounds. The county is well timbered, the principal growths being oak, hickory, wild cherry, walnut, poplar, ash, sweet gum, pecan, cottonwood, etc. The St. Louis division, of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, passes through the county, and together with the Ohio and Green Rivers brings to the farmer's door the best markets in the country.

The mineral resources are considerable. Coal is found in many places, and quite extensively mined, but it is farther below the surface than in some of the neighboring counties. The Holloway boring, five miles from the river, "developed ten beds of coal: at 60 feet, 3½ feet of coal; at 70 feet, a vein of 4 feet 5 inches; at 85 feet, one of 10 inches; at 136½ feet, over 3 feet of black shale with some coal; at 160½ feet, a vein of 4½ feet; at 262 feet, one of 2½ feet; at 447 feet, one of 1½ feet; at 467 feet, one of 5½ feet; at 572 feet, one of 20 inches, and at 861 feet, one of 6½ feet.\* In boring an artesian well in 1857 at 200 feet below the surface a stratum of porcelain clay was passed through, which was pronounced by experts the best yet discovered in the United States. This well, at the depth of 1,600 feet, reached salt water of "eighty gallons to the bushel." Lead has been found in the county, but not in sufficient quantities to be valuable.

Settlements were made in what is now Henderson County as far back as 1790-95. This being a part of Christian County for a number of years, its settlement and that of Christian are identical. Among its early and prominent citizens was Gen. Samuel Hopkins, for whom Hopkins County was named. He was the first representative in the Legislature from the county, and was a patriotic soldier and citizen.

\*Geological Survey.



Henderson, the county seat, is situated on the Ohio River, about 200 miles below Louisville, and 173 miles above the mouth of the river. It was originally the northern terminus of the Evansville, Henderson & Nashville Railroad, but since the purchase of the road, and of the St. Louis & Southeastern by the Louisville & Nashville system, and the completion of the bridge across the river, it is but a way-station on a great thoroughfare between the South and the North and Northwest. It is one of the finest tobacco markets in the State outside of Louisville, and has more wealth to the amount of population (5,365 in 1880), perhaps, than any other Kentucky town. It has an excellent court house and other public buildings, many handsome residences, and its religious and educational facilities are the best. Its mercantile business and manufacturing industries are equal to those of any other town of its size.

The county has quite a number of towns and villages. Among them are the following: Alzey, Anthoston, Bluff City, Cairo, Dixie, Niagara, Scuffletown, Robard's Station, Ranger's Landing, Smith's Mills, Spottsville and Zion. They are small places, with a dozen to 300 inhabitants.

Among the most prominent men of Henderson County are Archibald Dixon, Philip M. Barbour, General Samuel Hopkins, Rev. James McGready and John James Audubon. Mr. Dixon was born in North Carolina but brought to Kentucky by his parents when but a child. Upon receiving a limited education he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1825. He became a successful lawyer and amassed a large fortune. He was several times elected to the Legislature, and in 1844 was elected lieutenant-governor on the Whig ticket with Judge William Owsley, receiving a majority of 11,081, while Owsley only received 4,624 majority. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1849, and was the Whig candidate for governor in 1851, but was defeated by Lazarus W. Powell. He was soon after elected to the United States Senate to fill out the unexpired term of Henry Clay. His last public service was as a delegate, in 1862, to the Border State Convention.

Major Barbour was raised principally in this county, but born in Nelson County. He was educated and graduated from West Point Military Academy, and entered the regular army. He served in Florida with distinction and was brevetted captain. When the Mexican war broke out he was among the first sent to the front, and participated in the bat-

tles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and for gallant conduct was brevetted major. He was killed September 19, 1846, before the walls of Monterey, while gallantly leading his men in the charge.

Prof. Audubon, the ornithologist, was for some time a resident of this county. He was born in Louisiana in 1780, and died in New York in 1851. In 1807 he passed down the Ohio River in a small canoe to Henderson, and in 1810 he was joined by the Scotch ornithologist, Wilson, and together they ranged the forests from Kentucky to Florida. In 1844 he published a new edition of "Birds of America," in seven volumes, and exhibited to the public his extraordinary collection of original drawings.

Col. Richard Henderson, for whom this county was named, fills a conspicuous place in the early history of Kentucky, as the agent, or one of the proprietors, of the Transylvania Land Company, a subject upon which a great deal is said in preceding chapters of this volume. He was a native of Hanover County, Va., and was born in 1735. He received but a limited education, read law and was admitted to the bar, and soon rose to the highest rank in his profession. He was of a restless disposition and of sleepless energy, and was a man born to be great, could he have curbed his "vaulting ambition." Says his biographer:

A man of great ambition and somewhat ostentations, he soon became involved in speculations which embarrassed him in his pecuniary relations, and cramped his resources. Bold, ardent and adventurous, he resolved to repair the ravages made in his private fortune by engaging in the most extensive scheme of speculation ever recorded in the history of this country. Having formed a company for that purpose, he succeeded in negotiating with the head chiefs of the Cherokee nation a treaty, by which all that tract of country lying between the Cumberland River, the mountains of the same name, and the Kentucky River, and situated south of the Ohio, was transferred for a reasonable consideration to the company. By this treaty Henderson and his associates became the proprietors of all that country which now comprises more than one half of the State of Kentucky. This was in 1775. They immediately proceeded to establish a proprietary government, of which Henderson became the president, and which had its seat at Boonesboro. The new country received the name of Transylvania.

Henderson's purchase from the Indians was afterward annulled by the Legislature of Virginia, on the ground that it was "contrary to the chartered rights of that State." But they compensated the company of Henderson for any loss sustained, by granting to it a tract of land comprising 200,000 acres "lying on the Ohio below the mouth of the Green River." Col. Henderson died in 1785, aged fifty years.

HENRY COUNTY was formed in 1798, and was named in honor of Patrick Henry, the great Virginia orator, and governor of the Old Dominion at the time Kentucky formed a part of Fincastle County. It was taken from Shelby County, and was the thirty-first formed in the new State. Afterward it contributed to the formation of Oldham and Trimble Counties. It lies in the northern part of the State, between Louisville and Frankfort, and is bounded on the north by Carroll County; on the east by Owen County; on the south by Franklin and Shelby Counties; on the west by Oldham and Trimble Counties, and by the census of 1880 it had 14,492 inhabitants. It is drained by the Kentucky River, which forms the boundary line between it and Owen County, and its tributaries. The face of the country is generally undulating, with considerable hills in certain localities, and the lands are designated the "sugar lands," the "oak lands" and the "beech lands." The first produce hemp abundantly; the second the finest of tobacco, and the last yield corn profusely; the agricultural statistics in 1880 were corn, 889,831 bushels; wheat, 95,162; oats, 48,968, and tobacco, 4,015,708 pounds.

The bluffs along the Kentucky River are very high, being 375 feet above low water in some places. Both lead and silver ore have been reported to exist in the county, but not in paying quantities. A number of mineral springs are in different sections. The Drennon Springs, on the creek of the same name, and about a mile from where it empties into the Kentucky River, at one time was a popular summer resort. In the vicinity of Eminence is a spring of saline chalybeate water. In a railroad cut near Eminence a number of bones of the mammoth were found, but so long had they lain buried in the earth that upon being exposed to light and air they crumbled into dust.

The first white people, perhaps, who saw the present county of Henry were Hancock Taylor and the McAfee Company, in the summer of 1773. Collins thus describes their visit:

Hancock Taylor and the McAfee Company directed their course up the Kentucky River. They ascended it to the mouth of Drennon's Creek, where they found the river nearly closed by a rocky bar. Here on the 9th of July (1773) they left their canoes, and went out to the lick, where they discovered immense numbers of buffalo, elk, deer, wolves, bears, etc. They continued either at or in the neighborhood of the lick until the 15th of July. While there, quite a ludicrous and yet dangerous scene occurred. A large herd of buffalo being in the lick, Samuel Adams was tempted to fire his gun at one of them, when the whole herd, in terrible alarm, ran directly toward the spot where Adams

and James McAfee stood. Adams instantly sprang up a leaning tree, but McAfee, being less active, was compelled to take shelter behind a tree barely large enough to cover his body. In this condition the whole herd passed them, the horns of the buffalo scraping off the bark on both sides of the tree behind which McAfee was standing, drawn up to his smallest dimensions. After all had passed, Adams crawled down, and McAfee mildly said: "My good boy, you must not venture that again."

New Castle, the county seat, is situated southwest of the geographical center of the county, and is a small place of 500 inhabitants by the last census. It has the usual public buildings, churches, schools, general business, and a newspaper—the *Henry County Local*.

Eminence is the largest town in the county. It is situated on the Frankfort division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, forty miles east of Louisville. It is an enterprising, pushing town of 1,043 inhabitants. It is well supplied with schools and churches, has a number of flourishing stores, and a good newspaper—The *Constitutionalist*. Other villages and postoffices are Pleasureville, Turner Station, Campbellsburg, Bethlehem, Franklinton, Guestville, Lockport, Jericho, Sulphur, Springport, Pendleton, Port Royal and Smithfield.

HICKMAN COUNTY was created in 1821 out of parts of Caldwell and Livingston, and was the seventy-first county organized. It is situated in the Jackson Purchase, and since its organization it has contributed wholly, or in part, to the following: Calloway, in 1822; Graves, in 1823; McCracken, in 1824; Ballard and Fulton, in 1845. It is bounded on the north by Ballard County; on the east by Graves; on the south by the State of Tennessee and by Fulton County; on the west by Fulton County and the Mississippi River, and in 1880 had a population of 10,651. It is generally level, with a very rich and fertile soil, and in 1880 produced 784,828 bushels of corn; 107,006 bushels of wheat; 13,857 bushels of oats, and 461,946 pounds of tobacco. The land is well drained by the Little Obion and Bayou du Chien, and their tributaries.

William Tipton was one of the first, if not the first permanent settler in Hickman County. He came to Columbus about the year 1818, and purchased the old block-house that had been built there some years previously (about 1804) and occupied by United States' troops during the Burr conspiracy. Other early settlers were a man named Bowles, the Edrington family, Samuel Lucas, the Cook family, Edmund Taylor, Pembroke Walker, etc.



Other early settlements were made in the neighborhood of Moscow, also in the Rock Springs neighborhood.

Clinton, the county seat, is situated near the center of the county, on the Illinois Central Railroad, about fifteen miles south of Cairo, Ill., and is a village of 506 inhabitants by the last census. It has a handsome brick court house, built in 1884, several churches, two colleges—Clinton College, under the auspices of the Baptist Church, and Marvin College, under the auspices of the Methodist Church; also Clinton Academy, an excellent select school; a number of flourishing stores, the usual shops, and a sprightly newspaper—the *Democrat*.

Columbus, the largest town in the county—also the oldest—and the original county seat, is situated on the Ohio River twenty miles below Cairo. Its population, in 1880, was 1,338 souls. It was the seat of justice from the formation of the county up to 1829, when it was changed to Clinton. It was a cherished scheme of the projectors of the town to make it a great city—one that should not only become the commercial metropolis of the United States and the Mississippi Valley, but the national capital as well. The lofty aspirations of its founders, however, were doomed to remain "obscurely dim," and the town to-day is only a straggling river village of little more than 1,000 inhabitants, and not even the seat of justice of a small county. Other villages are Moscow, Obion, Baltimore, Wesley, Oakville, etc.

The county was named in honor of Capt. Paschal Hickman, a native of Virginia. He came to Kentucky with his father's family when very young and settled in Franklin County. His father, Rev. William Hickman, was one of the pioneer preachers of Kentucky. Capt. Hickman served in many of the campaigns against the Indians, and was a gallant officer. He commanded a company at the battle of river Raisin, where he lost his life.

HOPKINS COUNTY was established in 1806 from a part of Henderson County, and was the forty-ninth county formed. It is situated in the western part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Webster County, on the east by McLean and Muhlenburg, on the south by Christian, on the west by Lyon and Crittenden, and in 1880 it had 19,122 inhabitants. It is above the average in wealth and material resources, and many portions abound in coal of a superior quality. It is divided into ridge or hill lands, bottom or black flats,

and rolling lands, mostly fertile and productive. The Pond and Tradewater Rivers, with numerous small tributaries, water and drain the county. It is well timbered, and much of it is of a fine quality. The St. Louis division of the Louisville & Nashville, and the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad pass through and afford excellent transportation facilities. Of the coal supply of the county, the following is given:\*

Ten veins of coal, generally well developed, extend over nearly the whole county, in some openings eight feet thick, and all the outcrops are of easy access. The town of Providence (now in Webster County) is at the top of a hill, around which three veins of coal, each five to six feet thick, are exposed, in scarcely 125 feet of measures. The Henderson & Nashville Railroad runs between numerous coal banks; in the southeast part of the county, all the creeks—Clear, Lamb, Richland, Stewart, Caney and Pond, and their tributaries—seem to run purposely to expose thick coal banks; Dozier's Mountain, Buffalo Mountain, Wright's Ridge, Bear Wallow, from base to top, look like a succession of coal, iron and limestone strata. The coal from one bank contained as little as .820, and from another as high as 2.796 per cent of sulphur.

Madisonville, the county seat, is situated near the center of the county, on the St. Louis division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, and was named for President Madison. It was incorporated in 1810, and by the last census had a population of 1,544. It is a pleasant, thriving, business town, with much push and go-ahead about it. A brick court house adorns the public square; there are a number of prosperous stores, a bank, a newspaper—the *Times*—good schools, including the Madisonville Normal School and Business College, and several fine churches. Among the other towns, villages and post-offices are Ashbysburg, Charleston, Dalton, Dawson, Earlington, Elwood, Frostburg, Gordonville, Hanson, Morton's Gap, Nortonville, Nebo, Swainville, Slaghterville, St. Charles and White Plains.

Hopkins County was named in honor of Gen. Samuel Hopkins, a native of Virginia, and a gallant officer of the Revolutionary Army. He came to Kentucky in 1797, and settled on Green River. He served several terms in the Legislature, and one term in Congress. He led several expeditions against the Indians—the last to the Wabash country, where he destroyed a number of Indian villages. After his term in Congress, he retired from public life.

There was a tradition among the early citizens of a fort or fortification in this county, of which none knew the history. It was on a high rocky hill some four miles from where Madisonville now stands. The

\* From the Geological Survey.

ortification contained about ten acres, and was walled with stone. The tradition is, that it was found by the first whites, even then bearing the marks of age, and that none knew when or by whom it was built.

JACKSON COUNTY was formed out of portions of Madison, Owsley, Estill, Laurel, Clay and Rockcastle Counties, in 1858, and was the one hundred and fifth county. It was named in honor of Gen. Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans and the seventh President of the United States. It lies in the southeastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Estill County, on the east by Owsley, on the south by Laurel and Clay, on the west by Rockcastle, and in 1880 it had 6,678 inhabitants. It is watered by tributaries of the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers, among which are Middle Fork, Indian, Laurel Fork, Pond, Sturgeon, Horse Lick, Moore's, South Fork, War Fork, etc. It is rich in mineral productions, but agriculturally it is below the average, its corn in 1880 being 244,191 bushels; oats, 15,067; wheat, 10,905, and tobacco, 1,288 pounds. The county is well timbered; its timber being of the best, and but little yet consumed, beyond home consumption. In addition to coal there has been found what was believed to be silver ore, which created the usual nine days' wonder, and then lied away. Salt was made in the early times on Horse Lick.

The settlement of Jackson County was made early. Among its pioneers were the Casteels, Fowlers, McOwens, and Harrisons. John Casteel settled on Pond Creek; Moses Parris settled on Laurel Fork, while others settled in different parts of the county.

McKee, the county seat, is situated near the geographical center of the county, and is a small place with only 88 inhabitants by the last census. It was named for Judge George R. McKee, a prominent man of Kentucky. Other villages and postoffices are as follows: Tyner, Moore's Creek, Sand Spring, Drip Rock and Egypt—all small places.

JEFFERSON COUNTY is one of the three counties into which Kentucky was divided in 1781 while still a province of Virginia. It lies on the Ohio River, and originally embraced "that part of the south side of Kentucky River which lies west and north of a line beginning at the mouth of Benson's Big Creek, and running up the same and its main fork to the head; thence south to the nearest

waters of Hammond's Creek, and down the same to its junction with the Town Fork of Salt River; thence south to Green River, and down the same to its junction with the Ohio." Such was Jefferson County as originally organized. It was named for Thomas Jefferson, governor of Virginia at the time the county was formed. At present, after some thirty counties have been formed from its territory, it is bounded on the north by the Ohio River and Oldham County; on the east by Shelby and Spencer; on the south by Spencer and Bullitt; on the west by the Ohio River, and in 1880 it had a population, including the city of Louisville, of 146,010. The county is drained by the Ohio River and a number of tributaries, the most noted of which is Beargrass Creek, a stream of historic interest in the early annals of the State. The central and western portions of the county are level, rich, productive, and in a highly improved state, while the eastern part is rolling, with a thinner soil, but produces wheat, oats and corn abundantly. Originally the county was heavily timbered.

Louisville, the county seat, is beautifully situated at the falls of the Ohio River. It was incorporated in 1780, and 100 years later (1880) had 123,758 inhabitants. It is 132 miles below Cincinnati, and 368 above the mouth of the Ohio. It is built on an elevated plain, twenty feet or more above the highest flood mark ever made by the Ohio, and some seventy feet above low-water mark. It is regularly and handsomely laid out with broad, elegant streets, which run almost due east and west and north and south. No city in the country contains more handsome buildings, magnificent residences and spacious church edifices, with learned pastors, than Louisville. Its public buildings—court house, city hall, county prison, postoffice and custom house (the latter, a new one, 1886, in course of construction), are of the best, and will compare favorably with those of any city of its size. Its public and private schools, law, medical and theological colleges, widow and orphan asylums, and other institutions, public and private, are not surpassed anywhere. Its press is not only the ablest in the South, but one of the ablest in the country, and its bar is one of erudition and brilliance. Its mercantile, mechanical and manufacturing interests are valuable, and are not the least of the city's sources of wealth and importance. It is one of the finest, if not the finest tobacco market in the world, and the thousands and hundreds of thousands of pounds handled here annually would almost "bankrupt the science of numbers" to express. Its



ample transportation facilities, both by rail and by water, add greatly to its importance as a manufacturing center.

There are quite a number of villages, railroad stations, etc., in the county. Anchorage is perhaps one of the largest and handsomest of these. It is situated on the short line division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, twelve miles east of Louisville, and is distinguished as being a beautiful suburban village, and the seat of the Central Insane Asylum. Other villages and hamlets are Buechel, Floyd's Fork, Fisherville, Fern Creek, Fairmount, Eden, Eastwood, Doup's Point, Old Deposit, Jeffersontown, Howesburg, Hikes' Point, Long Run, Lyndon, Malcott, O'Bannon's, Ormsby, Prospect, Middletown, St. Matthews, Valley, etc. Some of these are beautiful little suburban villages, and others are quite ancient places.

Louisville and Jefferson County form a prominent part in the history of Kentucky. The importance which attaches to the early settlements at "the Falls," and upon "Bear-grass," but increases in interest as time rolls on. When these settlements were made, the primeval forests surrounding them were unbroken; "the rank thistle nodded in the wind, and the wild fox dug his hole unscared." The hundred years that have come and gone have witnessed changes. The wilderness has been made "to rejoice and blossom as the rose;" the Indian trail has been obliterated by the railway track, and a city, grand and mighty in its magnificence, has risen from the swamps that bordered the falls of the Ohio. Further history of Louisville appears in preceding chapters.

The first whites, in what is now Jefferson County, were an exploring and surveying party under Capt. Thomas Bullitt, who in July, 1773, camped above the mouth of Bear-grass Creek, and remained there for six weeks, exploring and surveying the lands of Jefferson County. McMurtrie, in his sketches of Louisville, says the first regular settlers comprised "the families of James Patton, Richard Chinoweth, John Tuel, William Faith, John McManus, and one other whose name was not preserved." In the spring of 1778 they "encamped on Corn Island, opposite the present city of Louisville." In the fall of the same year they removed to the mainland and erected cabins. The next spring they were joined by other emigrants from Virginia, and thus the foundation was laid for the settlement of Louisville and Jefferson County.

James Porter, known as the "Kentucky Giant," was long a citizen of the suburb

called "Shippingport," now a part of the city. He was born in Ohio in 1810, and when but a year old his parents removed to Kentucky and located in Shippingport. He was seven feet and nine inches in height, and a remarkable fact concerning him—until fourteen years old he was unusually small for his age. He was large boned, and when in good health weighed 300 pounds. He died in 1859, in the fiftieth year of his age.

Among the prominent men of Louisville and Jefferson County—many of whom are noticed in other portions of this work—may be mentioned Col. Richard C. Anderson, Gen. Zachary Taylor, Col. Richard Taylor, Commodore Taylor, Col. John Floyd, Fortunatus Cosby, Hon. Stephen Ormsby, Thomas and Cuthbert Bullitt, Thomas Prather, Cols. William and Curran Pope, Worden Pope, Gen. Humphrey Marshall, Thomas A. Marshall, Hon. Samuel S. Nicholas, Hon. Charles S. Morehead, Hon. Thomas E. Bramlette, George D. Prentice, John H. Harney, the Speeds and Caldwells, Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau, Prof. J. Lawrence Smith, James Guthrie, H. D. Newcomb, Drs. Lunsford P. Yandell and Theodore S. Bell, etc. Many of these were descendants of the pioneers who settled about the falls and assisted in wresting the county from the savages. They were all men of note, and have left their impress upon the history of their city and State—almost upon its every page, and interspersed all through this volume will be found allusions to them and the parts they enacted.

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JESSAMINE COUNTY was created in 1798 from a part of Fayette County, and was the thirty-sixth in the order of formation. It lies in the blue-grass region, and the northern part is very rich, the land undulating and of the blue limestone type; the south part, along the river, is more broken and the soil thinner, but still highly productive. The county is bounded on the north by Woodford and Fayette; on the east by Fayette and Madison; on the south by Madison and Garrard, from which it is separated by the Kentucky River; on the west by Mercer and Woodford, and in 1880 it had a population of 10,864. The principal products are corn, oats, wheat, grass and hemp, with a very little tobacco. The soil is drained by the Kentucky River and its branches, the principal of which are Jessamine and Sinking Creeks. The latter is something of a natural wonder. Rising in this county, it flows in a westerly direction

and in Woodford County unites with another creek, and together they form Clear Creek. It sinks into the ground four times, and each time runs under the ground from a quarter of a mile to a mile, then rises again to the surface and flows on as before. When the volume of water is too great to sink into the earth, it rises, sometimes until fifty feet deep and a mile wide.

The Elkhorn River, a branch of the Kentucky, from the southeast, waters a country fine beyond description. Indeed, the country east and south of this, including the head waters of the Licking River, Hickman's and Jessamine Creeks, and the remarkable bend in the Kentucky River, may be called an extensive garden. The soil is deep and black, and the natural growth, large walnuts, honey and black locust, poplar, elm, oak, hickory, sugar tree, etc. Grape vines run to the tops of the trees; and the surface of the ground is covered with clover, blue-grass and wild rye. On this fertile tract, and the Licking River, and the head waters of the Salt River, are the bulk of the settlements in this country.\*

Nicholasville, the seat of justice, is situated near the center of the county about thirty-five miles from Frankfort. It is a place of 2,300 inhabitants by the last census, and was named for Col. George Nicholas. It has the usual public buildings, several handsome churches, schools, both select and private, a number of flourishing stores, and the general supply of shops, factories, etc. Other villages and postoffices in the county are Camp Nelson, Hanly, High Bridge, Keene, Little Hickman, North Tower and Sulphur Well.

"The Devil's Pulpit" is one of the curiosities to be found in the county. Collins thus describes it:

At the foot of the stairway stands the Pulpit, rising from the very brink of the main ledge, at more than 200 feet of an elevation above the river, but separated from the portion which towers up to the extreme height. The space is twelve feet at bottom, and as the cliff retreats slightly at this point, the gap is perhaps thirty feet at the top. The best idea that can be formed of this rock is to suppose it to be a single column, standing in front of the continuous wall of some vast building or ruin, the shaft standing as colonnades are frequently built upon an elevated platform. From the platform to the capital of the shaft is not less than 100 feet, making the whole elevation of the "Devil's Pulpit" 300 feet. It is called by some the inverted candlestick, to which it has a striking resemblance. There are two swells, which form the base moulding and occupy about forty feet of the shaft. It then narrows to an oblong of about three feet by six, at which point there are fifteen distinct projections. This narrow neck continues with some irregularity for eight or ten feet, winding off at an angle of more than one degree from the line of gravity. Then commence the increased swell and craggy offsets, first overhanging one side, and then the other, till they reach the top or cap rock, which is not so wide as the one below it, but is still fifteen feet across.

Camp Nelson, a noted place during the late civil war, is in this county. It is situated on the Kentucky River, at the mouth of Hickman's Creek, and was named in honor of Gen. William Nelson. It was established in 1863, and occupied by the Government troops until the close of the war. There is a United States cemetery here, where,

On Fame's eternal camping ground,  
sleep many soldiers, whose battles are o'er.  
It is beautifully improved and kept in excellent order by the Government.

Jessamine County was named for Jessamine Creek, and a sad and touching incident furnished a name to the creek. A Scotchman, named Douglass, entered the land around the source of the creek, which is in this county, and settled there when Indians still infested the country. He had a daughter, Jessamine Douglass, and he bestowed her name upon the stream. One day she was sitting on a large rock near the head of the creek, wholly unconscious of danger, when an Indian stealthily crept up and buried his tomahawk in her brain.

JOHNSON COUNTY was organized, in 1843, from parts of Lawrence, Floyd and Morgan, and was the ninety-seventh formed in the State. It is situated in the eastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Lawrence County; on the east by Martin; on the south by Floyd and Magoffin; on the west by Morgan and Magoffin, and in 1880 it had a population of 9,155. Its products are corn, wheat, oats, etc.—372,073 bushels of corn in 1880; 17,267 bushels of wheat; 21,892 bushels of oats; its exports are horses, cattle, hogs, lumber and coal. The county is drained by the south fork of the Big Sandy River and its tributaries.

Paintsville, the county seat, is situated on Paint Creek, in the central part of the county. It is a small place of 310 inhabitants by the last census. Flat Gap and Barnett's Creek are small places of 100 or 200 inhabitants.

The county was named in honor of a distinguished Kentuckian—Col. Richard M. Johnson, the supposed slayer of the Indian chief, Tecumseh. He was born in 1781, and was educated in the schools of the period, finishing off at Transylvania University. He commenced the study of law with Col. George Nicholas, who died soon after, and he then completed his studies with Hon. James Brown, the first United States senator from Kentucky, or from the Mississippi Valley.

\*Morse's American Geography, published in 1789.



Mr. Johnson was a man of the highest sense of honor, and withal, honest to a fault. In the practice of law "he despised injustice and oppression, and never omitted an occasion to render his services, without prospect of reward, where honest poverty or injured innocence was found struggling against the oppression of wealth." He was elected to the Legislature as soon as old enough to be admitted to a seat, and served several terms, at different periods of his life. He participated, with distinction, in the war of 1812, and commanded a regiment at the sanguinary battle of the Thames, where both commander and regiment acted with the utmost gallantry and contributed greatly to the success of the day. Col. Johnson has always been accredited with having "killed Tecumseh," the commander of the Indians in that hard-fought battle.

Col. Johnson, after the close of the war, served several terms in Congress and in the national Senate, and in 1836 was elected Vice-President of the United States, on the ticket with Martin Van Buren. In 1840 they were defeated for re-election by William Henry Harrison and John Tyler. He then retired to his farm in Scott County, where, with the exception of a couple of terms in the State Legislature, the remainder of his life was spent. He died in 1850, in the seventieth year of his age.

KENTON COUNTY, one of the smallest in the State, was created in 1840, and was the ninetyeth in order of formation. It was clipped off the western portion of Campbell County, and was named for that grand old hero and pioneer, Simon Kenton, who, like Daniel Boone, is extensively mentioned in preceding chapters. The county is a narrow strip of country, twelve miles wide and twenty-five long, lying between Campbell County on the east, and Boone County on the west, with the Ohio River on the north, and Pendleton and Grant Counties on the south. By the last census it had a population of 43,983, including the city of Covington. The soil of the river bottoms is rich and productive; the uplands are rolling, but produce fine crops of grain and tobacco, as shown by the agricultural report of 1880: Corn, 428,102 bushels; oats, 29,405; wheat, 55,049; and tobacco, 2,322,771 pounds. There are many fine vegetable gardens and dairy farms around Covington. The Shortline, Kentucky Central, and Cincinnati Southern Railroads all penetrate the county,

and these, together with the Ohio and Licking Rivers, afford the best of market facilities.

The first white visitors, to what is now Kenton County, were a small company under Christopher Gist, agent of the Ohio Company. They crossed the Licking River near its mouth in March, 1751, and were the first white men ever upon its waters, so far as definitely known. In 1756 Mrs. Mary Inglis and a companion, making their escape from the Indians, passed through the county. Several parties of emigrants, explorers and surveyors either camped at the mouth of the Licking or landed there on their way to their places of destination. The mouth of the Licking River was one of the prominent points in the navigation of the Ohio, and was also a place of rendezvous of Kentucky troops on several expeditions against the Ohio Indians.

The first actual settler of the county is claimed to have been Edmond Rittenhouse, who, with his family, attempted to make a settlement at Bank Lick in 1793, but was driven away by the Indians. He fled to Ruddle's Station, where he remained until 1795, when he returned and settled on the west side of the Licking, a little below Three-Mile Ripple. John Martin, with his family, settled near by about the same time. Representatives of these families are still living in the county.

Independence, the original county seat, is situated on the Louisville & Cincinnati Shortline Railroad, about twelve miles south of Covington. It is a small place of 165 inhabitants, in 1880, and no longer of any great importance. Nearly all the county business is transacted now at Covington, and the courts are mostly held there also, while it may be said of the old capital:

A place for idle eyes and ears,  
A cobwebbed nook of dreams;  
Left by the stream whose waves are years,  
The stranded village seems.

Covington is situated on the Ohio River at or just below the mouth of the Licking and opposite the city of Cincinnati. It is the second largest city in the State, and in 1880 had 29,720 inhabitants. The following description was recently given of it: "It occupies a nearly level site, and is pleasantly situated. A noble suspension bridge across the Ohio connects it with Cincinnati. It also has a suspension bridge connecting it with Newport. Covington is the northern terminus of the Kentucky Central Railroad, and is connected with Louisville by another railroad." The town is handsomely laid out, and

its streets, which run south from the river, have the appearance of being but a continuation of the streets of Cincinnati. It has some fine public buildings—a court house and city hall, and a magnificent postoffice and custom house. Its religious and educational facilities are ample, comprising between twenty and thirty churches (white and colored), a most excellent system of public schools, and several Roman Catholic schools. It has several newspapers, water and gas works, a number of banks, and a large and flourishing mercantile business. Considerable manufacturing is carried on, and several large establishments are located here. Its fine shipping facilities make it a most advantageous market, especially for tobacco.

Covington was established in 1815 by an act of the Legislature, and the plat recorded in August of the same year. It was named in honor of Gen. Covington, and the streets named for eminent and wise Kentuckians, viz.: Gov. Shelby, Gov. Garrard, Gov. Greenup, Gov. Scott, Thomas Kennedy, who originally owned the land on which the town was laid out, and Gen. Thomas Sandford, the first representative in Congress from this part of the State. At the time of the laying out of the town the street west of Scott Street was left without a name, waiting the result of the election, and was then called Madison, in honor of George Madison, who was elected governor. The original site of the town comprised 150 acres of land, purchased in 1814 from Thomas Kennedy, by Gen. John S. Gano, Richard M. Gano and Thomas D. Carneal, for \$50,000, and designed especially for a town.

Kenton County has a number of villages dotting its plains and hill-sides. The largest, perhaps, is Ludlow, situated on the Ohio River a short distance west of Covington, and has about 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, stations and postoffices are Fishburg, Milldale, Visalia, Bromley, Mullins and Benton.

Gen. Leonard Stephens and Col. John Sanderson were among the prominent men of Kenton County. Both filled many public positions, and served several terms in the Legislature. The former died in Boone County and the latter in Covington. Gen. Thomas Sandford came to Kentucky prior to 1800, and settled near where Covington now stands. He served several terms in the Legislature, and was elected to Congress in 1803, and served two terms. His death was a melancholy one; he was drowned in the Ohio when but forty-six years old.

James T. Morehead, one of the eminent

men of Kentucky, died in Covington in 1854. He was born near Shepherdsville in 1797. When but three years old his father removed to Russellville, where James grew to manhood. He studied law with Judge Broadnax, one of the early judicial lights of Kentucky, and later with John J. Crittenden. He served several terms in the Legislature, and in 1832 was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with John Breathitt. Gov. Breathitt died in 1834, and Mr. Morehead filled out his unexpired term as governor. In 1841 he was elected to the United States Senate.

John W. Stevenson was a native of Virginia, and was educated at Hampden-Sidney College, and at the University of Virginia. He read law and was admitted to the bar, and went to Vicksburg, Miss., where he practiced for several years, and in 1841 removed to Kentucky, where he recently died. He represented the county several terms in the Legislature, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1849; he was elected to Congress in 1857, and re-elected in 1859. He was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with John L. Helm. The latter died five days after his inauguration, and Mr. Stevenson was inaugurated governor, and at the next election was elected to fill out the term. He was elected United States senator in 1869, and after filling the term retired from public life.

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KNOTT COUNTY lies in the extreme eastern part of the State and is one of those "superfluous creations" designed chiefly for political purposes. It was established in 1884, and was the one hundred and seventeenth county in order of formation. Its territory was contributed by Floyd, Letcher, Perry and Breathitt, and its name by Hon. J. Proctor Knott, governor of the commonwealth at the time of its formation. It is bounded on the north by Breathitt, Magoffin and Floyd Counties; on the east by Floyd and Pike; on the south by Letcher, and on the west by Perry and Breathitt. It is rough, hilly and broken, and its principal wealth lies in its timber and mineral productions. Says a late writer referring to this county:

Many of the later counties owe their origin to other motives than the demands of a sound public policy, and a number of "pauper counties" have been added to the list, the existence of which is prejudicial to nearly every interest concerned. Knott County is a conspicuous example of this unfortunate legislation.

Hindman, the seat of justice, is situated near the center of the county, and was named in honor of the present (1886) lieutenant-gov-



ernor of the State. It is distinguished for nothing in particular, except that of being the capital of the youngest county (but one) in the State. Other hamlets and postoffices are Carr's Fork, Sassafras and Carson.

KNOX COUNTY was formed in 1799, and was the forty-first in the State. It was formed out of a part of Lincoln County, is situated in the southeastern part of the State and is bounded on the north by Laurel and Clay Counties; on the east by Bell County; on the south also by Bell County; on the west by Whitley and Laurel Counties, and in 1880 it had 10,587 inhabitants. The county, with the exception of the river bottoms, is generally hilly. Corn is the principal product, but cattle and hogs are raised in great numbers. It is drained by the Cumberland River, which flows through the southern part, and a number of tributaries. The county was named for Gen. Henry Knox, a gallant soldier of the Revolutionary war, and one of Washington's most trusted officers.

Barboursville, the seat of justice, is situated on the Cumberland River a little south of the geographical center of the county, and by the last census had 250 inhabitants. Other towns, villages and postoffices are Jarvis' Store, Payne's, Crane Nest and Flat Lick—all small places.

Among the good and great men of Knox County may be mentioned Joseph Eve, Franklin Ballinger, Samuel F. Miller, Green Adams, George Madison Adams, Silas Woodson, etc. The mountain air seems conducive to brains as well as health, as the gentlemen, whose names are mentioned, were men of eminence and ability. Mr. Eve represented the county ten years in the Senate and House of Representatives, served long as circuit judge, and in 1841 was appointed *charge d'affaires* to the republic of Texas,\* and died in that service. Mr. Ballinger was statesman and circuit judge; Mr. Miller practiced law in Barboursville, went to Iowa and became a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. Green Adams served several terms in Congress, and was appointed by President Lincoln sixth auditor of the treasury; George M. Adams served eight years in Congress; Mr. Woodson served in the Legislature, was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1849, went to Missouri and finally became governor of the State.

\*Four years later Texas was admitted into the American Union.

LA RUE COUNTY was organized in 1843. It was taken from Hardin County, and bears the name of John La Rue, an early settler, and a prominent and good man. The northern part of the county is rough and broken, extending into the Muldrow Hills; the eastern portion is undulating and is productive, while the western part partakes more of a level nature, and produces well. Corn and tobacco are raised in abundance, and the cereals to some extent considerable attention is paid to stock raising, particularly to that of hogs, the report for 1880 showing the following: Corn, 556,184 bushels; oats, 67,575; wheat, 96,848; tobacco, 350,350 pounds; horses and mules, 4,130 head; cattle, 6,075; sheep, 4,721, and hogs, 19,824. The county is bounded on the north by Hardin and Nelson Counties; on the east by Marion and Taylor; on the south by Hart and Green; on the west by Hardin, and in 1880 it had 9,793 inhabitants. The principal streams are Rolling Fork, Nolin and Otter Creeks. A pioneer incident gave name to Nolin Creek, as follows:

On the south side of the creek, near the county seat, is a knoll or hill some thirty feet above the level of the surrounding country. On the top of this knoll is a level spot of about two acres. Among the pioneers of this section was a preacher named Benjamin Lynn, and with others he erected a camp on the summit of the knoll. Shortly after, they went out hunting and Lynn became separated from the others, who supposed he had returned to the camp but arriving there he was nowhere to be seen, and one of the party remarked: "Here is the knoll, but no Lynn." Hence the name Nolin. The same circumstance of Lynn getting lost gave rise to the name of Lynn Camp Creek, as described in the sketch of Hart County.

Among the early settlers of La Rue County were John La Rue, for whom the county was named; Robert Hodgen, for whom the county seat was named; Philip Philips and Benjamin Lynn. Philips, who was a surveyor, erected a fort on the north side of Nolin Creek, about 1780-81. The first settlements in the county were made around this fort or block-house. La Rue and Hodgen brought quite a colony with them, and remained in Philips' fort until it was deemed safe beyond its protecting walls, when they scattered and made settlements in different parts of the county.

Hodgensville, the seat of justice, is situated on Nolin Creek, in the southwest part of the county, about fifty miles south from Louisville, and was named for Robert Hodgen, who located the land upon which it was laid out. It is a small town of 382 inhabitants by the last census. It has the usual county buildings, churches and schools. Buffalo and Magnolia are small villages. Uptonville is quite a stirring village, and is situated on the

Louisville & Nashville Railroad, partly in La Rue and partly in Hart County.

A number of relics of the prehistoric period, consisting of mounds, fortifications, etc., have been discovered in this county. One of the most interesting of these is thus described:

On one of the bluffs of the Rolling Fork, where the creek makes a short below, is to be seen a stone wall three or four feet high. The walls at the elbow extend across the level land from cliff to cliff, and must have constituted at the time of its construction an impregnable fortress. The cliff is about 200 feet high and so precipitous that an invading army could not possibly scale it where there was any show of resistance.

Abraham Lincoln was born in this county, though at the time of his birth it was a part of Hardin County. There are many people still living in Hardin and La Rue Counties who remember the Lincolns. Stuve, in his *History of Illinois*, says: "His father (Abraham Lincoln's) took up a land claim in La Rue County, Ky., of 300 acres, rough, broken and poor, containing a fine spring, known to this day as the 'Linkum Spring.' Unable to pay for the unproductive land, that claim was abandoned, and the family moved from place to place in the neighborhood. These removals occurring while Abraham was scarcely more than an infant, have given rise to different statements as to the exact place of his birth. It is said that in that part of Kentucky four places claim the honor." There is little doubt but that Mr. Lincoln was born in that portion of Hardin County now in La Rue, but his parents were married in Washington County. Of this there is indisputable evidence to be seen in the clerk's office at Springfield, in the record of the marriage. His father, however, removed to Hardin County shortly after his marriage.

Gov. John L. Helm was born in this county while it was yet a part of Hardin. In the history of Hardin County, and in the sketch of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, more is said of him.

Gen. Henry E. Read was long a citizen of this county. He was a prominent lawyer, politician and soldier. He served in the Mexican war, and was severely wounded in the battle of Chapultepec. For his gallantry he was presented with a handsome sword by the Legislature of Kentucky. He was a general in the Confederate Army during the civil war, and also represented his district in the Confederate Congress. He died in Louisville in 1869, at the age of forty-four years.

LAUREL COUNTY was created in 1825, and was the eightieth in the order of formation. Its

territory is composed of bits of Rockcastle, Knox, Clay and Whitley Counties, and its name is received from the Laurel River, which flows through the southeastern part; and the name "Laurel" was given to the river (according to tradition) on account of the great quantity of the laurel shrub which grew upon its banks. The county is bounded on the north by Rockcastle and Jackson; on the east by Clay and Knox; on the south by Knox and Whitley; on the west by Pulaski and Rockcastle, and in 1880 it had a population of 9,131 inhabitants. It is drained by the Laurel River and its tributaries. The principal products are corn and oats; hogs and cattle are raised extensively.

Laurel County is rich in mineral resources. Iron ore has been discovered but not in paying quantities. Coal abounds almost everywhere in the county; lead ore is believed to exist, and at one time the famous "Swift Silver Mine" was supposed to be in this county. There are a number of mineral springs, and the streams furnish the very finest of water-power. This latter will, no doubt, sooner or later be utilized by the thrifty Swiss settlers, who have recently located in the county, and who are mentioned in a preceding chapter.

London, the seat of justice, is situated on the Knoxville branch of the Louisville & Nashville system, and is a small town of 215 inhabitants. It has the usual public buildings, business, etc. Other villages and post-offices are Hazel Patch, Bald Rock and Lily.

LAWRENCE COUNTY dates back to 1821, and was the sixty-ninth in the order of formation. It was taken from parts of Floyd and Greenup Counties, and named for Capt. James Lawrence, of the United States Navy. [See Lawrenceburg, Anderson County.] It lies in the extreme eastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Carter and Boyd Counties; on the east by the State of West Virginia, from which it is separated by the Tug Fork and the Big Sandy River; on the south by Johnson County; on the west by Morgan, Elliott and Carter Counties, and in 1880 it had 13,362 inhabitants. The surface is hilly and broken, but is fertile and produces well, as is shown by the agricultural report of 1880: Corn, 472,071 bushels; oats 35,188, and wheat, 16,953. The county is well watered and drained by the Big Sandy and a number of streams flowing into it. Fine timber abounds, such as oak, poplar, beech, walnut, chestnut, etc. The log business is



one of the large industries of the county. Coal and iron ore exist in many sections; the former is as fine a quality of bituminous coal as can be found anywhere.

Louisa, the seat of justice of the county, is situated on the Big Sandy, at the confluence of the West and Tug Forks. It is quite a business town, and by the last census had a population of 496. It was laid out in 1822, and has the usual public buildings, stores, churches, schools, etc. Other villages and postoffices are Cherokee, Blaine, Peach Orchard, Glenwood, Lowmanville and Webbville.

The first settlement, probably, in this county, was made, in 1789, by Charles Vancouver. He built a fort in the forks of the Big Sandy, and hired a number of men to cultivate a crop of corn. The settlement was finally broken up by the Indians, who stole the horses and committed other depredations.

LEE COUNTY is among the youngest in the State, dating back to 1870, and was the one hundred and fifteenth in order of formation. It was taken from Owsley, Breathitt, Estill and Wolf Counties, and was named for Gen. Robert E. Lee, the great Confederate chieftain. It lies east of the center of the State, and is bounded on the north by Powell and Wolfe Counties; on the east by Wolfe and Breathitt; on the south by Owsley; on the west by Estill, and in 1880 it had a population of 4,252. It lies on both sides of the main fork of the Kentucky River, and is watered by that stream and its tributaries. The valleys and bottoms along the streams are rich, and produce corn, oats and wheat in abundance; the uplands are hilly and broken. In 1880 there were produced 146,725 bushels of corn and other grain in like proportion. A great many hogs are raised. Coal of a superior quality exists in great quantity, and is extensively mined and shipped down the Kentucky River. Iron ore is found in many places, but is not worked. Log and lumber are an extensive and valuable business.

Beattyville, the seat of justice, is situated on the Kentucky River at the confluence of the three forks, about 100 miles above Frankfort. It is the head of navigation for several months during the year. It contains a substantial court house, several churches, and the usual stores and shops. Proctor is situated across the river from Beattyville, and is quite a business place. Canaan is a small place, of some fifty inhabitants, in the southeast part of the county.

LESLIE COUNTY is the youngest but two in the State. It was formed in 1878 from Clay, Harlan and Perry Counties and was the one hundred and sixteenth in the order of formation. It lies in the eastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north and east by Perry County; on the south by Harlan County; on the west by Bell (formerly Josh Bell) and Clay Counties, and in 1880 it had a population of 3,740. The surface is rough and mountainous, and the land heavily timbered. Corn, oats and wheat are the principal crops, and in 1880 were produced 111,255 bushels of corn, 1,328 oats, and 1,681, wheat. It lies in the mineral region, but its lack of transportation renders its mineral resources of but little value. The county was named for ex-Gov. Preston H. Leslie, a sketch of whom is given in Barren County. Hyden, the seat of justice, is situated a little north of the geographical center of the county. It is a small place of fifty-seven inhabitants in 1880, and has the usual public buildings. Sandy Fork and Coon Creek are small villages in the southern part of the county.

LETCHER COUNTY was formed in 1842, and was the ninety-fifth established. It was taken from Harlan and Perry Counties, and named in honor of Robert P. Letcher, then governor of the commonwealth. It is situated in the eastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Perry and Floyd Counties; on the east by Floyd and Pike Counties and the State of Virginia; on the south by Harlan County; on the west by Perry County, and in 1880 it had a population of 6,601. The county is hilly and mountainous, the Cumberland and Black Mountains bordering it on the southeast, while Pine Mountain passes through it. Notwithstanding the rough and broken surface, the land produces well, the report of 1880 showing as follows: Corn, 215,547 bushels; wheat, 10,622; oats, 8,804, and rye, 2,284. Cattle, hogs and wool are the principal exports.

Whitesburg, the capital of the county, was named for Hon. C. White, a member of the Legislature at the time the county was formed. It is a small place, with eighty inhabitants by the last census, and has the usual public buildings. Other villages and postoffices are Oven Fork, Partridge, Lewis Creek, Line Fork, King's Creek, Rockhouse and Rosedale.

The county, like all this portion of the State, is rich in mineral wealth. Coal is

plenty, and mines are to be seen in many places, but no coal is mined except for home use. Iron ore abounds, but like the coal is not mined for export. Medicinal springs are common in every section. There is water-power in the county for countless factories, and the finest of timber is abundant.

Gov. Letcher, for whom this county was named, was born in Garrard County. He studied law, and was several times elected to the Legislature. He served ten years in Congress. He was elected governor in 1840 on the Whig ticket, receiving 15,720 majority. He died January 24, 1861, in Frankfort.

LEWIS COUNTY was formed from a part of Mason County in 1806, and was the Forty-eighth in the State. It was named for Capt. Merriwether Lewis, companion of Clark in the exploring expedition over the Rocky Mountains in 1803-6. It is situated in the northeast part of the State on the Ohio River, which forms its northern boundary, with Greenup County on the east, Carter, Rowan and Fleming on the south, and Fleming and Mason on the west. It had 13,154 inhabitants by the last census. The face of the country is somewhat broken and hilly, and the soil of a medium quality. The southeastern portion is mainly valuable for the timber and tan bark. It is drained by the Ohio River and tributaries flowing through the county, of which the principal ones are Kinokinnick and Cabin Creek, and their bottoms and that of the Ohio River are rich and productive. The chief crops are corn, oats, wheat and tobacco, and in 1880 there was produced 584,939 bushels corn; 84,551 bushels of oats; 100,342 bushels of wheat, and 1,036,996 pounds of tobacco. The principal exports are cattle, horses, hogs, lumber, tan-bark and building stone.

Vanceburg, the present capital of the county, is situated on the Ohio River, thirty miles above Maysville and ninety-one above Cincinnati. It is a town of 1,095 population by the last census. It has the usual public buildings, churches, schools, stores and general business. Clarksburg, the former county seat, is situated three miles west of Vanceburg, but its glory has passed away. Other villages and postoffices are Cabin Creek, Concord, Burtonville, Mouth of Laurel, Poplar Flat, Petersville, Quincey and Tolesboro.

Capt. Thomas Bullitt made the first survey of lands in this county in 1773. He was on his way to the falls of the Ohio to survey lands for Gov. Dunmore of Virginia. The sur-

vey was made in what was known as "Forman's Bottom" on the Ohio River. Capt. Bullitt afterward sold it to James Triplett, and he to William Triplett. The latter in 1776 located upon the land, and together with Samuel Wales, Willis Edwards and others improved it.

There is considerable of historic interest connected with Lewis County. Three Islands was a place of importance in the pioneer period. It was near the northwest corner of the county, and it was here the 500 pounds of gunpowder was hidden for the Kentucky settlements mentioned in a preceding chapter. The mouth of Cabin Creek was a noted crossing for war parties of Indians on their way to and from Kentucky. Two roads led from it to the Upper Blue Lick; one was known as the "Upper War Road," and the other as the "Lower War Road" sometimes as the "Buffalo Trace." The mouth of Sycamore was also a noted Indian crossing.

There is some fine building stone in this county. In the hills below Vanceburg is a fine vein of freestone, similar to that across the river in Ohio, and which is considered among the best building stones in the world. Near Vanceburg is a large quarry of slate stone, and near the water's edge is a ledge of white limestone said to produce very white lime. A short distance above Vanceburg is a quarry of alum rock, and on Salt Lick Creek near Vanceburg is a copperas bed, while in the near vicinity there is a bed of clay suitable for stone ware and fire brick. There are a number of springs in the county, mostly chalybeate and white sulphur; there are also salt springs, from which in early times this portion of the State was supplied with salt.

LINCOLN COUNTY, together with Fayette and Jefferson, was one of the three counties into which Kentucky was divided in 1780 by the Legislature of Virginia. From its original territory have been formed wholly or in part, Mercer, Madison, Logan, Green, Pulaski, Knox, Casey, Rockcastle and indirectly a great many others. The name was given in honor of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, a gallant officer in the Revolutionary war and who was in command of the American Army at Charleston, S. C., when it was captured by the British in 1780. The county lies in the east central part of the State and is bounded on the north by Boyle and Garrard Counties; on the east by Garrard and Rockcastle; on the south by Rockcastle, Pulaski and Casey; on the west by Casey and Boyle, and in 1880



it had 15,080 inhabitants. The surface is rolling and in places hilly, with a general fertile soil. The range of hills extends from the southern part to the center of the county and then to the westward from a "divide," and the streams south and west of it flow into the Green and Cumberland Rivers, and north of it into the Kentucky River. The principal products are corn, wheat and oats with small crops of tobacco. In 1880 the agricultural statistics were 628,807 bushels of corn; 13,942 bushels of oats, and 98,946 bushels of wheat. The exports are chiefly horses, mules, cattle, hogs and wool.

Settlements were made as early in this county as in any portion of the State, with few exceptions. Benjamin Logan, one of the famous pioneers of Kentucky, and whose name was as highly honored as any of the heroes of the "dark and bloody ground," came to what now forms Lincoln County and erected a fort which was known as Logan's Fort at St. Asaph's, about a mile from where Stanford now stands. This settlement and the gallant services of Col. Logan are detailed in preceding chapters of this volume and require no further mention here. Other early forts and stations in the county were Crow's, Craig's, Carpenter's, Casey's, Crab Orchard, Clark's, Cane Run, Gilmer's, Forks of Dick's River, McKinney's, Knob Lick, Whitely, Wilson's, Pettit's, Montgomery's and Worthington's. Among the early settlers in the county were Samuel Daveiss and his family, William Montgomery, Joseph Russell, Capt. William McClure, Col. John Logan, Capt. Joseph Daveiss, father of the famous lawyer, Joseph Hamilton Daveiss, and a number of others who came prior to 1790 and settled around the different stations.

Stanford, the present capital of the county, (Harrodsburg was the first county seat) is situated on the Knoxville branch of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 103 miles from Louisville. It is quite an attractive town, with 1,218 inhabitants by the last census. Of it Collins says:

Lincoln County in 1781 embraced an immense territory, extending from Cumberland Gap to the Mississippi River—all that lay south of the Kentucky River, and all south and west of the Green River. Harrodsburg was central enough in territory, but not in population, the bulk of which lay east of that town. At the February term, 1781, Col. Benjamin Logan came into court and offered ten acres of land at his station, or St. Asaph's, including the Buffalo spring, for building a courthouse and other public buildings, and also fifty acres, one mile distant, nearly southeast from said spring (now Stanford), so long as the court of Lincoln County shall continue there. The court resolved: "As it appears to the court to be the most convenient place, it is ordered that the courts be held there for the future."

Stanford is thus one of the old towns of Kentucky. It has a brick courthouse, several handsome churches, good schools, a number of flourishing stores, one of the ablest newspapers in the State outside of Louisville, and the usual number of shops and factories. Its location on the railroad near the junction of the Richmond branch makes it a fine shipping point.

Crab Orchard, twelve miles southeast of Stanford, and on the same railroad, is a village of 538 inhabitants. It was a noted station on the "old Wilderness road," the great route of travel between Virginia and the Kentucky settlements a century ago. It is now, and has been for fifty years or more, a popular summer resort. The accommodations are excellent, and no watering-place in the State, perhaps, is more frequented during the summer months, or more fashionable as a resort than Crab Orchard.

The Crab Orchard neighborhood, in the eastern part of Lincoln County, is distinguished for the number, variety and excellence of its mineral springs. They were known in 1857 as: 1, the two Crab Orchard springs (Caldwell's), both chalybeate; 2, Brown's spring, chalybeate, half a mile on the Lancaster turnpike; 3, Howard's white sulphur well, one and a half miles out on the Mount Vernon road; 4, Epsom spring, No. 1, one mile out on the Lancaster turnpike; 5, Epsom spring at Toley's, half a mile from the center of Crab Orchard, on the Fall Dick road; 6, Sowder's spring, one and a half miles out on the north of the hill toward Dick's River; 7, Bryant's springs, near Crab Orchard seven in number—chalybeate, sulphur, etc. The "Crab Orchard salts," obtained by carefully evaporating the water of the two Epsom or of Sowder springs to dryness in iron kettles, have been sold by druggists throughout the country. They are less drastic and more tonic than pure unmineralized Epsom salts, and more likely to act on the liver in the manner of calomel when taken in small doses.

Hustonville is a village of 353 inhabitants situated in the western part of the county. Other towns, villages and postoffices are Milledgeville, McKinney, King's Mountain Station, Highland, Hall's Gap and Mount Salem.

The Knob Licks are a kind of natural wonder. The "Knobs," as they are called, are a number of hills, some of them over 200 feet high, and perhaps 150 yards in diameter at the base. They are of a "soft dry slate formation," and are intersected by numerous ravines. A peculiarity is they are wholly destitute of vegetation, and present a rather naked appearance.

As Lincoln County contained the original seat of justice for Kentucky, a few statistics are repeated here that are given elsewhere. The first court held in the State was in the town of Harrodsburg, which was then in the

\*Prof. Robert Peter in Geological Survey.

county, January 16, 1781. The first sheriff was Col. John Bowman; the first clerk was William May; the first surveyor—then an important county office—was James Thompson, and the first county lieutenant was Col. John Bowman.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY was organized in 1798, out of a part of Christian County, and was the twenty-ninth in order of formation. It is situated in the extreme western part of the State, and bounded on the west and north by the Ohio River; on the east by Crittenden and Monroe Counties; on the south by Marshall County, from which it is separated by the Tennessee River, and in 1880 it had a population of 9,165. The Cumberland River flows through the county, and with the Tennessee and Ohio forms the boundaries on nearly three sides; it is well supplied with water highways and with drainage. The face of the county is undulating, but in places level. It is well timbered, and the bottom lands are rich. The staple products are corn, wheat, oats, Irish potatoes, etc., the following being the statistics for 1880: Corn, 1,074,616; wheat, 62,465; oats, 29,072; Irish potatoes, 73,053, and tobacco 769,578 pounds. The principal exports are horses, mules, cattle, sheep and hogs.

Smithland, the capital of the county, is situated on the Ohio River, at the mouth of the Cumberland, twelve miles above Paducah and 310 below Louisville. It is a town of 100 inhabitants by the last census. It has the usual public buildings, churches, schools and general business. Other towns, villages and postoffices are Salem, Carrsville, Oakridge, Birdsville, Frenchtown and Pinkneyville.

Livingston County has little of historical interest beyond the mere fact of its settlement. The first entry of land was made in 1784 by William Brown, at the mouth of the Cumberland River. Lusk's Ferry, over the Ohio River between this county and Golconda, Ill., was one of the principal crossing places for emigrants on their way to the Illinois territory. The county was named in honor of Albert R. Livingston, a distinguished American statesman (a native of New York), and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

LOGAN COUNTY was the thirteenth county formed, and one of seven organized in 1792, immediately after the State was admitted into

the Union. It was named for Gen. Benjamin Logan, who, like Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, is mentioned extensively in preceding chapters. At the time of its organization it occupied nearly all that part of Kentucky lying south of the Green River, and from its original territory has been created wholly, or in part, Christian, Warren, Muhlenburg, Butler, Simpson and Todd, while many of these have, in turn, contributed to the formation of others. It lies on the southern border of the State, and is bounded on the north by Muhlenburg and Butler Counties; on the east by Warren and Simpson; on the south by the State of Tennessee; on the west by Todd County, and in 1880 it had a population of 24,358. The principal water courses are the Green, Red, Muddy and Gasper Rivers, and their tributaries, Black Lick, Whippoorwill and Wolf Lick Creeks. The southern portion of the county is what was termed the "barrens;" it lays well, is very rich and productive, and is highly improved. The northern part is more rolling, and was originally well timbered, but contains many fine tracts of land and highly cultivated farms. It is the ninth county in the State in the production of corn and the seventh in tobacco, the agricultural report of 1880 showing the following: Corn, 1,181,699 bushels; wheat, 340,262; oats, 130,659; tobacco, 6,039,983 pounds, and of stock: horses, 5,132; mules, 3,740; cattle, 8,870; hogs, 38,513. The railroad facilities are good, the Owensboro division of the Louisville & Nashville system diverging from the main line in the county.

The first white visitors to Logan County of whom there is any definite account, were the surveyors employed to run the boundary line ("Walker's line") between Kentucky and Tennessee. In the memory of many still living, there were to be seen many trees standing within the present limits of the county, bearing names and dates cut in their bark. Stations, forts and settlements were made as early as 1780. In this year a station was made on the Red River, known as Maulding's; another on the Muddy River; one on the present site of Russellville, and several others a few years later. A Mr. Smart settled in 1782 on the Elk Fork of the Red River, a short distance southwest of where Russellville stands.

Russellville, the seat of justice, is situated near the center of the county, at the junction of the Owensboro division and the main line of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. It was laid out in 1795, incorporated in 1810, when it was the eighth town in the State in



point of population. It was named in honor of Gen. William Russell, a valiant soldier in the Revolutionary war, and the owner of the land upon which it was located. It has a brick courthouse and other public buildings, excellent schools, academies and colleges, a number of handsome churches, flourishing stores, an excellent newspaper—the *Herald-Enterprise*, and the usual amount of manufacturing industries.

The county is dotted with pleasant little villages. Among them are Adairville, Auburn, Baugh's Station, Cave Spring, Costelow, Dennis, Dallam's Creek, Homer, Keysburg, Lewisburg, Olmstead and South Union. The latter is an exceedingly neat and handsome little village of about 100 inhabitants, most of whom are Shakers. The other villages range in population from 500 souls down to a half-dozen, with a cross-roads store, post-office and blacksmith shop.

Logan County has produced many prominent men. In this the county has kept pace with the most favored ones of the commonwealth. A writer upon the subject says:

Four times the gubernatorial wreath of Kentucky has crowned the statues of her fame—John Breathitt, James T. Morehead, John J. Crittenden and Charles S. Morehead. Four times the spotless mantle of the chief-justice of the commonwealth has fallen upon the shoulders of those who were members of the bar—Ninian Edwards, George M. Bibb, Ephraim M. Ewing and Elijah Hise. Three times the laurels of the foreign ministry of the Nation have been worn with honor by those who were her citizens—Anthony Butler, Ninian Edwards and Elijah Hise. Four times the chief-executive chairs of other States have been filled by those who went forth from her midst—Ninian Edwards, to Illinois; Richard K. Call, to Florida; Robert Crittenden, to Arkansas, and Fletcher Stoekdale, to Texas; besides these, William L. D. Ewing was lieutenant-governor of Illinois. She has sent forth one major-general of the United States Army, James Boyle, and one surgeon-general of the same, Dr. D. McReynolds, and one supreme judge of Mississippi, Joseph E. Davis.

Many of these distinguished men are mentioned in other portions of this work, leaving but little to be said in this connection. One distinguished character, however, requiring a brief mention is Hon. Ninian Edwards. He was born in Maryland in 1775, received an excellent education, and studied law and medicine, in both of which he became proficient. In 1798 he located in this county and was several times elected to the Legislature. He was appointed judge, and in rapid succession filled the positions of circuit judge, fourth judge of the court of appeals, and chief justice of Kentucky.

Judge Edwards, in 1809, was appointed, by President Madison, governor of the Illinois Territory. He accepted the po-

sition and was twice re-appointed, in 1811 and 1816 respectively, and upon the admission of the State into the Union he was elected to the United States Senate. In 1821 he was elected governor of the State over which he had presided three terms while yet a territory. Gov. Edwards died in 1833, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

John McLean was born in North Carolina in 1791, and was brought by his father to Logan County in 1795. His educational advantages were limited, but by dint of energy and perseverance he acquired a good English education. He studied law and was admitted to the bar, and in 1815 removed to Shawneetown, Ill., and in that State his brief career was run. He was elected to the first Congress after Illinois was admitted to the Union as a State, and was frequently afterward elected to the State Legislature, and was twice elected to the United States Senate. He died in 1830, aged thirty-nine years.

LYON COUNTY was established in 1856 and was the one hundred and second created in the State. It was formed from a part of Caldwell County, and is situated in the western part of the State, on the Tennessee River. It was named for Col. Chittenden Lyon, a character in his way, and without man of much local and political prominence. The county is bounded on the north by Crittenden and Livingston Counties; on the east by Hopkins and Christian; on the south by Trigg; on the west by the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, and by Livingston County, and by the last census it had 6,700 inhabitants. The Cumberland River flows through the western part, while the Tennessee forms the western border of the county, thus watering and draining it well. A portion of the land is level, a portion undulating, and a portion broken and hilly, with heavy timber. The soil is rich and fertile, producing great quantities of tobacco and potatoes, and fruits in abundance. In 1880 it produced 405,802 bushels of corn; 12,116 of oats; 26,485 of wheat; 10,080 of Irish potatoes, and 980,403 pounds of tobacco. Iron ore abounds, and considerable quantities of it are annually exported. A number of furnaces have been established and iron manufactured extensively. With the facilities of transportation—the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad, and the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers—Lyon County has every inducement to become a great manufacturing region.

Eddyville, the seat of justice, is situated on the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Ra-

ad, and on the north bank of the Cumberland River, about forty-five miles above its mouth. There is said to be a cavern, over half mile in length, extending under the town, from the mouth of which flows a large stream of water. It has the usual public buildings, churches, schools and general business, and in 1880 it had 390 inhabitants.

Eddyville enjoys the distinction of having been the capital of two different counties. When Caldwell was formed in 1809 it was made the county seat. It was afterward removed to Centerville but in a short time changed back to Eddyville, and finally removed to and permanently established at Princeton. When Lyon County was formed Eddyville was made its capital, an honor and dignity it has ever since retained. Other towns and villages are Kuttawa, a young and enterprising place of 294 inhabitants and with a fine run of business, and the Tennessee Rolling Works, Eureka, Star Lime Works and Lamasco.

Col. Chittenden Lyon, for whom this county was named, was a man of considerable prominence in this portion of the State. He served a number of terms in the State Legislature and also in Congress. He is represented as having been a large man, fully six feet high and weighing 350 pounds. He was the champion fighter of the old fashioned times when a man used his fists instead of a 42-caliber Smith & Wesson to settle his neighborly differences. The following is related of him:

He was engaged in an exciting race for Congress, and during the contest a man named Andy Duncan, so large and powerful a man, a noted fighter and political bully, bitterly opposed him. He challenged Lyon to combat, and proposed that if Lyon could whip him in a fair and square fist-fight, he (Duncan) could vote for him. This was a bit of pastime Lyon could not resist, and the preliminaries were soon settled. A hard fight it proved for neither could yield, and friends finally interfered and separated them. It was enough, however, to make them good friends, and Duncan, while not really whipped, voted for Lyon with hearty good-will.

Hon. Matthew Lyon, the father of Col. Chittenden Lyon, was a remarkable man of the period in which he lived. He was a native of Ireland and possessed all the fire and native eloquence of that spirited race. He was born in 1746 and died in the Arkansas territory at the age of seventy-six years. About 1765 he came to America and to the new England States, and when the Revolutionary war broke out he joined the patriots and served through the entire struggle. He published a newspaper, served several terms in Congress and bitterly opposed the administration of John Adams and the Federalist

party. He was in Congress when the contest came up in the House of Representatives between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr for the Presidency, and on the thirty-sixth ballot Mr. Lyon ended the seven days' balloting by casting the vote of his State (Vermont) for Mr. Jefferson, thereby electing him over Aaron Burr. In the spring of 1801 he came with his family to Kentucky; they came down the Ohio and up the Cumberland River into Caldwell County where they founded Eddyville. He served several terms in the Legislature, and in Congress from 1803 to 1811—eight years. This closed his political career in Kentucky, and in 1820 he moved to Arkansas.

MADISON COUNTY is one of the nine established by the Legislature of Virginia prior to Kentucky becoming a State. It was formed from a part of Lincoln County in 1785—the seventh county formed—and was named for James Madison, the fourth President of the United States. It lies in the east-central part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Fayette and Clark Counties, from which it is separated by the Kentucky River; on the east by Estill County; on the south by Rockcastle; on the west by Garrard and Jessamine, and in 1880 it had 22,052 inhabitants. It is a fine agricultural region, and the largest of the blue-grass counties; the soil is mostly rich and produces well, the agricultural report of 1880 showing the following: Corn, 1,192,350 bushels; wheat, 129,652; oats, 33,601, and rye, 44,590. Stock as follows: horses, 6,554; mules, 2,783; cattle, 18,193, and hogs 30,292. The county is drained by the Kentucky River and tributaries, among which are Otter, Muddy, Tate, Drowning and Silver Creeks. The mineral wealth is considerable, and consists of shot-iron ore, bituminous coal and hydraulic stone. Sulphur springs are numerous; one of the best white sulphur springs in the county is about fourteen miles east of Richmond, and years ago was quite a public resort. A black sulphur spring is situated near the old town of Boonesborough. This is strongly impregnated with salt, and was a deer and buffalo lick in early times.

John Finley or Findlay was doubtless the first white man in what is now Madison County. In 1767 he came out on a trading and hunting expedition. He was a professional Indian trader and understood the Indian character thoroughly. Two years after his first visit he conducted Daniel Boone, Joseph Holden, William Cool, James Mooney,



John Stewart, etc., on their first trip to Kentucky. Mr. William Chenault, in an historical sketch of the county, says:

Madison County is perhaps more closely connected with the early history of Kentucky than any other in the State, and it is believed that even an imperfect account of its settlement will be of more than local interest. There are hundreds of citizens scattered throughout this State and Missouri, whose ancestors came from this county, and whose children and grandchildren naturally feel deep interest in the early struggles of the pioneers of Madison County. While Madison was not organized as a separate county quite so early as either Lincoln, Fayette or Jefferson, its history for a time was that of Kentucky, and the trials and struggles of its first settlers constitute an important part of the early history of the commonwealth.

The settlement of the county and its history are very fully given in the preceding chapters of this work; a few facts may, however, be repeated here. Mr. Collins informs us, in his excellent history, that Madison County was first permanently settled in 1775, but that it was visited in 1769 by Daniel Boone and John Stewart, and the McAfee brothers and Samuel Adams in 1773. To again quote from Dr. Chenault:

The local records of the county show that Col. John Snoddy and William Ward visited the county in 1773, and that Michael Stoner was at Mulberry Lick in 1774. Although Daniel Boone was occupied a portion of the year 1775 in building a fort at Boonesboro, and bringing his family and goods from North Carolina, still he must have traveled over the country considerably in 1775. From records in the county clerk's office, it appears that he was on Muddy Creek during that year, and there "made an improvement for his friend, James Wharton." It appears from the same testimony that he was at the Wallace Estill Spring in company with John Boyle, and that Boyle there "made an improvement and also planted a few peach seeds." In June, 1775, immediately after the building of the Boonesboro fort, Squire Boone built a cabin in the county at Jerusha's Grove, on Silver Creek, and commenced building a mill at "Boone's old mill site." He was preparing to move his family to that place in October, 1775, when he sold the cabin to Joseph Benny, and the land adjoining to George Smith.

Much more might be given similar to the foregoing extracts, but it is so clearly a repetition of what appears in the early pioneer history of the State it is deemed needless, and the reader, desiring to become familiar with the early history of the county and of Boonesborough, is referred to the preceding chapters.

Richmond, the capital of the county, is situated a little northeast of the geographical center of the county. It was first settled by John Miller in 1785, but not incorporated as a town until 1809. It is the terminus of the Richmond branch of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, and by it is 138 miles from

Louisville and thirty-four miles from the Knoxville division of the Louisville & Nashville system. It is one of the best towns of its size in the State, and a most excellent business point, with 2,909 inhabitants in 1880. It has a handsome courthouse—one of the finest in the State—and other public buildings of a good order; several fine churches, representing the different religious denominations, and the usual number of professional men. Good public schools, select academies and the Central University afford ample educational facilities.

Central University is located at Richmond. The buildings stand in a lot of ground a quarter of a mile square, near the head of Lancaster Avenue. "This location," says the writer upon the subject, "is the highest point in the blue-grass plateau of the county, and water from the roof of the main building drains into three distinct streams—Tate's, Otter and Silver Creeks." The college building is four stories high, and proportionately commodious otherwise. Of its origin, the same writer quoted from above says:

Central University owes its origin to the alumni of Center College, who were in connection or sympathized with the Southern branch of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, the Northern synod having retained control of the present institution. The university was established under the joint auspices of the Synod of Kentucky and the Alumni Association. The government of the institution is committed to the chancellor and fifteen ex-senators, two-thirds of whom must be members of the Alumni Association. By this plan it was intended that the dangers which arise from exclusive State or church control would be avoided.

The university within the past two years has been greatly enlarged and improved. It is now a university in the true sense of the term, and comprises eleven schools. They are all in charge of able scholars and fitted up and furnished with everything necessary for conducting them to the best advantage for the student. The institution is sufficiently large, and has a faculty capable of instructing all who seek it for knowledge.

Milford was the original seat of justice in Madison County, and was established in 1785. It was situated about four miles southwest of the present town of Richmond, but has now disappeared from the face of the map. Here the first courthouse was built, but the first term of court was held at the house of George Adams, and the second at the house of David Gass. The seat of justice was removed in a few years to Richmond, a proceeding that provoked the bitterest feeling on the part of the Milfordites, and was the cause of many fist-fights between the champions of the two towns.

Berea is a pretty little town, situated fifteen miles south of Richmond, and in 1880 had a population of 580. It is the seat of Berea College, a sketch of which is given in a preceding chapter. Other villages and postoffices in the county are Big Hill, Boonesboro (which has about disappeared as a village), College Hill, Duncannon, Edenton, Foxtown, Harris, Kirksville, Kingston, Silver Creek, Speedwell, Rogersville, Union City, Waco, White Hall, Wallacetown, etc.

Madison County has turned out a number of prominent men. Some of these are mentioned in connection with other counties. Among those who are not noticed elsewhere are Nathaniel Hart, Christopher and William Irvine, Col. John Speed Smith, Judge Daniel Breck, Gen. Cassius M. Clay and Christopher Carson. The latter was familiarly known as "Kit Carson," and was a noted scout, hunter and trapper on the western frontier. He was born in this county on Tate's Creek in 1809, and when quite young, his father, Lindsay Carson, emigrated to Howard County, Mo., then the very western border of civilization. But few men ever lived who equaled him as a scout, hunter and a guide. He served in the latter capacity to John C. Fremont in his western explorations, and was one of the pioneers in the wool trade of California; in 1853 he drove 6,500 sheep across the plains, an enterprise of great hazard. He died at Ft. Lynn, Col., in 1868, aged fifty-eight years, and Carson City, the capital of Nevada, perpetuates the name of the great borderer.

Gen. Cassius M. Clay was born in this county and is yet living. Judge Daniel Breck was a native of Massachusetts and was born in 1788. He came to Kentucky in 1814 and located in Richmond, where he engaged in the practice of law, rising rapidly to distinction. He was elected to the Legislature in 1824, and was re-elected for several terms after; he originated a number of important measures, among them the system of internal improvement, and the Northern Bank of Kentucky. In 1843 he was appointed one of the judges of the court of appeals, which position he held six years, and upon retiring was elected to Congress. He died in Richmond in 1871, and Gov. Stevenson appropriately noticed his death in a message to the Legislature—his last official act before retiring from the gubernatorial chair. Samuel Estill was a brother of Capt. James Estill, and was a noted pioneer and Indian fighter.

Col. John Speed Smith was one of the prominent lawyers and statesmen of this county. He was born in Jessamine County,

and upon being admitted to the bar came to Richmond. The Richmond bar was then one of the ablest in the State, and he soon became one of its leading members. He served repeatedly in the Legislature and the State Senate, and in 1821 was elected to Congress. He was appointed by President John Quincy Adams, secretary of legation to the South American Mission, and by President Jackson, United States attorney for Kentucky. He filled other prominent positions, in all of which he discharged his duties faithfully.

The Irvines, Christopher and William, were pioneers and early settlers in this county. They came about 1779 and settled near where the town of Richmond stands, and at once took a prominent part in the border struggles of the period. Christopher raised a company and joined Gen. Logan's expedition against the Ohio Indians, in which expedition he was killed. William was quite as active in border life. He was in the bloody battle known as "Estill's defeat," in which he was severely wounded, and but for a heroic comrade named Proctor, who remained with him and cared for him, he would have lost his life. Upon the formation of Madison County he was appointed clerk of the court, an office he held until his death, which occurred in 1820. Irvine, the county seat of Estill County, perpetuates the names of these two brothers.

Capt. Nathaniel Hart came to Kentucky in 1775. He was connected with the Transylvania Land Company—Richard Henderson & Co.—and it was principally through his negotiations that the company succeeded in purchasing the lands of the Indians. Capt. Hart, in 1782, while riding carelessly out alone was shot and scalped by the Indians.

MAGOFFIN COUNTY is of modern formation (1860)—the one hundred and eighth in the catalogue of counties. It lies in the eastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Morgan and Johnson Counties; on the east by Johnson and Floyd; on the south and southwest by Breathitt; on the west by Breathitt and Morgan; and in 1880 it had 6,944 inhabitants. The surface of the country is generally rough and broken; the valleys and bottoms are rich and highly productive. In 1880 the productions were corn, 267,726 bushels; oats, 20,643; wheat, 14,801; tobacco, 11,464 pounds; horses, 1,407; cattle 4,301, and hogs 12,091. The mineral wealth of the county consists of iron ore, and coal of a very superior quantity.



The first settlement made in Magoffin County, or the territory now forming it, was about the year 1800, by Archibald Prather, Ebenezer Hanna, John Williams, Clay Cook and others. They were from South Carolina, and had attempted a settlement in 1794, but had been driven away by the savages. Their settlement was made at Licking Station, about a mile below the present town of Salyersville, in a bend of the river.

Salyersville, the capital of the county, is situated a little north of the geographical center of the county. It was established as the county seat in 1860, and was named for Hon. Samuel Salyer, a representative in the Legislature at the time of the formation of the county, and who was instrumental in passing the act creating it. It is a small place; has a brick courthouse, the usual stores, churches and schools. Other villages and postoffices are Trace Fork, Whittakerville, Puncheon, Ivyton, Nehemiah and Johnson's Fort.

The county was named in honor of Hon. Beriah Magoffin, the seventeenth governor of the Commonwealth. He was born in Harrodsburg, Ky., in 1815, and died a few years ago. He graduated at Center College, Danville, in 1835, and in the Lexington Law School in 1838. He was elected to the State Senate, declined a nomination to Congress, was a candidate for lieutenant-governor in 1855, but was defeated; was elected governor in 1859, over Joshua F. Bell, the candidate of the American party. He was district delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore in 1848, Cincinnati in 1856, and Charleston in 1860. After the late war he retired from public life. The excitement of his gubernatorial term is noticed in chapters on the civil war in this volume.

MARION COUNTY dates back to 1834 and was taken off the southern end of Washington County. It was the eighty-fourth in the order of formation and was named for Gen. Francis Marion, a partisan officer of the Revolutionary war—the "Swamp Fox of the Carolinas." It is situated in the central part of the State and is mostly fine farming land—a limestone soil based on red clay. It is bounded on the north by Nelson and Washington Counties, on the east by Boyle, on the south by Taylor, on the west by La Rue and Nelson, and in 1880 it had a population of 14,693. The Muldrow Hills form the boundary between it and Taylor County and the Rolling Fork of the Salt River runs through the southern part of the county at the foot of the hills.

Other small streams draining the county are Pope's, North Fork, Cloyd's and Collamer's. The principal crops are corn, oats, wheat, with a little tobacco, as follows: Corn, 745,464 bushels; oats, 56,920; wheat, 77,852 and tobacco, 101,980 pounds. Stock—horses, 4,693; mules, 1,946; cattle, 8,511; sheep, 9,140; hogs, 21,500; whisky is also produced in large quantities. Iron ore is found in the hills of the county but not in paying quantities. The geological survey of the State developed the following singular phenomenon:

The southern boundary line of the county is the dividing ridge of the Muldrow Hills, separating the waters of the Rolling Fork and the Salt River on the north from those of Pittman's Creek and the Green River on the south. These hills are more than 500 feet above the bed of the Rolling Fork. In going northward there is no corresponding descent. The face of the country south of the Rolling Fork—extending from Casey County around to the Ohio River—is considerably higher than in the counties to the north bordering on the same stream. This exceptional peculiarity in the formation of the earth in this region gives force and interest to the theory of Volney, who contended that a large portion of central Kentucky was once the bed of an immense lake extending into Indiana and perhaps into a portion of Ohio, which broke through its southern wall or bank and thus formed the Ohio River. The Silver Creek Hills in Indiana correspond in elevation to the Muldrow Hills in Kentucky, and being opposite and on the west side of the Ohio River, may have formed a portion of the southwestern border of the supposed lake. This hypothesis, too, will account for the numerous petrifications of a marine formation found all over this part of Kentucky. \* \* \*. Another peculiarity of this region is the numerous knobs, some of them conical or sugar-loaf in form, extending all along the Rolling Fork on the north, apparently of the height of the Muldrow Hills, perhaps once connected with them but detached by some violent commotion of nature.

The early settlers of what is now Marion County were mostly from Virginia and Maryland. From the latter State came many of the old Catholic families whose descendants are still numerous and prominent in this section of Kentucky. Among the early settlers of the county were the families of Spalding, Wickliffe, McElroy, Abell, Wathen, Graves, Tucker, Smock, Ray, Philips, Averit and Yowell.

Lebanon, the seat of justice, is situated near the sources of Hardin's and Cartwright's Creeks, and on the Knoxville division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad sixty-seven miles from Louisville. It is a beautiful and enterprising little city of 2,054 inhabitants, and was founded or "commenced" by Ben. Spalding and incorporated in 1815. It was named by Spalding, Lebanon, on account of the groves of cedars that surrounded it in early times. A brick courthouse and other commodious public buildings are among its

"accomplishments," while many handsome residences add beauty to the place. It has an excellent newspaper—the *Standard*. It contains some dozen church edifices, representing the different denominations and both the white and colored people. Good schools are not the least of its attractions, and those who cannot be pleased or accommodated in the city, can find at St. Mary's and at Loretto the best of select schools.

The county is dotted over with pleasant little villages. Among these are Bradfordsville, with 150 inhabitants, Calvary, Chicago, Gravel Switch, Loretto, New Market, Penick, Raywick, Riley, St. Mary's and Rush Branch. These are small places, some of them being only railroad stations.

Few counties in the State are in a more flourishing condition than Marion. The farms are highly improved, are in a fine state of cultivation, and everything indicates thrift and prosperity. Its excellent turnpike roads are further illustration of its enterprise and wealth, having nearly 100 miles of such roads in the county.

Lebanon witnessed some stirring scenes during the late civil war; it was quite a battle ground. The first battle was fought on the 18th of September, 1861, and was more excitement than real fight and carnage. The second battle took place July 12, 1862, and was more a capture of the town by Gen. John Morgan than an actual battle. The third battle was on the 5th of July, 1863, and was a rather severe one. The Federals were commanded by Col. Charles Hanson, and comprised some 300 of the Twentieth Kentucky Infantry. The Confederates comprised a detachment of Morgan's cavalry; the Federals lost five killed and the Confederates twenty-five. These battles, however, are more minutely given in preceding chapters. A soldiers' cemetery was laid out in January, 1863, about a mile from town, and there a large number of gallant soldiers sleep.

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MARSHALL COUNTY was established in 1842, and was the ninety-second in the order of formation. It is one of the counties lying in the Jackson Purchase, and is bounded on the north by Livingston and Lyon Counties, from which it is separated by the Tennessee River; on the east by Lyon and Trigg; on the south by Calloway, on the west by Graves and McCracken, and in 1880 it had a population of 9,647. It was named in honor of Chief Justice John Marshall, who died a short time previous to the organization of the

county. The principal water courses are the Clark's River, West Fork, Cypress, Sugar and Jonathan Creeks. The soil is generally fertile, and the timber good of all kinds common in this section of the State. Grain and tobacco are the principal productions, and in 1880 the agricultural report showed as follows: Corn, 602,913 bushels; wheat, 47,755; oats, 32,014, and tobacco, 1,411,692 pounds. It has the advantage of the Tennessee River for transportation, and the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad, which passes through the north part.

Marshall County was not settled as early as some of the counties east of the Tennessee River, the first settlement being made about 1818-19, by James Stewart. He located on Wade's Creek, a short distance north of the old town of Wadesboro. Quite a number of families came in soon after Mr. Stewart.

There is a mineral spring near Calvert City, said to contain strong medicinal properties. On top of a hill some three miles from Benton is a "sink-hole," or lake, sixty yards in diameter and fifty feet above the bed of the creek. In the southwestern part of the county were found the remains of an Indian town.

Benton, the seat of justice, is situated near the geographical center of the county, and is a small place of 277 inhabitants. It was laid out on land donated for a county seat by Francis Clayton and John H. Bearden; the former furnished thirty acres, and the latter fifty acres. It was incorporated as a town in 1845, and named for Thomas H. Benton, the distinguished Missouri senator. It has the usual public buildings, churches, schools,—the Marshall County Seminary—and general business.

Birmingham is the second largest town in the county (224 inhabitants) and is situated on the Tennessee River, about ten miles from Benton. It is a place of considerable business, and is quite a shipping point. Other villages and postoffices are Palma, Olive, Brewer's Mill, Oakland, Briensburg and Calvert City. The latter is the only shipping point on the railroad in the county.

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MARTIN COUNTY, the youngest county in the State but two, was created in 1870, and was the one hundred and sixteenth in the order of formation. It drew its territory from Johnson, Pike, Floyd and Lawrence Counties, and was named in honor of Col. John P. Martin. It is situated in the east-



ern part of the State, and has for its northern boundary Lawrence County and the State of West Virginia; is bounded on the east by the latter, from which it is separated by the Tug Fork of the Big Sandy River; on the south by Floyd and Pike Counties; on the west by Johnson and Lawrence Counties, and in 1880 it had a population of 3,057. The water courses are, besides the Tug Fork, Rockcastle, Wolf and Daniel's Creeks. The county is broken and mountainous, but has some rich creek and river bottoms, which are very rich and productive. In 1880 it produced corn, 104,527 bushels; oats, 3,817; wheat, 1,431, and a very little tobacco.

Warfield, the seat of justice, is a small place, situated on the Tug Fork, and has some 200 inhabitants. Steamboats proceed thus far up the river in good stages of water. Coal and salt are shipped in large quantities from here in flatboats and barges. Peter Cave and Inez are small places in the county.

Col. John P. Martin, from whom the county receives its name, was born in Virginia in 1811, and died in Prestonburg, Ky., in 1862, scarcely past the prime of life. He held numerous public positions, and served several terms in the Legislature and in Congress; was a candidate for lieutenant-governor in 1848, but was defeated by John L. Helm; was a delegate to the Democratic convention that nominated James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge for President and Vice-President in 1856. No man, perhaps, wielded a greater influence in the mountains of Kentucky than Col. Martin, and none was more popular with the masses.

MASON COUNTY was established by the Legislature of Virginia before Kentucky became a State. It was formed in 1788, and was the eighth in the order of organization. Mr. Collins gives the following sketch of its formation:

It was formed out of all that part of the then county of Bourbon which lay to the northeast of Licking River, from its mouth to its source; thence by a direct line to the nearest point on the Virginia State line, and county line of Russell; thence along said line to the Big Sandy River, down that river to the Ohio, and down the Ohio to the mouth of the Licking—embracing all the territory out of which have been formed (wholly or in part) the following counties: Campbell (part), in 1794; Bracken, in 1796; Fleming and part of Pendleton, in 1798; part of Floyd and part of Nicholas, in 1799; Greenup, in 1803; Lewis, in 1806; Lawrence and part of Pike, in 1821; part of Morgan, in 1822; Carter, in 1838; Johnson, in 1843; Rowan, in 1856; Boyd and Magoffin, in 1860; Robertson, in 1867; Elliott, in 1869, and Martin, in 1870—nineteen in all.

Mason County lies in the northeastern part of the State, and as at present limited is bounded on the north by the State of Ohio from which it is separated by the Ohio River on the east by Lewis County; on the south by Fleming; on the west by Robertson and Bracken, and in 1880 it had a population of 20,469. It is drained by the Ohio River, and the following streams which flow into it: Limestone, Beasley, Kennedy, Lawrence, Bull, Cabin, Lee's, etc., and the North Fork of the Licking, with the tributaries—Shannon, Wells, Bracken and Mill Creeks. The face of the country alternates between rolling, undulating, broken and hilly, with a rich and fertile soil—much of it being the finest of blue-grass land and highly productive, as shown by the report of 1880; corn, 1,011,105 bushels; oats, 20,706; wheat, 385,347, and tobacco, 6,261,385 pounds. It is also a stock producing county, 1880 showing 4,890 horses, 936 mules, 9,574 cattle, 7,446 sheep, and 26,824 hogs. Mason County tobacco has a reputation unsurpassed by any tobacco produced in the State, and but few counties produce more hemp.

Among the white visitors to the original Mason County, and who visited it prior to the first permanent settlement were, first, Christopher Gist,\* and a boy, in the early spring of 1751. The next whites, and the first white females, were Mrs. Mary Inglis and a German woman, who had been captured by the Indians, and were making their escape in 1756. The next were a company of adventurers and explorers in 1773. Capt. Thos. Bullitt and the McAfee company, frequently mentioned in this work, were also here for a short time in 1773. Another company often visited the county in 1773, under Capt. Thomas Young and John Hedges, and camped for several days where Maysville now stands. In 1774 William McConnell was in the county, and several companies of explorers and improvers. In 1776 great numbers of visitors flocked to the county, but it was not until several years later that a permanent settlement was made.

Kenton's Station was established in July 1784. It had, however, been used as a camp by Kenton eight or ten years before, perhaps about 1775. This station was located some three miles southwest of Maysville, and one mile north of Washington. This was one of the important sections in the early times, and Maysville (Limestone) was one of

\*Christopher Gist, frequently mentioned in this work, was sent out by the Ohio Company, to hunt up their lands, measure the breadth in several places, and fix the beginning and bound in such a manner that they may be easily found again by the description. While engaged in this work, as shown by his journal, he visited many spots in Kentucky.—[Collins, Vol. II, p. 548.]

the earliest known points in Kentucky, and hence is fully treated of in the pioneer history of the State.

Maysville, the seat of justice, is situated on the Ohio River, sixty-one miles above Cincinnati, 193 above Louisville, and sixty-five miles from Lexington by rail. It was originally called Limestone, and was established by an act of the Virginia Legislature, in 1787. It bore the name of Limestone for several years and was then changed to Maysville, in honor of John May, one of the original proprietors of the land upon which the town stands. The location is a beautiful one, being a bank or table-land above high water mark, and is handsomely built, with a population by the last census of 5,220. It is the northern terminus of the Maysville division of the Kentucky Central Railroad.

Maysville, for a number of years after it was laid out, was somewhat retarded in its growth by Washington—a town that completely overshadowed it. In 1848 it (Maysville) became the county seat, and since then its growth and its prosperity have steadily increased. It has a brick courthouse, with fireproof offices attached; a number of handsome churches, good schools, an exceptionally able press, a large mercantile trade and the usual manufacturing interests.

Washington was one of the old towns of the State, and was originally laid out in 1785, and the next year was regularly established by an act of the Virginia Legislature. It was the seat of justice from the organization of the county until 1848 when Maysville succeeded to that honor. It was designed for a city of "vast proportions," its original plat containing about 700 acres, a rather large foundation for a town a hundred years ago in the wilds of Kentucky. It was long one of the principal places in the State, and as it was established about the close of the Revolutionary war and given the illustrious name of Washington, no doubt its founders and projectors entertained aspirations of its some day becoming the national capital. But with the removal of the county seat to Maysville, Washington started down the "slope of decline," and now, in the midst of its "parks and streets"

The bat,  
Shrill shrieking, woos its flickering mate,  
The serpent hisses and the wild bird screams.

The census reports show that in 1790 it had 462 inhabitants; 1800 it had 570, and in 1810 it had 815; that in 1870, it had but 240—the census of 1880 not giving its population separate from the magisterial district in which it is located.

Charlestown was another village established by the Virginia Legislature, and was laid out in 1787. It was situated on the Ohio River at the mouth of Lawrence Creek, on land belonging to Ignatius Mitchell. It is one of the towns that never amounted to much, except—on paper. Other towns, villages, stations and postoffices are Dover, a town of considerable importance, Germantown, Helena, Lewisburg, Minerva, Mount Gilead, Mayslick, Marshall, Murphyville, North Fork, Rectorville, Sardis, Tuckahoe, etc.

Mayslick in early times was a place of considerable note. It was at first called "May's Lick" or "May's Spring;" the latter name was attached to it on account of a large spring adjacent, and the former for its being a deer and buffalo lick. It was located on lands belonging to John May, and was named for him. It was twelve miles from Maysville, and just when it was laid out is not definitely known, but as early perhaps as 1790; in 1880 it had 355 inhabitants, but other towns growing up around it have deprived it of much of its former glory and prosperity.

George Mason, John May, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, Judge Adam Beatty, Judge Walker Reid, Gov. John Chambers, the Collinses, Col. James C. Pickett, Maj.-Gen. Thomas S. Jesup, Judge Lorin Andrews, Judge William McClung, Rev. John A. McClung, Col. William Henry Wadsworth, Judge Elijah C. Phister, Gen. William Nelson, Dr. Daniel Drake, Aaron H. Corwine, Judge John Cobun, Col. Devall Payne, Dr. Basil Duke, Col. Alexander D. Orr, Capt. Thomas Marshall, Alexander K. Marshall, Gen. Henry Lee, Capt. Isaac Baker, Col. Timothy Downing and Capt. James Ward, are among those whose names are inscribed upon the roll of Mason County's greatness. Space will not permit a notice of all these in this chapter. Mason and May, the first two mentioned, and for whom the county and county seat were named, the one a pioneer and the other a statesman, could scarcely be called citizens of the county. Mason never came to Kentucky to live, but was a prominent statesman of Virginia and the compeer of Jefferson, Madison and Patrick Henry. May came to Mason County, and owned considerable lands, among which was that Maysville and Mayslick were located on. He was killed by the Indians on a boat descending the Ohio, in 1790, a circumstance mentioned in a preceding chapter. Gen. Nelson and Gen. Johnston receive due notice in the war history, where both figured conspicuously.

The Collins family is a prominent one in this portion of the State. Judge Lewis Col-



lins was born December 25, 1797, in the present county of Fayette. He learned the printing business and in 1820 became editor and proprietor of the Maysville *Eagle*. He edited and published the first edition of Collins' "History of Kentucky." He died at Lexington January 29, 1870, aged seventy-two years. Many of the names given above were residents of the county but a short time, while many of the others have been noticed elsewhere.

McCracken County lies in the western part of the State in the "Jackson Purchase," and was organized in 1824. It was the seventy-eighth county in the order of formation and is bounded on the north and northeast by the Ohio and Tennessee Rivers, on the east by Marshall County, on the south by Graves County, on the west by Ballard County, and in 1880 it had a population of 16,262 inhabitants. It is drained by streams flowing into the Mississippi, Ohio and Tennessee Rivers; into the former, Mayfield Creek; into the Ohio, Willow, Massac, Newton's and Perkins' Creeks and Spring Bayou, and into the Tennessee River the Clark River and Island Creek. The face of the country partakes something of the nature of the prairies inasmuch as it is level and almost entirely without stone, but differing from the prairies in that it is heavily timbered. Tobacco is the great staple, but grain and stock are extensively produced, showing: corn, 483,776 bushels; oats, 30,677; wheat, 64,549; tobacco, 2,419,825 pounds; horses and mules, 3,230; cattle, 3,875; sheep, 2,282, and hogs, 16,058. In addition to river transportation the county has the benefit of the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad, or as now called the "Newport News & Mississippi Valley Railway."

Among the early settlers of McCracken County were Charles Ferguson, John Rollins and James Davis, who settled near the present site of Paducah about 1820-21; near the old town of Wilmington, Luke Swetman, Dr. J. D. Martin, Braxton Small, Frederick Harper, William Titsworth, John Webb and others settled between 1820 and 1825. About the same time, or a little later, other settlements were made in different parts of the county.

In the vicinity of Paducah were a number of what is generally supposed to have been Indian mounds, but most probably were remains of the prehistoric inhabitants, who, from all the relics and remains left of them, were numerous in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys. Silver and lead ore are believed to

exist and the latter has been found, but not in paying quantities. A number of mineral springs are in different parts of the county. A spring on Massac Creek is said to possess strong medicinal properties.

In the absence of solid beds of freestone and limestone for constructions in the quaternary formation, a substitute is found in the so-called "Cement Rock." This has been formed or is forming by the infiltration of chalybeate waters through the gravel which underlies the fine loams and marls of this region—cementing it into a ferruginous conglomerate which can be used for underpinning, walling up wells, and similar purposes. Near the mouth of the Clark River it occurs in considerable quantity, and can be observed in the process of formation; near Ballard's Ford are immense masses of the same kind of rock. It has also been observed at Robb's Mill, Kenton's farm, on Perkin's Creek, five miles from Paducah. At Robb's Mill are solid ledges of hard ferruginous and quartzose sandstone in the high ground southeast of Mr. Robb's house, which probably belong to the age of the Millstone grit series. Masses of the same material exist also along the waters of the Clark River and Mayfield Creek. (Geological Survey.)

Paducah, the present seat of justice of McCracken County, is beautifully situated on the Ohio River, at the mouth of the Tennessee, forty-seven miles above Cairo, Ill., 322 below Louisville by way of the river, and 225 by the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad. In point of population it is the fifth city in the State, having, by the last census, 8,036 inhabitants. It was laid out and platted May 26, 1827, for William Clark, of St. Louis, to whom the land belonged on which it is located. It was incorporated in 1830 as a town, and in 1856 as a city. Its founders, no doubt, intended it as a great commercial and manufacturing center, from its advantageous location on the Ohio and Tennessee Rivers, and contiguity to the Cumberland, Mississippi, Wabash, etc. Although its railroad facilities are limited it does not lack in the water transportation. It is one of the prettiest towns on the Ohio River, having broad and elegant streets, crossing each other at right angles, and upon which stand many handsome buildings. It is perhaps the finest tobacco market in the State outside of Louisville. It has a substantial courthouse, a handsome government building, a new city hall, an able press, many magnificent churches, palatial residences, good schools, and the usual amount of manufacturing industries. Of the name of the town, a late writer says:

Concerning the origin of the name Paducah (spelled "Paduca" in the act of the General Assembly fixing it as the county seat), several theories are advanced; but the one which, owing to its romantic character, seems to have commended itself most thoroughly to popular credence,

is the doctrine that in the olden time an Indian chief was buried on the banks of the Tennessee, near the present Jersey, a suburb, and that his name was given to the beautiful town. The romance which surrounds this hypothesis will not be willingly sacrificed by the average Paducahian.

Wilmington, the original county seat, was situated about ten miles nearly due west from Paducah and was laid out in 1827. Public buildings were erected, and it continued as the seat of justice until 1832, when by an act of the Legislature the county seat was removed to Paducah, and the glory of Wilmington departed forever. Other towns, stations and postoffices in the county are Woodville, Bond Station, Massac, Belgrade Landing, Norton's Bluff, Gum Spring, Maxon's Mill, Collier's and Florence Station.

The county was named for Capt. Virgil McCracken, a native Kentuckian. He was born in Woodford County, and grew up amid the dangers and perils of the early times in Kentucky. In the war of 1812 he raised a company of riflemen, joined Col. John Allen's regiment, and in the fatal battles of the River Raisin met the fate of a large proportion of the members of that ill-fated regiment.

McLEAN COUNTY was organized in 1854, and was the one hundred and third in the order of formation. It was taken from Daviess, Ohio and Muhlenburg Counties, and named in honor of Judge Alney McLean.\* It is situated in the western part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Daviess County; on the east by Ohio; on the south by Muhlenburg; on the west by Hopkins and Webster; and in 1880 it had 9,223 inhabitants. It is watered and drained by the Green and Pond Rivers, and by Long Falls, Big Brushy Fork, Cypress, Yellow, Buck, Abe's and Delaware Creeks, etc. A portion of the county is undulating, and a portion level (that known as the "Green River flats"), and upon the whole, is a fine tobacco producing section. Grain and stock also receive considerable attention. The agricultural report of 1880 showed the following: Corn, 542,349 bushels; oats, 45,752; wheat, 69,643; tobacco, 3,729,616 pounds; horses and mules, 3,548; cattle, 3,875; sheep,

4,269, and 17,738 hogs. The county has the advantage of both railroad and river transportation.

The first settlers of McLean County probably were Solomon Rhoads, who built a fort or station where Calhoon now stands, in 1788, and James Inman, who built Pond Station in 1790, and their companions. The former station was called Vienna. In 1790 a party of hunters and trappers from it were encamped near the mouth of the Green River, engaged in hunting and trapping, when they were attacked by Indians, and a man named McElmurray killed; a lad, William Faith, seventeen years old, was wounded, but made his escape to the fort.

Calhoon, the seat of justice, is situated on the Green River, a little north of the center of the county, and was named for Judge John Calhoon, for many years a circuit judge in this section of the State, and who served two terms in Congress. The town has the usual public buildings, churches, schools and general business. In 1880 it had 484 inhabitants. Livermore, the second largest town in the county, is situated on the Green River, where the Owensboro division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad crosses it. It has 399 inhabitants, and is an excellent business point. Rumsey is situated on the Green River opposite Calhoon, and is a place of 204 inhabitants. Sacramento, ten miles nearly west of Calhoon, has 172 inhabitants, and is noted for having been the scene of a sharp skirmish during the late war between a portion of the Third Kentucky (Federal) Cavalry, commanded by Col. Eli H. Murray, and a detachment of Forrest's cavalry, commanded by the famous chieftain himself. The Federal troops were rather worsted in the engagement. Other villages and postoffices are Bellevue, Beech Grove, Bremen, Worthington, Wrightsburg, Daviessville, etc.

The coal supply of McLean County is described in the following extract:

In the northeast part of the county, at Mr. Samuel's on Deer Creek, six miles above its mouth, these coals occur in a distance of eighty feet—the upper two and a half feet, and the lower, a thick coal struck at the bottom of the boring, reported five feet or more; the intermediate coal is thin, only one and a half feet, and lies about eight feet above the main coal. Toward the mouth of Cypress Creek, dark shales and iron stones—including a bed of coal two and a half feet thick—basset in the banks of that stream. On the right bank of the Green River, at the Livermore landing, fifteen feet of black shale appear, overlaid by ten feet of light gray shale, with clay ironstone; under the black shale there is said to be an eighteen-inch coal under the bed of the river. These shales, ironstones and coal are supposed to be of the same date as those seen near low water of the Ohio River, at Coal Haven and also near the head of French Island.—*Geological Survey.*

\*Judge McLean was a native of North Carolina, but came to Kentucky in 1805 and commenced the practice of law at Greenville, in Muhlenburg County. He served several terms in the Legislature; was a captain in the war of 1812; a representative in Congress two terms; a Presidential Elector in 1824, and cast his vote for Henry Clay; again, in 1832, was elector for the State at large, and again voted for Henry Clay. He was appointed circuit judge and held the position for many years.



MEADE COUNTY was organized in 1823, and was the seventy-sixth formed in the commonwealth. It was taken from Breckinridge and Hardin Counties, and named in honor of Capt. James Meade, a gallant soldier, who at the head of his command fell in the battle of the River Raisin. It lies on the Ohio River, which forms its northern boundary, with Hardin County on the east; Hardin and Breckinridge on the south, and Breckinridge on the west. By the last census (1880), it had a population of 10,323. The principal water courses are tributaries of the Ohio, viz.: Otter Creek, Doe Run, Wolf and Spring Creeks. A portion of the river front is rich bottom, on which are some fine farms. A large area is composed of "barrens" and is rich and productive. Like all the river counties, there are steep and rugged hills in certain sections, which are rich in the mineral wealth hidden in their bosoms.

Settlements were made in what is now Meade County early—but not for years after forts and stations were established in the present territory of Breckinridge and Hardin Counties. Among the early settlers of Meade was a family of Boones, the Fairleighs, Ashcrafts, Moormans, Woolfolks, Richardsons, Wimps, Dowells, etc. Most of these families still have representatives in the county.

Brandenburg, the capital of Meade County, is situated on the Ohio River about forty miles below Louisville. It is a small town of 587 inhabitants, but sits as boldly and proudly upon the Ohio River bluffs as Rome upon her seven hills. Historical importance attaches to it as being the place where Gen. John H. Morgan, the noted Confederate raider, crossed the Rubicon (the Ohio River) to his fate. It was named for Solomon Brandenburg, the proprietor of the "hills" upon which it stands. It is one of the finest business points on the Ohio River between Louisville and Owensboro and annually ships large quantities of tobacco, grain and live stock.

Big Spring is a small village situated about equally in Meade, Hardin and Breckinridge Counties. It receives its name from a remarkable spring near the center of the town, which bursts forth from the earth in a volume of sufficient force to operate a large mill, flows a hundred or two yards and then sinks into the ground to appear again, perhaps, as a part of Sinking Creek—that peculiar stream mentioned in the sketch of Breckinridge County. Other villages and postoffices in the county are Garnettsville, Concordia, Rock Haven, Grahampton, Garrett, Paineville, Booneport, Little York, Meadeville, Stapleton, etc.

There are plenty of natural wonders in Meade County; caves, hills, knobs, groves, etc., are distributed over the entire surface. Of the hills and groves has been published the following:

The Indian Hill on Otter Creek, Jennie's Knob, Bee Knob, Buck Grove, Jackey's Grove, Hill Grove, Indian Grove and Hogback Grove—these places lie very nearly in a range a few miles back or south of the Ohio, and stretch from the mouth of the Salt River to the mouth of Sinking Creek (in Breckinridge County), a distance of forty miles by land and about eighty miles by the river. These knobs and groves being well known to many individuals before the settlement of the county, especially to the spies, they became points of observation with a view of detecting the approach of Indians and giving the alarm to the settlements in Hardin County. (Hardin County then embraced a large extent of territory. See historical sketch.) The spies sent out from these settlements were directed to traverse the country lying between the Salt River and Sinking Creek, these knobs and groves serving as places of observation, and giving direction of their course; and thereby they were enabled to discover the trails of the Indians as soon as they crossed the Ohio River on their route to attack the settlements. In this way the Indians were generally discovered and routed, and the settlements protected against their incursions.

Meade County is rich in mineral wealth and material resources. The geological formations indicate hidden wealth almost beyond conception. The salt district is rich and extensive. It comprises an area of from 3,000 to 4,000 acres, fronting on the river four or five miles and extending back some two miles. Salt was discovered during the early oil excitement in prospecting for that now valuable article of traffic. In boring for petroleum, salt water was found in sufficient quantity and quality as finally to induce persons to undertake its manufacture. Natural gas flowed in such volumes from the salt wells as to prove far more than sufficient fuel to manufacture the salt. The only salt wells utilized so far belong to Alonzo Moorman, Esq., and are not worked to their full capacity. They yield, with very little effort, about twenty barrels of salt per day, and no other fuel than the gas is used in its manufacture. J. E. Moorman's large flouring-mill, with a capacity of from seventy-five to one hundred barrels of flour per day, is run by the gas from the same wells. A company has recently (in 1886) been incorporated by the Legislature, styled the "Economic Heating Company," with a capital of \$1,000,000, for the purpose of utilizing this gas by means of large mains to Louisville for manufacturing purposes. The salt district is east of Brandenburg.

West of the salt district and below Brandenburg, fronting on the river for a distance

of some eighteen miles, is found the richest deposit, perhaps, of oolite in the United States. The Kentucky Carbonate Company erected works on the grounds some years ago, at a cost of \$10,000, for the manufacture from this stone of whiting and marble dust. The whiting is used for making putty, calcimining, making paints, etc. The marble dust is of a superior quality and is sold all over the United States.

Near Garnettsville, and between that place and the river, is a deposit of white sand, apparently inexhaustible. It has been pronounced by experts to be of a superior quality for making glass. Adjoining the oolite deposits, and lying in Meade and Breckinridge Counties, is a district embracing from 75,000 to 100,000 acres known as "Fruit Ridge." It is the finest fruit-growing region in the State, and one of the finest in the United States, comprising some fine fruit farms. With all this mineral and material wealth, Meade County is a fine agricultural section, and can show some magnificent farms, and a large area of fine farming lands. Tobacco, corn, wheat and oats are the principal crops. Stock-raising receives considerable attention, and is yearly growing in favor.

MENEFEE COUNTY as an independent organization dates only to 1869, and was the one hundred and thirteenth county in the State. It was made up of clippings from Montgomery, Bath, Wolf, Morgan and Powell Counties, and is situated in the eastern part of the State. It is bounded on the north by Bath and Rowan Counties, on the east by Morgan, on the south by Wolf and Powell, on the west by Powell and Montgomery, and in 1880 it had 3,755 inhabitants. It is watered by the Licking and Red Rivers, and by State, Blackwater and Beaver Creeks. The land is hilly and mountainous and mostly poor, except the river and creek bottoms, which are rich, and produce tobacco, corn, oats and wheat in large quantities. Rich deposits of coal and iron ore abound, and the county is well timbered.

Frenchburg, the seat of justice, is a small place of 143 inhabitants by the last census, and was named in honor of Judge Richard French, a popular politician in his day. The town is situated on the State road from Mt. Sterling to Pound Gap, a little north of the center of the county. It has the usual public buildings, churches, schools, business, etc. Rebelville and Millville are small villages in the county.

Menefee County was named in honor of Richard H. Menefee. It is one of those counties, the name of which is spelled differently from the name of the man it was designed to honor, the county being spelled Menefee and the other Menefee. Mr. Menefee was born in Bath County in 1810. His facilities for instruction were limited, but by energy and perseverance he succeeded in obtaining a good education. He studied law, was admitted to the bar and soon secured a lucrative practice. He was elected to the Legislature and served several terms, and when twenty-seven years old was elected to Congress. He served but one term, and died at the early age of thirty-one years. A few years before his death he located at Lexington, then renowned for the brilliancy of its bar; he was rapidly amassing a fortune, when death cut short his career.

MERCER COUNTY was one of the nine counties created by the Virginia Legislature before Kentucky became a State. It was carved out of Lincoln County in 1785, and was the sixth in the order of formation, and was named for Gen. Hugh Mercer, a Revolutionary officer of renown. It is situated in the central part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Anderson County; on the east by Woodford, Jessamine and Garrard, from which it is separated by the Kentucky River; on the south by Boyle, on the west by Washington and Anderson, and in 1880 it had a population of 14,142. It is well watered and drained by the Kentucky, Dick's and Salt Rivers, and by Chaplin, Jennings, Rocky, McCoun's, Lyon's and Thompson Creeks. The face of the country is generally level or undulating, the land good—some of it very rich—and the country a fine agricultural region. The statistics of 1880 are as follows: corn, 856,933 bushels; oats, 28,481; wheat, 168,936; rye, 9,205; horses and mules, 5,654 head; cattle, 8,074; sheep, 16,258, and hogs, 18,941. The county, partaking of the blue-grass soil, is highly improved, and shows some as fine farms as there are in the State.

Mercer County claims the honor of the first actual settlement in Kentucky. Its early occupation is so fully given, however, in the pioneer history of preceding chapters, that a few words only will be added. Daniel Boone spent the winter of 1769-70 in what is now Mercer County, in a cave. His name was cut in the bark of a tree near the mouth of the cave, and was to be seen there for many years, even after the war-cry of the



savages had died away. Mr. Collins gives the following as the names of some of the settlers here previous to the year 1786: Harrod, Ray, McAfee, McGary, Denton, Hogan, Thompson, Curry, Adams, Wood, Haggin, McBride, Mosby, Smith, Armstrong, Buchanan, Cowan, Field, Jordan, McCoun, Moore, Prather, Wilson, Caldwell, Irvine, Rice and Harbison.

Harrodsburg, the oldest town, and the oldest county seat in the State (it was the county seat of Lincoln and then of Mercer) is situated in the southeastern part of the county, and is thirty miles almost due south of Frankfort. It was originally laid out by Capt. James Harrod, who, with a company of thirty-one men, penetrated the vast and gloomy wilderness, and finally made his way to the spot where the town stands, in May, 1774, and camped "about a hundred yards below the town spring." From this camp he explored the surrounding country, and about "the middle of June, Capt. Harrod and his company agreed to lay off a town, including their camp, and extending down and south of the town branch; and proceeded to erect a number of cabins on their respective lots of one-half acre and a five-acre out-lot. The town thus laid off received the name of Harrodstown; subsequently it was called Oldtown—and, finally, its present name of Harrodsburg"—[Collins]. Such was the town of Harrodsburg, the pioneer town of Kentucky. Its original proprietor, James Harrod, and his tragic death have already been fully described in the preceding pages in the pioneer history of the State.

Harrodsburg is and has always been a fine educational center. It was the site of Bacon College, an institution originally established at Georgetown under the auspices of the Reformed Church, about 1836; afterward removed to Harrodsburg, and finally (in 1857) merged into the Kentucky University. The Daughters' College is a female institution of a high order. This, with an excellent system of public schools, still secures it the title of an educational town. There are a number of handsome church buildings, representing the different denominations; the streets are adorned by many elegant residences, thus making the town a pleasant one in which to reside. A substantial courthouse and other public buildings, together with stores, shops, etc., are such as are usually found in towns of this size; its population was 2,202 by the last census.

Many handsome little villages are to be seen in the county; among them are Bergen, Bohon, Benton, Cornishville, Duncan, Har-

rodsburg Junction, McAfee, Nevada, Oal Hill, Rose Hill, Salvisa, Pleasant Hill and Stewart. These have from 300 inhabitants to a single store and postoffice. The following sketch is given of Pleasant Hill by Collins:

Pleasant Hill, or Union Village, is a small village of rare beauty and neatness, situated on a commanding eminence about one mile from the Kentucky River, on the turnpike road from Lexington to Harrodsburg and seven miles from the latter place. It belongs exclusively to that orderly and industrious society called "Shakers," and contained in 1870 a population of 362, divided into families from sixty to eighty each. \* \* \* \* Their main edifice is a large, handsome and costly structure, built of Kentucky marble; the others, generally, are built of brick, and all admirably arranged for comfort and convenience. The internal and external arrangement and neatness of their dwellings—the beauty and luxuriance of their gardens and fields—the method and economy displayed in their manufacturing and mechanical establishments—their orderly and flourishing schools—their sleek and well-fed stock, are all characteristic of this singular people, and evidence a high degree of comfort and prosperity.

Many of the pioneers of Mercer County were men of intellect, and became prominent in the affairs of the new State, and these, too, have received appropriate mention, and anything said here would be a repetition.

Mercer County is not devoid of interest to the student or the scientist. It presents a variety of scenery, some of it of sufficient grandeur to inspire the poet or painter. The beautiful scenery along the Kentucky and Dick's Rivers is said to be among the grandest in the United States. A writer, with a vein of romance in his nature, says:

Next to the highlands of the Hudson, it is probably unequalled for its imposing effect. Those towering cliffs, rising in perpendicular walls for many hundred feet above the beach, variegated by marble strata of every conceivable thickness and color, overpower the beholder with a sense of Nature's majesty. They look like the battlements of a world, standing there so stern and erect in their massive proportions, and as we gaze upon their bald fronts, against which the storms of ages have beaten, we can almost realize the fable of the Titans, and suppose they have been thrown up in some long-forgotten battle of the gods.

There were a number of relics of the prehistoric race to be seen here when the whites first came. Ancient towns and fortifications were still visible, one about a mile and a half above Harrodsburg on the Salt River, and another on the same stream about four miles above. The remains of an Indian village were also discovered near the Salt River.

Gabriel Slaughter, lieutenant-governor, and governor of Kentucky, was a native of Virginia. He came to Kentucky when young and settled near Harrodsburg, and his place was long and widely known as "Traveler's

Rest." He commanded a regiment of Kentucky troops in the memorable battle of New Orleans, and distinguished himself for gallantry. In 1816 he was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with George Madison. Mr. Madison died, and Col. Slaughter filled out the term as governor. At the close of his term of office he retired to his farm, where he died in 1830, at the age of sixty-three years.

Gen. James Ray, Gen. Robert B. McAfee, Capt. Samuel Daveiss and Joshua Fry were residents of this county. They were among the pioneers, were the descendants of pioneers, and left their impress upon the early history of central Kentucky.

METCALFE COUNTY, as a civil division, is of recent origin. It was organized in 1860, was the one hundred and sixth county, and was named for Gen. Thomas Metcalfe, the tenth governor of the commonwealth. It lies in the southern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Adair and Green Counties; on the east by Adair and Cumberland; on the south by Cumberland and Monroe; on the west by Barren, and in 1880 it had 9,423 inhabitants.

All the surrounding counties, viz.: Adair, Monroe, Cumberland, Barren and Green, contributed toward its formation, and it is watered and drained by tributaries of the little Barren River. It has a diversity of soil, the southern part being hilly and broken, while a large part of the county is undulating and susceptible of the highest cultivation. The leading crops are tobacco and grain; stock-raising, beyond the home demand, receives little attention.

Edmonton, the county seat, is but a small place, and is situated near the center of the county. It has the usual public buildings, churches, schools, stores, and general business. Other towns, postoffices, etc., are Knob Lick, Cross Plains, Center, Randolph, East Fork, Glover's Creek, Rockland Mills and Willow Shade.

The county, being of such recent origin, has but little history as a separate municipality. A thrilling incident, and a tragical one, the hanging of an innocent man, occurred in that portion of Barren County stricken off in the formation of this, and is as follows:

Dr. John P. Sanderson, of Mississippi, here to purchase slaves for his plantation, was murdered, and John C. Hamilton, a wealthy citizen of this (then Barren) county, was arrested, tried and hung for the murder. In all the history of criminal law of the legal profession, there never was a case,

perhaps, in which the chain of circumstantial evidence was more complete. Hamilton was a stock trader and followed the business of buying stock and driving it to Mississippi to sell. On one of his trips there Dr. Sanderson accompanied him to Kentucky, bringing with him a large sum of money. He was sick when he arrived, and went with Hamilton to his father's, where he remained several weeks until he recovered his health. One day they left the house together, Sanderson to go to a neighboring county to attend an auction sale of negroes, and Hamilton going with him as guide nine miles of the way, to a certain fork of the road. The two were seen together at several points along the way, the last time within three-quarters of a mile of the fork of the road. It was the last time Sanderson was seen alive. His horse came to Hamilton's riderless, and after several days suspicions were aroused that he had met with foul play. Search was made for him and his body was found near the fork of the road (where he and Hamilton had been seen together) covered with brush. His hat was found near by in a hollow stump, and under a log a pistol was discovered with the hammer broken. In the head of Sanderson were found several shot and a piece of the hammer of the pistol. Under the lining of the hat was found a list of bank bills—thirty-three \$100 bills on a Mississippi bank—their numbers, etc.

Suspicion finally settled on Hamilton and he was arrested. The circumstantial evidence was convincing to all, and yet it was but circumstantial. The bills corresponding with the list in the dead man's hat were found in possession of Hamilton when arrested; it was shown that he had borrowed the fatal pistol from Col. Gorin, of Glasgow; that the shot in the head of Sanderson corresponded in size with those purchased a few days before by Hamilton; that Hamilton's overalls, covered with blood, were found concealed in his father's barn. In the trial of Hamilton he was defended by John Rowan, one of the ablest lawyers of the Kentucky bar in that day of intellectual giants. It was alleged by Hamilton in his defense: First, that for years he and Sanderson had been the warmest of friends. Second, that they had traveled for days through a wild and lonely country (they had traveled from Mississippi to Kentucky, on horseback, through what was then termed the Indian Nation,) and if he had thought of murdering him for his money he would not have waited until they got to Kentucky. Third, that Mississippi money was at a discount in Kentucky, and Kentucky money at a discount in Mississippi. Fourth, that he (Hamilton) being about to return to Mississippi where he could use the money of that State, had exchanged Dr. Sanderson's Kentucky money for it, who wanted to purchase negroes here. He even proved that he borrowed \$1,000 from the bank in Glasgow to make up the sum. The pistol he alleged he borrowed from Col. Gorin on purpose to lend to Dr. Sanderson, who wanted it for his own protection; and that his negro servant had stolen his overalls to wear to a dance; had there got into a fight, hid them in the barn until he could clean the blood off and return them to their place. Strong as this defense seemed he was convicted and hung.

For more than fifty years the stain of murder rested upon the memory of Hamilton—at least in Kentucky—and the sequel of this melancholy affair came about as follows: Hon. Richard H. Rousseau of Kentucky, who was Minister to Central America in 1869, met a Col. Gibson (a rich planter living near Vicksburg, Miss.), in Honduras, who told him that several years prior to the civil war, he was present at the execution of a man in Mississippi for murder and heard him confess, under the gallows, to the murder of Dr. Sanderson in Kentucky. He detailed



all the circumstances with such accuracy as to leave no doubt that he was the perpetrator of the deed for which Hamilton had innocently suffered. Col. Gibson requested Mr. Rousseau to make known these facts in Kentucky, and lift the stigma of crime from the memory of an innocent man.

MONROE COUNTY was established in 1820, and was the sixty-fifth formed in the State. It was carved out of portions of Barren and Cumberland and was named in honor of James Monroe, then president of the United States, and just re-elected to a second term. It lies in the southern tier of counties, bordering on the Tennessee line, and is bounded on the north by Cumberland, Barren and Metcalfe Counties; on the east by Cumberland; on the south by the State of Tennessee; on the west by Allen and Barren Counties, and in 1880 it had a population of 10,741. It is watered and drained by the Big Barren River; the Cumberland, which flows through the southeast corner, and by McFarlane, Line, East Fork, Sulphur Lick, Long Fork, Mill and Indian Creeks. In its natural state the county was heavily timbered—oak, poplar, beech and walnut predominating. Large quantities of walnut and poplar logs are annually shipped to Nashville, Tenn., and to other places. A part of the county is level, a part undulating, and a part broken and hilly, but all more or less productive. Tobacco and grain are raised extensively, and are the principal crops, the statistics of 1880 being as follows: corn 463,600 bushels, oats 44,846, wheat 45,034, and tobacco 187,141 pounds; and stock—horses and mules 3,734 head, cattle 5,566, sheep 7,489, and hogs 15,996. The county has no railroad, and the main channel of transportation is via the Cumberland and the Big Barren Rivers.

Tompkinsville, the capital of the county, was laid out in 1819, and is situated on Mill Creek, nine miles from the Cumberland River. As Monroe County was named for the then President of the United States, so was its seat of justice named for Daniel D. Tompkins, then Vice-President. It was laid out on the land of Samuel Marrs, "the court-house," says a writer, "being on the spot where his (Marr's) orchard stood," but leaving the reader in the dark as to whether or not it covered the entire ground occupied by the orchard. In 1830 it had 220 inhabitants, and in 1880 it had 248, an increase of twenty-eight in half a century. At the same rate of increase, a thousand years hence it will be a town of some 800 inhabitants. Other villages and postoffices

of the county are Rock Bridge, Mud Lick, Johnstonville, Center Point, Fountain Run, Hilton, Martinsburg, Gamaliel, Meshach's Run and Sulphur Lick.

The best evidence of mineral wealth in the county was the discovery of zinc ore in 1856, detailed in the State Geological Report as follows:

Zinc ore was found running in slender vein through limestone belonging to the Devonian period, in the bed of Sulphur Lick. The official analysis proved it essentially a sulphuret of zinc containing 51.77 per cent of zinc. The sulphuret is combined in this ore with 17.48 per cent of silica beside 5.19 per cent of carbonate of lime and magnesia and a little disseminated sulphuret of lead. If found in sufficient abundance it might be profitably employed in the manufacture of zinc white paint. Imperfect veins of sulphuret of zinc and lead traverse the limestone under the black slate in the bed of Sulphur Lick Creek. The dividing ridge between the Big Barren and Sulphur Lick is about 600 feet above the Cumberland River. This ridge contains an immense mass of gray and green shale overlying the black slate in the bed of the latter stream. The black slate here is about twenty-five feet thick, while the overlying shales seem to be 270 feet thick.

A number of names and dates have been found upon the trees in Monroe County showing that the "pale face" was here over a century ago. One of the oldest of these was discovered upon a large beech tree near the town of Tompkinsville and was as follows: "D. Boone 1777." The names of "Thomas Walker" and "Daniel Smith" and the date "February 25, 1780," were found on two beech trees on the west bank of the Cumberland River, near the Tennessee line. Walker and Smith were the surveyors appointed to run the line between Virginia and North Carolina, of which States Kentucky and Tennessee then formed parts.

Monroe County suffered severely during the late civil war—more severely than many of its sister counties—indeed it was, at times almost entirely devastated. Bands of guerrillas, some claiming allegiance to the Confederate and some to the Federal Government, while others acknowledged no higher authority than their own will, infested every quarter of the county, often wantonly destroying property and not always scrupulous as to the taking of human life. Besides these marauding bands regular soldiers from both armies were frequently guests—though unwelcome ones—of the county. Camp Anderson was a rendezvous for Union troops in 1861 and a place of drill and instruction. In the fall of the year (1861) Col. Stanton of Tennessee, at the head of a body of Confederate troops, entered the county and burned Camp Anderson, which had recently been abandoned by the Federals. Shortly after

his Gen. Pat. Cleburne passed through the county with several regiments, and in 1862 Gen. Bragg's entire army passed through. These frequent incursions did not contribute to the wealth of the county, nor add materially to the tranquility of the people.

In the winter of 1862-63 a little skirmish took place in the county. Gen. John Morgan and his cavalry, who had a knack of turning up when and where least expected, in one of their periodical raids into Kentucky "run foul" of a body of Federal troops under Maj. Jordan, about half a mile from Tompkinsville. Quite a sharp engagement ensued, resulting in the defeat of Jordan and the loss of his tent and baggage; several were killed and wounded on both sides.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY was formed in 1796 and was the twenty-second county organized. It was named in honor of Gen. Richard Montgomery, a brave and gallant officer in the revolutionary war. It was formed out of a part of Clark County and in turn has contributed in forming, wholly, or in part, Floyd County in 1799; Clay in 1806; Bath in 1811; Harlan in 1819; Perry in 1820; Lawrence and Pike in 1821; Morgan in 1822; Breathitt in 1839; Letcher in 1842; Owsley and Johnson in 1843; Powell in 1852; Magoffin and Wolfe in 1860; Menifee in 1869 and Lee and Martin in 1870—total, eighteen counties, which has diminished the territory of Montgomery until it is one of the small counties of the State. It may be termed a northeastern county and has Bourbon, Nicholas and Bath lying north of it; Bath and Menifee, east; Powell and Clark, south; and Clark and Bourbon, west. In 1880 it had a population of 10,566. It has a rich and fertile soil, though in the southern and southeastern portions it is somewhat mountainous and hilly. It is drained by the Red River and Hinkson Creek and their tributaries, viz.: Spence Fork, Slate, Flat, Sycamore, Somerset and the famous little stream, Lulbegrud. The following are the statistics of 1880: corn, 75,091 bushels; oats, 18,624; wheat, 81,393; hacco, 123,472 pounds; horses and mules, 914 head; cattle, 11,473; sheep, 13,914 and hogs, 13,226. Hemp is also largely produced.

Montgomery County's settlement dates back to 1790, though it was visited by whites several years earlier. William Calk, with several companions from Boonesborough, explored the country in this section in 1775. They built a cabin about a mile from the

present site of Mount Sterling which became a prominent landmark. In 1779 another company, under the leadership of Benjamin White, were here locating lands. From this time land-locators, as they were called, increased in numbers. Among the first permanent settlers was Capt. John A. Crawford. In 1790 he was employed to clear four acres of land and cultivate it in corn, for which he was to receive 100 acres of land near Mount Sterling. He made a permanent settlement upon the land thus obtained, and lived on it until his death. He was with Gen. Wayne in the battle of the Fallen Timber, and in the war of 1812 was captain of a company of volunteers.

Mount Sterling, the seat of justice, is situated on Hinkson Creek, where it is crossed by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, about sixty miles from Frankfort. It had a population of 2,087 in 1880, and is a handsome and thriving little city. It was laid out in 1792 upon the land of a Mr. Sterling, whose name it bears. It has the usual public buildings, churches, schools, stores and general business. Other villages and postoffices are Aaron's Run, Camargo, Elm Hill, Howard's Mill, Jeffersonville, Levee and Side View.

Montgomery County seems to have been a favorite resort for the Mound-Builders. A large number of relics of the prehistoric race were found in different parts of the county. Several of them were visited in 1819 by Prof. Rafinesque. The prefix, Mount, to the capital of the county was obtained in consequence of a mound near its location which was so large as to early receive the title of "Little Mountain." Five miles east of Mount Sterling was a mound that when the county was first settled was 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter at the base. About five miles west of Mount Sterling was another mound of especial interest. It stood within what was evidently a square intrenchment, and when first seen by the whites there were trees growing in the trenches as large as any in the surrounding forest. On the east side of the intrenchment there was the appearance of a gate some 20 feet wide. From this gate there was an avenue of the same width, in which no trees were growing, leading to a spring thirty yards distant.

This county was the scene of one of the most desperately contested battles with the Indians, considering the number engaged, fought on the soil of Kentucky. Estill's defeat, or the battle of Little Mountain, took place in 1782, but two miles from the present site of Mount Sterling, at a buffalo



crossing of a branch of Hinkson Creek. The details of this bloody battle are given in preceding chapters on the Indian wars of the early times.

MORGAN COUNTY, formed in 1822, stands seventy-third in the list of counties. It was formed from parts of Floyd and Bath Counties, and named for Gen. Daniel Morgan, whose famous riflemen played so conspicuous a part in the Revolutionary war. It lies in the eastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Rowan and Elliott Counties; on the east by Lawrence, Johnson and Magoffin; on the south by Magoffin, Breathitt and Wolfe; on the west by Wolfe and Menifee, and in 1880 it had 8,455 inhabitants. It contributed to the formation of Rowan County in 1836, Magoffin and Wolfe in 1860, and Menifee and Elliott in 1869. It is drained by the Licking River, which flows almost through the center of it, with the following streams as tributaries in the county: White Oak, Grassy, Elk Fork, Blackwater, Caney and Rockhouse. The surface is rather hilly, with many fertile valleys, however, which produce well. Corn is the principal crop, producing 368,205 bushels in 1880. Wheat, oats and rye are grown to some extent, and hogs and cattle are raised—5,075 head of cattle in 1880, and 11,903 head of hogs. Iron ore and a most excellent quality of cannel coal, together with other bituminous coal and alum and copperas, exist in the county in great abundance; also mineral and oil springs.

Morgan County embraces, probably, the largest bodies of cannel coal in Kentucky; much of it very readily mined, but all inaccessible to market. There appear to be two horizons of cannel coal in the county, varying from 200 to 300 feet apart. The lower bed, in one of the most remarkable deposits in the world, is well exposed on the waters of Caney Creek, especially on the Stone Coal Fork of Caney. It is of a fine cuboidal fracture, generally from thirty-two to thirty-six inches thick. The upper cannel vein, where observed, is fourteen inches thick, underlaid by eight to ten inches of clay and shale parting, and fifteen to eighteen inches of bituminous and shop coal at bottom—in all thirty-nine to forty inches. \* \* \* \* The main cannel coal of Caney and Elk Fork is full of remains of stigmaria impressed completely in the substance of the coal itself, in an excellent state of preservation—another evidence that this kind of vegetation contributed largely to the formation of cannel coal. Above the forks of the Stone Coal branch of main Caney the stream runs for a long distance over bare ledges of cannel coal, which measure there from thirty to thirty-six inches.\*

West Liberty, the capital of the county, is situated on the Licking River, something

over 100 miles from Frankfort. It is a small place of 225 inhabitants by the last census. It was laid out as a town in 1825, and incorporated in 1836. It has the usual public buildings, churches and schools, stores and general business. Other villages and post offices are as follows: Bangor, Blair's Mill, Caney, Ezel, Grassy Creek, Relief, White Oak and Yokum.

MUHLENBURG COUNTY was the thirty-fourth county organized in the State. It was created out of parts of Christian and Logan Counties in 1798, and named in honor of Gen. Peter Muhlenberg, a gallant soldier of the Revolutionary war, who won the epaulettes of a general in front of the cannon mouth. It is situated in the western part of the State, with one tier of counties between it and the Tennessee line, and is bounded on the north by McLean and Ohio Counties; on the east by Ohio and Butler; on the south by Logan and Todd; on the west by Christian and Hopkins, and in 1880 it had 15,098 inhabitants. It is drained by the tributaries of the Green and Big Muddy Rivers—the former separating it from Ohio County and the latter from Butler County. The county is generally rolling, a part of it very broken and hilly, but all more or less productive, and originally was covered with heavy timber. The agricultural statistics for 1880 show corn, 652,279 bushels; oats, 100,347 bushels; wheat, 63,874 bushels; tobacco, 2,731,716 pounds; horses and mules, 4,880 head; cattle, 7,650 head; sheep, 7,035 head and hogs, 25,347. Iron and coal, however, form the great wealth of the county, and since the building of the railroad, it is the means of great quantities finding a way to market. Of the coal, the geological reports say:

At a coal bank on the east side of the Pond River in the west line of Muhlenburg County, is the singular phenomenon of two thick beds or veins of coal within three and one-half feet of each other, the upper of four and one-half and the lower of three and one-half feet. The latter has a thin clay parting about the middle. They crop out at an elevation of seventy feet above high water in the river. Three miles southeast of this the Marcus coal occurs, six or seven feet thick, a few feet above the bed of the branch. Three miles northwest of Greenville, three beds of coal, eight feet in all, occur in 110 feet of a section. A general section of Muhlenburg County shows some twenty-six feet of coal in nine different seams, within 445 feet—the seams varying from ten inches to five and one-half feet in thickness, except one thin seam; of the five seams are of workable thickness three feet over.

\*State Geological Report.

Greenville, the seat of justice, is situated little north of the geographical center of the county on the Chesapeake, Ohio & South-eastern Railroad, 135 miles from Louisville, and contains, by the last census, 866 inhabitants. It has a brick courthouse and other public buildings, several handsome churches, excellent schools, both public and select, one bank and a newspaper. A number of flouring stores, factories and mills furnish a good trade. Other villages, postoffices and railroad stations are Bremen, Central City, Dupont, Earles, Gordon, Laurel Bluff, Mercer, Nelson, Paradise, Painestown, Skilesville and South Carrollton.

Some of the antiquities, caverns, etc., discovered in this county were of the marvelous. It was said that on a rocky bank of the Pond River, four miles from Greenville, tracks of turtles and horses were plainly visible in the sandstone. On the Muddy River there was said to be a rock with a smooth flat surface, on which were carved hieroglyphics strange to the most learned of the Anglo-Saxons. A description of a cave ten miles from Greenville partakes considerably of the Mulhatton romance. It was said to be explored in October, 1872, and at the distance of half a mile from the entrance the petrified figures of a man and woman were found. Other relics and curiosities were also found in it.

Among the prominent men of Muhlenburg County were Edward Rumsey, Charles F. Wing and Gen. Don Carlos Buell. The latter was a major-general in the Federal Army during the late war, and is extensively noticed in the chapters on the war history. Charles F. Wing was captain in the American Army in the war of 1812, and took part in the battle of the Thames. He was clerk of the courts of Muhlenburg County from 1798, the time of their organization, to 1856, a period of fifty-eight years.

Edward Rumsey was a prominent man of Muhlenburg County and southwestern Kentucky for nearly half a century. He represented the county in the Legislature, and the district in Congress, with great ability. He was a nephew of James Rumbo, whose claim to the invention of the steamboat is supported by much strong and convincing testimony. Edward Rumsey was born in 1800, and received a good education. He studied law with John J. Crittenden, and upon being admitted to the bar located at Greenville. He died in 1868 in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

NELSON COUNTY is one of those formed under act of the Virginia Legislature, before

the admission of Kentucky as a State into the Union, and dates back to 1784. It was the fourth county created in the State (or district), and the first created after the original three (Jefferson, Fayette and Lincoln,) into which the county of Kentucky was divided in 1780. It was formed from a part of Jefferson County, and from its original territory have been created wholly or in part the following: Washington, Hardin and Green in 1792; Bullitt in 1796; Ohio in 1798; Breckinridge in 1799; Grayson and Butler in 1810; Daviess in 1815; Hart in 1819; Meade in 1823; Spencer in 1824; Edmonson in 1825; Anderson in 1827; Hancock in 1829; Marion in 1834; La Rue in 1843; Taylor in 1848, and McLean in 1854. It is situated in the north central part of the State and bounded on the north by Bullitt and Spencer Counties; on the east by Washington and Marion; on the south by Marion and La Rue; on the west by La Rue and Bullitt, and by the last census (1880) it had a population of 16,609. It is watered and drained by the Salt River and the Beech and Rolling Forks, and a number of small streams tributary to them. The surface is undulating, but in places, particularly along the water courses, it is somewhat hilly and broken; the soil is generally fertile and produces well, the agricultural statistics in 1880 being as follows: corn, 987,007 bushels; oats, 59,783; wheat, 177,020; horses and mules, 6,218 head; cattle, 11,364; sheep, 15,554; and hogs, 27,279. In addition to the above, hay, tobacco and hemp are raised to some extent; whisky is also largely manufactured, and some of the largest distilleries in the State are in this county. Gov. Thomas Nelson, a native of Virginia, at one time governor of that State, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, furnished the county a name.

Settlements were made very early in Nelson County by the Hardins, John Merrill, John Fitch, Maj. Brown, Charles Wickliffe, and other families, who afterward became noted in Kentucky history. Certainly few more conspicuous names appear in the annals of the State than the Hardins and Wickliffes. Many of the early settlements of Nelson County, however, were made in portions since stricken off in the formation of other counties.

Col. John Hardin (see sketch of Hardin County) settled in Nelson County as early as 1780, and was appointed county lieutenant with the rank of colonel. This title meant much more in the pioneer period of Kentucky than it did some years later. Then every man



able to bear arms was forced, if force was necessary, to assist in defending the settlements against the Indians, and the county lieutenant was the commander-in-chief of such forces, and responsible for the safety of the settlements and stations in his county.

The mineral resources of Nelson County consist in hydraulic limestone, salt and iron ore. The iron ore is said to be of a most excellent quality, and sufficiently plenty to pay well for working. The hydraulic limestone is also to be found in large quantities. Salt, however, exists in scarcely paying quantity. In several places were developed, by the geological survey, clay which contained valuable proportions of potash; lime, soda, sulphuric acid, magnesia, etc.

Bardstown, with almost a century resting upon it, is one of the beautiful little cities of central Kentucky. It was established in 1788, under an act of the Legislature of Virginia, and was originally called Bairdstown in honor of David Baird, one of the proprietors of the land upon which the town was laid out. But custom, which makes many laws, finally changed it, by dropping the *i*, to the present name, Bardstown. It is forty miles from Louisville, and the present terminus of the Bardstown branch of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. The road, however, is being extended, and will soon be completed to Springfield. A substantial courthouse and other public buildings, a number of elegant churches, several schools, public and select—Protestant and Catholic—in and immediately contiguous, are some of the attractions of this old, but handsome little city. It has several flourishing stores, banks, a No. 1 newspaper—the *Nelson Record*—and the usual manufacturing industries common to a town of its size. By the last census it had 1,803 population.

Bloomfield is situated in the north part of the county and has a population of 455 souls. It is an old town and was incorporated in 1819, and is at present the terminus of the Shelbyville branch of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. New Haven, on the "Lebanon Branch," is a town of 437 inhabitants; New Hope, on the same road, has 204 inhabitants. Other villages, postoffices and railroad station, are Boston, Botland, Chaplain, Cox Creeks, Deatsville, Fairfield, Gethsemane, Hunter's Station, Nelson Furnace and Samuel's Station.

A company of English land speculators laid off a town in Nelson County, in 1794, on the south side of the Rolling Fork, between Salt Lick and Otter Creek, called Lystra, which was designed to be the most beautiful city in the

world. The conception was, indeed, a grand and magnificent one if it had been carried out but the town never had any existence, except upon paper. Winterbotham's United States thus describes it:

It was the choice spot of 15,000 acres of land purchased, and was laid off in twenty-five large blocks or squares, the center of each being a kind of park. In the center of the plat was a circular park, surrounded by an avenue 100 feet wide. The four indented or semi-circular quarters of the four blocks whose corners are embraced in this park, were dedicated to public use, as sites for a church, college town hall, and place of amusement. The streets were each 100 feet wide; the houses upon street running north and south were required to be set back twenty-five feet from the line, but upon streets running east and west to be built on a line with the streets. The plan probably proved money-making in London, but the town was never built in Nelson County.

Ben Hardin, the great criminal lawyer was long a citizen of Bardstown. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1784, but when only three years of age was brought by his parents to Kentucky, who settled in Washington County. He was a son of Ben and Sarah Hardin, first cousins, and the latter a sister of Col. John and Gen. William Hardin, prominent in the early history of Kentucky. Mr. Hardin was well educated, receiving his finishing polish from Daniel Barry, one of the most popular educators of his day. He commenced the study of the law with Gen. Martin D. Hardin of Richmond, and completed his course with Hon. Felix Grundy. Upon his admission to the bar he located at Elizabethtown, but two or three years later removed to Bardstown. Here he was soon called to measure strength with such master spirits as Judge Rowan, John Pope, Felix Grundy, John Hays and other great legal luminaries of the time. When he lived in his most active young life, when his destiny was shaping itself, the surroundings were such as we know little or nothing of now except by tradition. The people were rough, rude, simple, sincere, honest, warm-hearted and hospitable; and the men of mark were most brilliant, erratic, often irreverent and dissipated. Their lives were fevered and delirious and upon the rostrum or in the forum, where they would gleam and flash like blazing meteors, they would easily descend to revel and orgie, and their flashing light would be quenched in gloom and darkness. Amid these surroundings Mr. Hardin trod his pathway of life, the honest lawyer, the pure and spotless politician. Few men possessed more noble and generous qualities. He was the friend and the attorney of the poor and often championed their causes without the "hope of fee or reward." His symp-

thies were aroused by the distress of the helpless, and the woes of suffering humanity touched his pity, and awoke all the tenderness of his great heart. He practiced in the courts of Nelson, Hardin, Marion, Washington, Bullitt, Breckinridge, Meade and Grayson, and often in Louisville, Frankfort and Lexington; and during all the prime of his manhood, few important cases were tried in his district in which he was not engaged upon one side or the other. As a great lawyer he had few equals, and in the criminal practice, perhaps he had none at the bar in Kentucky. He was no less a statesman than a lawyer. He served several terms in the Legislature and State Senate; was Secretary of State under Gov. Owsley, and was in the lower house of the national Congress, comprising the sessions of 1815-17, and 1819-23, and 1833-37, ten years in all. He died in Bardstown in 1852, at the age of sixty-eight years.

Charles A. Wickliffe, one of the eminent men of Kentucky, was born June 7, 1788, and was a son of Charles and Lydia (Hardin) Wickliffe. He was of an illustrious family on both sides of his house—his mother being a sister to Hon. Ben Hardin's mother, and Col. John Hardin, etc. After receiving his education he studied law with Gen. Martin D. Hardin, and upon his admission to the bar located at Bardstown. The Bardstown bar was then considered the ablest (Lexington perhaps excepted) west of the Alleghanies. He served in the war of 1812, and took part in the battle of the Thames. He was elected repeatedly to the Legislature, the State Senate and the national Congress, and in 1836 was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Judge James Clark. Gov. Clark died in 1839 and Mr. Wickliffe filled out his unexpired term. He was Postmaster-General under President Tyler, after he succeeded to the Presidency, September 13, 1841, until the close of his term, March 3, 1845. He was sent on a secret mission to Texas by President Polk in 1845; he was a member of the constitutional convention of 1849; he was a delegate to the celebrated peace conference in 1861; he was also elected to Congress in 1861, and in 1863 made the race on the Democratic ticket for governor against Thomas E. Bramlette, but was overwhelmingly defeated.

The above is merely the record dates of the different official positions filled by Gov. Wickliffe. He came to Bardstown at an early day, and his finger-marks may still be seen telling the story of his handiwork, and writing his epitaph in the hearts not only of his descendants, but of the thousands who

are reaping and who will in the future enjoy the fruits of his labors. For several years prior to his death he was blind, but he lived on uncomplainingly with his Christian faith undimmed. He died in 1869 at the age of eighty-one years.

NICHOLAS COUNTY was created in 1800, and was the forty-second formed in the State. It was taken from Bourbon and Mason Counties, and named in honor of Col. George Nicholas, one of the ruling spirits in the early history of Kentucky. It is situated in the northeast part of the county, and is bounded on the north by Robertson County; on the east by Fleming and Bath; on the south by Montgomery; on the west by Bourbon and Harrison, and in 1880 it had 11,869 inhabitants. The Licking River flows through the county, and the streams emptying into it or passing through the county are Hinkson, Somerset, Cassidy, Beaver, Brushy Fork and Flat Creeks. A portion of the county lying next to Bourbon and Bath is undulating and very rich—the genuine blue-grass soil. The remainder of the county, except the bottoms along the water-courses, is rough and broken, with rather thin soil. The statistics of 1880 for the county are as follows: Corn, 688,329 bushels; oats, 37,188; wheat, 159,945; tobacco, 759,115 pounds; horses and mules, 5,319 head; cattle, 7,951; sheep, 13,311, and hogs, 16,754. Hemp is also grown in some parts of the county.

The early settlement of Nicholas County dates back nearly a century. The common highway of travel between Limestone (Maysville) and the settlements at Lexington, Boonesborough, Harrodsburg, etc., was through this county, and the salt works at Blue Licks made the pioneers familiar with all this country, but it was not until about 1789 that a permanent settlement was made in what is now Nicholas County. In that year a man named Lyon established a station at the Lower Blue Licks. He was a man well-to-do, had a family of negro servants, and entertained travelers passing from one settlement or station to another. He followed making salt, which he disposed of to the settlers, with whom he is said to have dealt fairly. Irish Station was an early settlement, and was five or six miles from Blue Licks. Other early settlers were James Parks, Jr., George M. Bedinger, James Stephenson and Samuel Peyton. Most of these have descendants still living.

Carlisle, the capital of the county, is situated on the Maysville division of the Ken-



tucky Central Railroad, about midway between Maysville and Lexington. It has a brick courthouse of the old Kentucky pattern of fifty years ago, and other public buildings. It has a number of handsome churches, good schools, a bank, a newspaper, several flourishing stores and the usual general business. In 1880 it had 909 inhabitants. Other villages and postoffices are Blue Lick Springs, Buffalo Trace, Chapel, Head Quarters, Moorefield, Myers and Oakland Mills.

There was an ancient burying-ground plainly visible in the county, when the first settlements were made. It was some five miles south of the Upper Blue Licks. Fragments of human bones were strewed about it in large quantities, some of them very large, denoting that they belonged to men of giant size. On the top of a barren ridge, a short distance from the Upper Blue Licks, was discovered a place over 100 feet square, paved with large flat stones, upon which the marks of the tools used in dressing them were still visible.

The famous Blue Lick Springs, among the most valuable of the kind in the world, are in this county. As resorts for health, recreation and amusement they are without superiors, particularly the lower spring, anywhere. The water from both springs has a sale not equaled in the United States. Analysis shows the following ingredients: Sulphuretted hydrogen gas and free carbonic acid gas (about one-thirty-sixth of the former and one-fifth of the latter in the volume of the water), carbonates of lime and magnesia, chlorides of sodium, potassium and magnesium, bromide and iodide of magnesium, sulphate of lime and potash, alumina, phosphate of lime, oxide of iron and silicic acid, with traces of oxide of manganese and of apocrenic and crenic acids. It is a highly valuable water, and acts as a nervous stimulant, diaphoretic, diuretic and emmenagogue.

These springs were known to the whites more than a century ago (from 1773), and for the first forty years after their discovery furnished most of the salt to central and north-eastern Kentucky. Around and about them occurred some of the stirring scenes with which the early history of the State is embellished. In 1778 Daniel Boone and a party of twenty seven besides himself were captured there while engaged making salt. About half a mile north of the Lower Blue Licks on the old State road was fought the battle of Blue Licks, the severest and most destructive to the whites ever fought on the soil of Kentucky. Col. John Todd, the commanding officer of the whites, and Col. Stephen Trigg, second in command, were

both killed, and a number of other commissioned officers and one-third of the entire army.

This county was named for Col. George Nicholas, one of the ablest lawyers and profoundest jurists of early Kentucky. Gen. Thomas Metcalfe was a citizen of this county from the time he was five years old until his death. Maj. George M. Bedinger was also a citizen of this county. He was one of the commissioned officers who escaped the carnage of the battle of Blue Licks. He served in several Indian campaigns, and was a gallant soldier. He was a member of the first Legislature in 1792, after Kentucky became a State.

OHIO COUNTY dates its existence back to 1798, and was the thirty-fifth county created in the State. It was taken from Hardin County, and named for the Ohio River, the northern boundary of the State. From its original territory has been created, wholly or in part, Butler and Grayson Counties, in 1810; Daviess, in 1815; Hancock, in 1829, and McLean, in 1854. It is one of the largest counties in the State, and is bounded on the north by Daviess and Hancock Counties; on the east by Breckinridge, Grayson and Butler; on the south by Butler and Muhlenburg; on the west by McLean and Daviess, and in 1880 it had a population of 19,669. The Green River flows along its southern border, separating it from Muhlenburg County and a part of Butler; other water courses are Rough, East Fork of Panther, Muddy, White's Fork, Walton, Barnett and Caney Creeks. The soil is of a medium quality, and the county a very good agricultural one; the statistics for 1880 show the following: Corn, 935,515 bushels; oats, 125,244; wheat, 85,954; Irish potatoes, 17,089; tobacco, 3,187,999 pounds; horses and mules, 6,681 head; cattle, 11,990; sheep, 12,593; hogs, 34,494. Originally the county was heavily timbered; iron ore exists in considerable quantities, and coal is inexhaustible. The county has the advantage of transportation by the Green River and by the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad.

Ohio County was settled very early. Barnett's Station, two miles from the present site of Hartford, was established in 1790 by Col. Joseph Barnett. A station was also established where the town of Hartford now stands. The Indians committed many depredations on the people of these stations. In 1790 they killed two children of John Ander-

son, of Barnett's Station, and wounded his wife, but she recovered. The same party carried off Hannah Barnett, the ten-year-old daughter of Col. Barnett, but she was recovered from them some months afterward. There were a number of forts or stations on the Green River in the original county of Ohio, but in what are now other counties. At one of these forts, in 1787, a number of persons of both sexes were pulling flax in a field some distance from the fort when they were attacked by Indians. Several of them were more or less wounded, but none seriously.

Hartford, the seat of justice, is situated on Rough Creek, in the central part of the county, and is 110 miles from Louisville. It was one of the first settled places in the county, and was incorporated in 1808. It has a substantial brick courthouse and other public buildings, several handsome churches, good schools, a bank, an excellent newspaper—*The Herald*—flourishing stores and a good general business. Its population was 624 by the last census.

Beaver Dam is the station for Hartford on the railroad. It is six miles from Hartford, and is the shipping point of the latter. It is a place of considerable business, and has 146 inhabitants.

Rockport, situated on the Green River, where it is crossed by the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad, is the largest town, Hartford excepted, in the county—having 399 inhabitants in 1880. Hamilton, on the railroad, is a town of 283 inhabitants, and Cromwell, in the southern part of the county on the Green River, has 200 inhabitants. Other villages, railroad stations and post-offices are Bada, Buford, Ceralvo, Cool Springs, Elm Lick, Fordsville, Green River, Haynesville, Horse Branch, McHenry, Point Pleasant, Rosine and Sulphur Spring.

OLDHAM COUNTY was created in 1823 from parts of Jefferson, Shelby and Henry Counties, and was the seventy-fourth formed in the State. It is situated in the north middle part of the State, bordering on the Ohio River, which separates it from the State of Indiana, and forms its western and northern boundary, with Trimble and Henry Counties on the east; Shelby and Jefferson on the south, and with 7,667 inhabitants in 1880. A part of the county bordering the Ohio River and Eighteen Mile Creek is broken, hilly, and has rather thin soil; the remainder lays very well, and is rich and productive. The agricult-

ural report for 1880 showed the following statistics: Corn, 445,053 bushels; oats, 49,747; wheat, 47,931; tobacco, 295,860 pounds; horses and mules, 3,228 head; cattle, 5,838; sheep, 17,466, and hogs, 14,607. The short line division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad passes through the county.

La Grange, the present seat of justice, was named in honor of the Marquis de La Fayette's residence in France. It is situated on the short line division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, where the Cincinnati line diverges from the old Frankfort & Lexington Railroad, twenty-eight miles from Louisville; has a handsome brick courthouse of modern style, a number of flourishing stores, several handsome churches, some elegant residences, good schools, and the usual general business, together with 490 inhabitants.

Westport, the original county seat, had 219 inhabitants by the last census. It is situated on the Ohio River about eight miles from La Grange, and is quite a flourishing little town and shipping point. Other villages, post-offices and railroad stations are Ballardsville, Buckner, Brownsboro, Beard's Station, Floydsburg, Goshen, Oldhamsburg, Peru and Peewee Valley. The latter is the most beautiful of all of Louisville's suburbs, and is the place of residence of many Louisville people.

Oldham County was named in honor of Col. William Oldham, a gallant soldier and officer. He was born in Berkeley County, Va., and served with distinction in the Revolutionary war, where he arose to the rank of captain. He resigned in 1779, and came to Kentucky, locating at the falls of the Ohio. He commanded a regiment in St. Clair's ill-fated army, in 1791, and fell in that disastrous battle with the savages.

OWEN COUNTY was formed in 1819 from parts of Scott, Gallatin and Franklin Counties, and was the sixty-seventh in the order of formation. It is situated in the north middle part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Carroll, Gallatin and Grant Counties; on the east by Grant and Scott; on the south by Scott and Franklin; on the west by Henry, from which it is separated by the Kentucky River, and in 1880 it had 17,401 population. It is drained by the Kentucky River and Eagle Creek, and tributaries, comprising Big and Little Twin, Cedar, Big Indian, Caney, Clay, Lick and Severn Creeks. The surface is mostly rolling or undulating, a part of the county being somewhat hilly, but all productive. The



agricultural report of 1880 shows the following crop and stock statistics: Corn, 1,016,362 bushels; oats, 18,479; rye, 19,814; wheat, 104,764; Irish potatoes, 14,296; tobacco, 5,765,351 pounds; horses and mules, 6,805 head; cattle, 8,020; sheep, 10,579, and hogs, 29,441. The Short Line division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad runs along the northern boundary of the county, which, in connection with the Kentucky River, gives it access to the best markets.

Owenton, the capital of the county, is centrally situated and is about thirty miles from Frankfort. It has a brick courthouse and other public buildings, several elegant churches, good schools, a number of flourishing stores, and a prosperous general business. It has 654 inhabitants. But few counties in the State are more thickly dotted over with villages, of which are the following: Bethany, Canby, Dallasburg, East Eagle, Gratz, Harmony, Harrisburg, Lusby's Mills, Lone Oak, Monterey, New Columbus, New Liberty, Polar Grove, Pleasant Home, Squireville, Sweet Owen, Truesville and West Union. These vary from some 300 inhabitants down to a cross-roads store and postoffice.

The county has a number of mineral springs, the waters of some of them possessing strong medicinal properties. There are a number of natural wonders in the county that merit description.

The "Jump off" on the Kentucky River, is a perpendicular precipice, at least 100 feet high, with a hollow passing through its centre about wide enough for a wagon road. The "Point of Rocks," on Cedar Creek, just above its mouth, and near Williamsburg is a beautiful and highly romantic spot, where an immense rock, about seventy-five feet high, overhangs a place in the creek called the "Deep Hole," to which no bottom has ever been found, and which abounds with fish of a fine quality. "Pond Branch" is a stream of water which flows from a large pond in a rich alluvial valley, that from its general appearance is supposed to have been at one time the bed of the Kentucky River. It is about a mile and a half from Lock and Dam No. 3. The water flows from the pond and empties into the river by two outlets and thus forms a complete mountain island, two and a half miles long and a mile and a half wide in its broadest part.—[Collins, Vol. II, p. 671.]

Owen County was named in honor of Col. Abraham Owen, a native of Virginia, born in 1769, and who came to Kentucky in 1785, locating in what is now Shelby County. He served in nearly every campaign against the Indians after he came to the State. He was with Gen. St. Clair in his disastrous expedition in 1791, and was twice wounded at his defeat. He served in the Legislature and in the State Senate, and in 1799 was chosen a member of the convention that

framed the second constitution. He was an aid to Gen. Harrison in the battle of Tippecanoe, and fell in the same charge with Col. Joseph Hamilton Daveiss. Thus those two hero-martyrs, whose proud spirits took their flight on the bloody field of Tippecanoe, are each perpetuated by a county named in their honor.

OWSLEY COUNTY is young in years, compared to some fifty or more others in the State, having been created in 1843, and ranking as the ninety-sixth in the order of formation. It is a small county, situated in the eastern part of the State, and bounded on the north by Lee County; on the east by Breathitt and Perry; on the south by Clay; on the west by Jackson and Estill, and in 1880 it had 4,942 population. The face of the country is generally hilly and broken, but along the river and creek bottoms it is rich and very productive, corn, oats, wheat and rye being the principal crops, with a very little tobacco and stock raising. The South Fork of the Kentucky River flows through the central part of the county; the main Kentucky River forms part of the north boundary line, while its Middle Fork crosses the northeast corner.

Booneville, the seat of justice, is situated in the north part of the county, on the South Fork of the Kentucky River. It has the usual public buildings, and is a small town of only 201 inhabitants in 1880. Other villages and postoffices are Buck Creek, South Fork and Island City.

Owsley County lies in the eastern coal fields of the State, and the coal deposits are extensive and valuable. The lack of transportation facilities, however, prevent the mining interests from becoming as valuable as they otherwise would. Iron ore exists in some parts of the county. The county was named for William Owsley, the fourteenth governor of the State. (A sketch of Gov. Owsley is given in Chapter XIII, page 315, of this volume.)

PENDLETON COUNTY, the twenty-eighth organized in the State, was formed in 1798 from parts of Campbell and Bracken Counties, and was named for Edmund Pendleton, a prominent lawyer and jurist of Virginia. It lies in the north middle part of the State, and is nearly oblong in shape. It is bounded on the north by Campbell and Kenton Counties; on the east by Bracken County and the Ohio River; on the south by Harrison County.

on the west by Grant County, and by the census of 1880 it had 16,702 inhabitants. It is drained by the Licking River and its tributaries, the main one being the South Licking; others being Fork Lick, Kincaid, Flower, Blanket, Willow, Crooked, Richland and Grass Creek. The river and creek bottoms are exceedingly rich, and produce the finest crops. Away from the bottoms the land is undulating and in places hilly. The agricultural statistics for 1880 show the following: Corn, 792,695 bushels; oats, 20,696 bushels; wheat, 181,845 bushels; potatoes, 26,012 bushels; tobacco, 4,070,291 pounds; horses and mules, 5,890; cattle, 8,490, and hogs, 23,628. The completion of the Kentucky Central Railroad has been a great benefit to the county, and the land, in consequence, has advanced considerably in value.

Pendleton County contains nothing of special historical interest. No Indian battles were fought within its limits, nor any depredations or indignities committed by them on the early settlers. The most important event, perhaps, connected with the early history, was the march through the county of the notorious Col. Byrd and his army of hostile British and savages in 1779. As detailed in the early history of the State, Col. Byrd, with an army of 600 men and six pieces of cannon,\* invaded Kentucky in that year and captured Ruddle's and Martin's Stations. He ascended the Licking River to the junction of the main stream and the South Fork, where the town of Falmouth now stands, and there landed his cannon and concentrated his army. He proceeded directly toward Ruddle's Station in what is now Harrison County, marking his route by the blazing of trees. His line of march, by this means, could be traced many years afterward. He captured Ruddle's and Martin's Stations, then returned by the same route, embarked at the same place and descended the Licking River into the Ohio. His route is laid down and described as above as "Byrd's War Road" on Filson's map, the first map made of Kentucky.

Falmouth, the capital of the county, is situated at the confluence of the Licking River and its South Fork about fifty miles above the mouth of the united stream. The town is an old one, was originally called Fallsmouth and its location was the site of one of the early settlements of the county, as appears from the following advertisement published in the *Centinel of the North-Western Territory*:†

Plank and Scantling of every kind delivered at the mill or in Cincinnati, on the shortest notice. Orders will be thankfully received and pointedly attended to.

JOHN WALLERE.

Fallsmouth, Forks of Licking, Dec. 15, 1794.

N. B. The subscriber will be down with a quantity of planks as soon as the water of the Licking will admit.

Falmouth has the usual county buildings, some half-dozen churches, good schools, a flourishing general business, and in 1880 a population of 967. It was originally settled and laid out by Virginians, and named for Falmouth in the "Old Dominion." Butler, next to Falmouth, is the largest town in the county, having, in 1880, a population of 255; Boston had 202 and De Mossville 141. Other villages, postoffices and railroad stations in the county are Ash Run, Bachelor's Rest, Catawba, Dividing Ridge, Elizabethville, Gardnersville, Levingood, Meridian, Morgan, Motier, Peach Grove, Salem, etc.

PERRY COUNTY dates back to 1820 and ranks as the sixty-eighth county in the State. It was named for Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, the hero of the naval battle on Lake Erie during the war of 1812. Clay and Floyd Counties contributed its territory, and in turn it contributed to the formation of Breathitt, Letcher and Leslie. It is situated in the southeastern and mountainous part of the State, is still large in area, and is bounded on the north by Breathitt County; on the east by Letcher; on the south by Letcher and Leslie; on the west by Clay and Owsley, and in 1880 it had 5,607 population. It is on the headwaters of the Kentucky River, which is navigable for small boats descending most of the year. The rude civilization of the mountainous section in which the county is located, is attested by the names of the following streams, tributaries of the Kentucky River: Squabble, Hell-for-Certain, Cutshin, Laurel and Lost Forks, Macy, Leatherwood and Williams. The surface is rough and mountainous, and much of the land worthless, except for sheep-grazing; the last census showed the number of sheep to be 4,860—almost a sheep for every man, woman and child in the county. Considerable cattle and hogs are raised, and the valleys and bottoms along the water-courses produce fine crops of corn, oats and wheat. Coal, iron ore and salt exist, but the limited market facilities prevent them from being very valuable.

Hazard, the seat of justice, and the middle name of Commodore Perry, is a small place situated on the North Fork of the Kentucky

\*The first cannon ever in Kentucky.

†The *Centinel* was established at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1793.



River, about 150 miles southeast of Frankfort. Grapevine, Salt Creek and Troublesome are cross-road stores and postoffices.

PIKE COUNTY was founded in 1821 from a part of Floyd, and was the seventieth created in the State. It was named in honor of Gen. Zebulon M. Pike, a gallant soldier and officer in the war of 1812. Pike County forms the extreme eastern point of the State, having West Virginia and Virginia for its northeastern, eastern, and southeastern boundaries; Letcher and Floyd Counties for its southern and western boundaries; Martin for its northern boundary. In 1880 it had 13,001 inhabitants. Along the water-courses are some fine lands, which produce excellent crops, but the uplands are mostly rough and hilly, and the soil thin. The principal agricultural products are corn, oats, and wheat, with a little tobacco; also cattle and hogs are raised to some extent.

Coal, iron ore and salt comprise the mineral wealth of Pike County. With better and more extended transportation facilities, coal mining could be made an important industry of the county, and give employment to a large number of men.

Pikeville, the seat of justice, is situated on the West Fork of the Big Sandy River. It is a small place of 246 inhabitants, and was incorporated in 1824. It has the usual county buildings and several flourishing stores. Other villages and postoffices in the county are Ash Camp, Bent Branch, Canada, Coal Run, Cedar, Dorton, Fish Trap, Grange Store, Long Fork, Lookout, Little Creek, Mouth Card, Mouth of Pond, Peter, Powell's Mills, Paw-Paw, Robinson Creek and White Post. Collins has the following of Pikeville:

The courthouse of Pike County was erected in 1823, upon a public square in the town of Pikeville which, together with a large portion of the town itself, was in such a disputed situation, and claimed by so many persons holding adversely to each other, that the Legislature was appealed to for a remedy, and by law vested the title of the town in trustees, directing (them) to sell the lots, and return the proceeds of sale in secured bonds to the circuit clerk's office for the benefit of those whom the court should decree to be the rightful owners. This secured to the lot buyers a good title, to the real owners full pay for their property, and to the town the measure of prosperity incident to a new county seat.

POWELL COUNTY was formed in 1852, from parts of Montgomery, Clark and Estill, and was the one hundred and first in the State. It was named for Hon. Lazarus W. Powell, the

first Democratic governor elected in Kentucky after the organization of the party, and a sketch of whom appears in a preceding chapter. It is situated in the eastern middle portion of the State, and is bounded on the north by Montgomery and Menifee Counties; on the east by Menifee and Wolfe; on the south, southwest and west by Estill and Clark, and in 1880 it had 3,639 inhabitants. The Red River runs through the county from east to west, and furnishes fine water power. Its tributaries are Indian, Cane, Morris, Hatcher, Paint, Beech Fork, Black Brush, Snow, Middle Fork, Lulbegrud, South Fork, Cow, Cat, Owl, Picks, Moppen, Hatton and Raccoon Creeks. The bottoms along the Red River and tributaries show some very fine farms, and produce good crops of tobacco and grain. The uplands also produce well. The entire county was originally well timbered with growths of the best quality.

Stanton, the seat of justice, is situated in the northwestern part of the county, and was named in honor of Hon. Richard M. Stanton, a prominent statesman of Kentucky. It is a small place of 98 inhabitants by the last census, and with but a small general business. The public buildings were destroyed by fire in 1863, and most of the records of the county were thus lost. The courthouse has since been rebuilt. West Bend and Hall's Store are merely postoffices of the county.

PULASKI COUNTY was organized in 1798, and is the twenty-seventh formed in the State. Its territory was contributed by Lincoln and Green Counties, and its name by Count Pulaski, a distinguished Polish officer, who came over, joined the American Army, and took an active part in the Revolutionary war until his death, which resulted from a wound received in the battle of Savannah in 1779. It is situated in the southern part of the State, one tier of counties between it and the Tennessee line, and is bounded on the north by Lincoln and Rockcastle Counties; on the east by Rockcastle and Laurel; on the south by Whitley, and Wayne; on the west by Russel and Casey, and in 1880 it had 21,318 inhabitants. It is drained by the Cumberland and Rockcastle Rivers, and by Lime, South Fork, White Oak, Buck, Pittman and Fishing Creeks. The Cumberland River is navigable up to within six miles of Somerset. Coal is abundant and is extensively mined since the opening of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad. The crop and stock statistics of 1880, were as follows: Corn, 612,388 bushels; oats, 76,159;

wheat 80,636; tobacco, 30,516 pounds; horses and mules, 6,175 head; cattle, 11,548; sheep, 13,812, and hogs, 24,755. The Cincinnati Southern Railroad has given the county access to the best markets.

Settlements were made early in Pulaski County, perhaps prior to 1790. Among the first settlers were John Newby, William Owen, the Prathers, Pitmans, Thomas Hansford, the Jaspers, Alexander McKenzie, Charles Neal, John, James and Jesse Richardson. Collins relates the following of an old citizen of the county:

Elijah Denny, of Pulaski County, was one hundred and eighteen years old September 10, 1855, and as active as many men at 40; worked daily on the farm; had been an early riser all his life; never drank but one cup of coffee, and that was in 1848. He served seven years in the Revolutionary war; was wounded at the siege of Charleston; was also at the siege of Savannah, and in the battles of Eutaw Springs, Camden, King's Mountain and Monk's Corner. \* \* \* He was a strict member of the Baptist Church, and rode six miles to every regular church meeting. He had four sons and five daughters, all living in 1855—the eldest in his seventy-eighth year and the youngest fifty-one years.

Somerset, the seat of justice, is situated near the center of the county on the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, about eighty miles south of Frankfort. It has the usual county buildings, several handsome churches, good schools, a number of flourishing stores and factories on a small scale, and a population of about 1,300. Other towns, stations and postoffices are as follows: Harrison, Grundy, Waitsboro, Stylesville, Sublimity, Mount Gilead, Charlottesville, Woodstock, etc.

The county is rich in mineral wealth. Coal is the richest, perhaps, of all the mineral deposits and is now being mined in large quantities and in different parts of the county. Salt was manufactured in early times extensively, and even up to late years. Lead ore has been found, but in small quantities, and iron ore is also found, but of a not very good quality. There is an abundance of water-power on the streams, and with the plentiful supply of coal the county, with capital and energy, ought to be alive with manufactories.

The Indians committed numerous depredations on the early settlers of the county, and slight skirmishes occurred now and then between them and the whites. But they were usually severely chastised by their pale-faced foes. One of the most serious skirmishes occurred on the ridge between Rockcastle River and Buck's Creek, in which Lieut. McClure, commander of the whites, was mortally wounded, and died the next day.

The battle of Mill Springs was fought in

this county, in 1862, between Federal troops commanded by Gen. George H. Thomas, and Confederates commanded by Gen. George B. Crittenden. The latter were defeated, and General Zollicoffer, second in command, was killed. This battle is more particularly described in the general war history.

Pulaski County has a number of natural wonders. One of the most remarkable is described as follows:

Upon the line of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, in Pulaski County, fifteen miles north of the Cumberland River, there is a natural curiosity which rivals in picturesqueness the Natural Bridge in Virginia. Upon a high bluff is a natural bridge, with a clear span of 100 feet, and sixty feet high. At one end of the bridge, and by a continuation of the same rock, is formed a dome fifty feet deep and extending from abutment to abutment, 300 feet. The branches of the tallest trees extend under the edge of this dome, and a person can walk fifty feet within its roof.

ROBERTSON COUNTY is of recent origin, and was created in 1867, being the 111th county in the State. It was formed of parts of Nicholas, Harrison, Bracken and Mason Counties, and named in honor of Chief Justice George Robertson. It is one of the small counties, and lies in the northeastern part of the State; is bounded on the north by Bracken County; on the east by Mason and Fleming; on the south by Nicholas; on the west by Harrison, and in 1880 it had a population of 5,814. It is drained by the main Licking River, the north fork of the Licking, and by Cedar, Johnson's Fork, Clay, Shannon, Helm, Painter, West and Fire Lick Creeks. The county is rolling and hilly, but there is very little land that is not susceptible of cultivation. In some portions of the county the soil is excellent and well adapted to raising tobacco; in other portions it is rather thin. In 1880 the tobacco crop was 1,722,398 pounds, while the grain crops were also good. Stock-raising receives considerable attention.

Mount Olivet, the seat of justice, is situated in the northeast part of the county. It is a small town with only 317 inhabitants in 1880. It has a new brick courthouse and other public buildings, and the usual general business. Some ten years ago it was said that the courthouse was the only brick building in the county. Other villages and postoffices are Bratton, Bridgeville, Kentontown, Newtown and Pin Hook.

ROCKCASTLE COUNTY was created in 1810 from parts of Lincoln, Pulaski, Madison and



Knox Counties, and was the fifty-second in the order of formation. It was named for Rockcastle River, which borders it on the southeast. It is situated in the southeast middle part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Madison County; on the east by Jackson and Laurel; on the south by Laurel and Pulaski; on the west by Pulaski, Lincoln and Garrard, and in 1880 it had a population of 9,670. It is drained by the Dick's and Rockcastle Rivers, and by Roundstone, Brush, Skaggs, and Copperas Creeks. The western part of the county lays well and the soil is good, the remainder is somewhat broken and hilly. Much fine timber is still to be seen, consisting of walnut, poplar, oak, hickory, linden, dogwood and sycamore. In some sections there are fine "sugar orchards." The crop and stock statistics in 1880 were as follows: Corn, 298,693 bushels; oats, 19,421; wheat, 16,202; potatoes, 16,678; tobacco, 17,181 pounds; horses and mules, 2,610 head; cattle, 4,730; sheep, 4,277 and hogs, 10,329. The Knoxville branch of the Louisville & Nashville system passes through the county, affording excellent market facilities.

Rockcastle County, like all of this section of Kentucky, is rich in mineral wealth. Building stone, coal, saltpeter and mineral springs abound. Coal is the most valuable of all its mineral productions, and, since the building of the railroad, coal mines are being opened in many places, and a large business developed. Near Pine Hill a fine bed of block coal has been discovered. During the war of 1812 saltpeter was extensively manufactured in the saltpeter caves which abound in this county.

Mount Vernon, the county seat, is situated on the Knoxville Branch Railroad, 129 miles from Louisville, and on the State road from Crab Orchard to Cumberland Gap. It has the usual county buildings and professional men, several churches, schools, stores, etc., and about 600 inhabitants. Other towns, stations and postoffices are Broadhead, Livingston, Mount Guthrie, Pine Hill and Pleasant Valley.

The battle of Wild Cat, quite a severe battle during the late war, took place in this county in October, 1861. The Federal troops were commanded by Col. T. T. Garrard and Gen. Schoepff, and the Confederates by Gen. Zollicoffer. The latter were defeated, with a loss of some thirty killed and 100 wounded.

ROWAN COUNTY was created in 1856, from part of Fleming and Morgan Counties, and

was the one hundred and fourth in order of formation in the State. It is one of the northeastern mountain counties, and is bounded on the north by Lewis County; on the east by Carter and Elliott; on the south by Morgan and Menifee, on the west by Bath and Fleming, and in 1880 it had a population of 4,420. It is drained by the Licking River and tributaries. The county is broken and hilly, but there are some fine valleys which produce well. Grasses and grain are the principal crops, and stock raising is carried on to some extent.

Coal and iron ore are to be found in the county, but not in so large quantities as in other portions of the State. The completion of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad through the county is beginning to develop its mineral resources.

Morehead, the seat of justice, is situated in the eastern part of the county, on the railroad, and is a small place of 163 inhabitants by the last census. It contains the usual public buildings, several churches and a number of flourishing stores. It was named in honor of James T. Morehead, the eleventh governor (through the death of Gov. Breathitt) of the commonwealth. Other villages and postoffices in the county are Cassidy's Mills, Cross Roads, Gill's Mills and Pine Springs.

RUSSELL COUNTY was created in 1825 from portions of Wayne, Adair and Cumberland Counties, and was the eighty-first in the order of formation. It lies in the south middle part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Casey County, on the east by Casey, Pulaski and Wayne, on the south by Clinton, on the west by Cumberland and Adair, and in 1880 it had 7,591 inhabitants. Most of the county is rough and broken, and not profitable as an agricultural region, but along the Cumberland River bottoms are some fine farming lands. A number of streams flow into the Cumberland River, and these form a fine water power in the county.

Jamestown, the seat of justice, is a small place of 121 inhabitants, and is situated in the southeast part of the county. Besides the county buildings it has churches, schools and a good general business. Other villages and postoffices are Creelsboro, on the Cumberland River; Lairsville and Romena, also on the Cumberland; and Millersville, Montpelier and Buena Vista—all small places.

The county was named in honor of Col. William Russell, a native of Virginia, born in 1758, and died in Fayette County, Ky., in

1825. He served gallantly in the Revolutionary war, and after his removal to Kentucky, in 1780, he took an active part in every important expedition against the Indians, and in 1808 President Madison appointed him to the command of a regiment in the regular army. He participated in the battle of Tippecanoe, and after Gen. Harrison's transfer to the northwestern army, Col. Russell succeeded to the important command of the frontiers of Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. Upon the establishment of peace he retired to his farm in Fayette County, where, except his service in the Legislature, the remainder of his life was spent in peace and quiet.

SCOTT COUNTY was formed in 1792 from a part of Woodford, and was the second created after Kentucky became a sovereign State, but was the eleventh of the entire number. It is situated in the north middle part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Owen, Grant and Harrison Counties; on the east by Harrison and Bourbon; on the south by Fayette and Woodford; on the west by Franklin and Owen, and by the census of 1880 it had a population of 14,965. It is one of the blue-grass counties, in which blooded stock is indigenous. Great attention is paid to raising fine cattle and thoroughbred horses. The crop and stock statistics for 1880 were as follows: Corn, 919,757 bushels; oats, 43,707; wheat, 322,173; tobacco, 160,535 pounds; horses and mules, 6,505 head; cattle, 10,842; sheep, 20,750, and hogs, 18,864. The Cincinnati Southern Railroad passes centrally through the county, and has greatly benefited it and enhanced the value of property.

Settlements were made very early in Scott County. It is a fact, probably without dispute, that the first settlement in Kentucky north of the Kentucky River was made at what was known as the "Royal Spring," the present site of Georgetown. In October, 1776, Col. Robert Patterson and Ben and John McClelland, with other persons from the neighboring stations, erected a fort or station on the bluff above the Royal Spring, which they called "McClelland's Fort." So fiercely did the Indians resent this encroachment upon their hunting-grounds, that the whites were finally forced to abandon it, and returned to Harrod's Station, whence they had come. In 1782 Elijah Craig settled on the lands on which Lebanon Town (afterward Georgetown) was located. Lebanon Town, as it was at first called, was laid

out, and in 1790 was incorporated by the Legislature of Virginia, and the name changed to Georgetown, in honor of George Washington. This was the beginning of the settlement of Scott County, although at that time it was a part of Fayette, and from 1788 to 1792 a part of Woodford County.

Georgetown, the seat of justice, is situated a little south of the geographical center of the county, and occupies the old site of McClelland's Fort, at the Royal Spring. It is seventeen miles east of Frankfort, and seventy miles south of Covington and Cincinnati. It is one of the handsomest little cities in central Kentucky, and by the census of 1880 it had 2,061 inhabitants. It has an elegant brick courthouse of modern architecture, and other public buildings. A number of spacious churches and magnificent residences adorn the streets, and among the attractions of the town are the best of schools, public and select, white and colored. There are a large number of stores, and the usual general business.

Scott County is dotted over with little villages, some of them exceedingly pretty. They are as follows: Dry Run, Great Crossing, Hinton, Long Lick, Little Eagle, Minorsville, Newtown, Oxford, Payne's, Skinnersburg, Sadieville, Stamping Ground, Turkey Foot and White Sulphur.

Georgetown has always been a fine educational center. As early as January, 1788, a select school was advertised to be opened at Lebanon Town (now Georgetown) by Messrs. Jones and Worley. They advertised to teach the "Latin and Greek languages, together with such branches of the sciences as are usually taught in public seminaries." Bacon College and the Western Military Institute were excellent educational institutions in their day. The Female Collegiate Institute was established in 1838, and had a very popular existence for about ten years, and was then discontinued. Georgetown Female Seminary was established in 1846, and for twenty years it was one of the most popular female schools in the South or West. The buildings were burned in 1865, and the school discontinued. The Georgetown College was chartered in 1829, and is still in existence. It is under the auspices of the Baptist Church, and is a first-class educational institution.

Among the prominent men of Scott County may be mentioned Col. Robert Johnson, Gov. George W. Johnson, Gen. Joseph Desha, Capt. Daniel Gano and Gen. Charles Scott. The latter gentleman, Gen. Scott, was elected the fourth governor of Kentucky. He was



born in Virginia, and was a gallant soldier, and almost entirely brought up in the army. He was in Braddock's defeat in 1755; he served in the Revolutionary war, and by his own gallantry arose to the rank of colonel; he was at Charleston, S. C., and was surrendered with the army there to the British. After the war was over he came to Kentucky, and in 1785 settled in what is now Scott County, and which upon its formation was named in his honor. He was with Gen. St. Clair in his memorable defeat in 1791; he was with Gen. Wilkinson the same year in an expedition against the Indians on the Wabash; in 1794 he was with Gen. Wayne at the battle of the Fallen Timber, and commanded a division of his army. In 1808 he was elected governor of the commonwealth, which position he filled with distinction; he died in 1820 at a good old age.

Col. Robert Johnson was the father of Hon. Richard M. Johnson, Vice-President of the United States under Martin Van Buren. He was born in Virginia, and immigrated to Kentucky when it formed a county of the "old Dominion." He took an active part in the early period of Kentucky's history. Gov. George W. Johnson was a grandson of the above. He was born in this county, was educated in Transylvania University, and studied law. When the civil war came on he adopted the Southern side, and was provisional governor of Kentucky, when a few bold and intriguing spirits "seceded Kentucky," and established a provisional government in the Green River country. His career was cut short by his premature death on the field of Shiloh.

Gen. Joseph Desha, the eighth governor of Kentucky, was born in Monroe County, Penn., in 1768. He was a descendant of a French Huguenot family, who was forced to fly to America to escape religious persecutions. In 1781 his father immigrated to Kentucky and in the following year removed to that portion of the present State of Tennessee then known as the "Cumberland District." Joseph returned to Kentucky and in 1792 settled in Mason County. He filled many responsible positions both civil and military. He was with Gen. Wayne in 1794, at the battle of the Fallen Timber; he was a major-general in the war of 1812, and commanded a division in the battle of the Thames, a battle in which Kentucky was well represented. He was elected governor of the State in 1824, and his administration was marked by ability. He died in Georgetown in 1842 at the age of seventy-four years.

Capt. Daniel Gano was born in North

Carolina in 1758, and died in this county, in 1849, at the age of ninety-one years. He served in the Revolutionary war, enlisting as an ensign of artillery when seventeen years of age. He participated in many battles of the Revolution, and was with Gen. Montgomery in his winter march to Quebec in 1776, which, in severity of weather and climate, found an awful parallel, a little more than a quarter of a century later, in the disastrous retreat of Bonaparte from Moscow. He came to Kentucky with Gen. Wilkinson, as a captain in the regular army, and was among the first settlers of Frankfort, and assisted to lay off that town. He was of the order of Cincinnati, and his diploma was signed by George Washington. His name is an honored one in Kentucky, and he has many representatives living throughout the central part of the State.

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SHELBY COUNTY was the twelfth organized in the State, and the third after Kentucky was admitted into the Union. It dates back to 1792, and was formed from a part of Jefferson County. From its original territory have been formed wholly or in part the following counties: Franklin in 1794; Henry and Gallatin in 1798; Oldham in 1823, and Spencer in 1824. It lies in the north middle part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Oldham and Henry Counties; on the east by Franklin and Anderson; on the south by Anderson and Spencer; on the west by Jefferson and Oldham, and by the census of 1880 it had 16,813 population. It is watered and drained by the Kentucky and Salt Rivers and numerous small tributaries, among which are Benson, Floyd's Fork, Beech, Six Mile, Clear, Fox Run, Plum, Long Run, Bullskin, Brashear, Gist Creek, etc.

Shelby is one of the finest counties in the State. The land mostly lies well, being gently rolling or undulating, and is well improved and in a high state of cultivation. The soil rests on limestone with red clay foundation, and is very rich and productive. The agricultural and live stock statistics for 1880 were as follows: Corn, 1,493,101 bushels; oats, 86,488; wheat, 282,672; rye, 35,244; tobacco, 620,262 pounds; horses and mules, 7,761 head; cattle, 16,134; sheep, 37,237, and hogs, 43,804. Hemp is also grown, but not very extensively. The Shelbyville Railroad, or, as now known, the Bloomfield Branch, has given the county the advantage of the best of markets.

The settlement of the county dates back to 1779. In that year Squire Boone, a brother of Daniel Boone, established a station near where the town of Shelbyville now stands. Besides himself and family, the following men, most of whom had families, were inmates of the station: Evan Hinton, Peter Paul, Richard Cates, Charles Coleman, John Buckles, John and Joseph Eastwood, Alexander Bryan, Abraham Holt, John McFadden, Jerre Harris, Morgan Hughes, John Hinton, John Nichols, Robert Tyler, Sr., John Stapleton, James Wright, Adam, Jacob and Peter Wickersham, Abraham Van Meter and George Yunt. Of this station Collins says:

Squire Boone's Station, situated near where Shelbyville now is, on Clear Creek, a branch of Brashear's Creek, was for nearly two years the only station between Harrodsburg and the small stations round it, and the important station at the falls, and the cordon of small stations stretching out Beargrass Creek. It was broken up, temporarily, by an Indian raid in September, 1781. The inhabitants became alarmed at the appearance of Indians in the neighborhood, and determined to remove to the stronger settlements on Beargrass. In effecting this removal, the party, necessarily numbered with women, children and household goods, was attacked by a large body of Indians near Long Run, defeated and dispersed with considerable loss. \* \* \* Over one hundred persons, men, women and children, were killed or taken captives during this raid.

The station was thus virtually broken up and abandoned for the time. But about the close of the year 1781, it was again occupied by the whites. Other stations began to spring up in different parts of the county about this time. Robert Tyler, Sr., and his friend and relative, Bland Ballard, Sr., established one about four miles from the present site of Shelbyville; near to that was established Owen's Station; Whitaker's Station was on the west side of Clear Creek, and Well's Station three miles from the present town of Shelbyville, etc.

Shelbyville, the seat of justice, is situated a little south of the geographical center of the county, and is thirty miles from Louisville, and twenty-one from Frankfort, by turnpike road. It was laid out as a town, January 15, 1793, and the original plat comprised fifty-one acres of land "around and adjacent to the place whereon the public buildings are to be erected." The following quaint "ordnance" was among the first passed by the board of trustees of the town:

*Ordered* that every purchaser or purchasers of lots in the town of Shelbyville, shall build thereon a hewed log house, with a brick or stone chimney, not less than one story and a half high, otherwise the lot or lots shall be forfeited for the use of the town.

Shelbyville has a fine brick courthouse and other public buildings, several stores, banks, shops, etc., and a large and prosperous general business. It has a number of elegant churches, representing the different denominations; good schools, both public and select, and an able press. In 1880 it had 2,393 inhabitants. Simpsonville is a town of 253 inhabitants, and the largest town in the county, next to Shelbyville. Other villages, postoffices and railroad stations are Bagdad, Clay Village, Chestnut Grove, Cropper's Depot, Christiansburg, Finchville, Graefenburg, Harrisonville, North Benson, Peytona, Scott's Station, Southville and Todd's Point.

Squire Boone, the pioneer of Shelby County, was a younger brother of Daniel Boone, and was the only companion of the latter in his sojourn in the wilderness of Kentucky for quite a time. But like the old hero and pioneer, so much is said of him in the preceding pages of this volume, as to leave nothing for this chapter without repeating what is already written.

Gen. Isaac Shelby, for whom this county was named, was the first governor of Kentucky after it was admitted as a State into the Union. He was born in Maryland, in 1750, and was of Welsh descent, his grandfather having emigrated from Wales in a very early day. He was born amid the turbulent scenes of the colonial period, and cradled, as it were, in the frontier army. When very young he served as a lieutenant in a company commanded by his father, Gen. Evan Shelby, in the battle of Kanawha in October, 1774—a battle of almost unprecedented severity in Indian warfare. He (Isaac Shelby) came to Kentucky in 1775, as a surveyor for the Transylvania Company. The Revolutionary war having commenced, he returned home, when he found himself a citizen of North Carolina, owing to a change of the boundary line between that State and Virginia, where he had previously settled. He was appointed colonel of the militia of Sullivan County. In 1780 he again visited Kentucky, to look after the lands he had located. On his return to North Carolina, he again entered into the Revolutionary struggle and, collecting around him a force, attacked Col. Ferguson, one of the ablest partisan officers in the British service. He planned the campaign, which resulted in the battle of King's Mountain, the defeat of Ferguson and the destruction of his entire army. He afterward served for a time under Gen. Marion, the "Swamp Fox of the Carolinas." In 1783 he settled permanently in Kentucky,



and when in 1792 Kentucky was admitted into the sisterhood of States, he was chosen governor. In 1812 he was again elected governor, and during this second term occurred our second war with England. By authority of the State Legislature, and at the solicitation of Gen. Harrison himself, he called for troops, and in thirty days 4,000 men responded to the call. He at once marched to the seat of war, and joined Gen. Harrison in time to take part in the battle of the Thames, in which engagement he, at the request of Gen. Harrison, commanded the Kentucky troops in person, of which he had previously been commissioned major-general. For his conduct in this campaign, Congress presented him a gold medal. At the close of his second term as governor, he returned to his farm determined to spend the remainder of his life in quiet. In 1817 he was appointed Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Monroe, but declined on account of the infirmities of age which were now pressing upon him. His last official act of importance was the purchase in 1818, in connection with Gen. Jackson, of that portion of Kentucky and Tennessee lying between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers, and since known as the "Jackson Purchase." He died at his home in Lincoln County, in 1826, full of years and full of honors.

Col. Chas. S. Todd, a prominent statesman, diplomatist and soldier, was long a citizen of this county. He was born near Danville, Ky., in 1791, and was a son of Judge Thomas Todd, a judge at one time of the supreme court of the United States. Col. Todd received the best education to be obtained in that early day, and graduated from William and Mary College, Virginia, in 1809. He served in the war of 1812, and arose to the rank of inspector-general of the American Army with the rank of brevet colonel of cavalry. He married a daughter of Gov. Shelby; was secretary of State under Gov. Madison; was several times a representative in the Legislature, was *charge d'affaires* to Columbia, South America, 1818-23; was minister to St. Petersburg under President Tyler, and filled a great many other important positions, political, social and religious. He was no less a writer than soldier and statesman, and was editor for a time of the *Cincinnati Republican*, a Whig newspaper; he also prepared a sketch of Gen. Harrison, under whom he served in the army. He died in Louisiana, in 1871, aged eighty years.

Judge William Logan, for years an honored citizen of Shelby County, was a son of the old pioneer hero, Gen. Benjamin Logan, and

was born in Harrodsburg, Ky., in 1776. He served repeatedly in the Legislature, was several times speaker of the house; was twice appointed judge of the court of appeals; was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1799; was a candidate for governor in 1820, but was defeated. He died in 1822 in the very prime and vigor of manhood.

SIMPSON COUNTY was established in 1819, from parts of Logan and Warren, and was the sixty-third county in the order of formation. It was named in honor of Capt. John Simpson, one of the many victims of the disastrous battle of the River Raisin. It lies on the border of Tennessee, and is bounded on the north by Warren County; on the east by Allen; on the south by the State of Tennessee; on the west by Logan County, and in 1880 had 10,641 inhabitants. It is drained by the Big Barren River and its tributaries and by the Red River. Though small in area, it is one of the best and most productive counties in the State, having little land that is not susceptible of cultivation. The surface is generally level or slightly rolling, and the soil, based on limestone with red clay foundation, is rich and produces well. The stock and crop statistics in 1880 were as follows: Corn, 579,055 bushels; oats, 86,709; wheat, 117,010; tobacco, 1,668,055 pounds; horses and mules, 4,233 head; cattle, 4,599; sheep 3,199, and hogs, 20,022. The railroad facilities are good, and furnish the best markets to the very doors of the farmer.

Franklin, the county seat, is an enterprising little city of 1,686 inhabitants by the census of 1880. It is situated on the main line of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, and is about fifty miles north of Nashville, Tenn. It is also on the old Louisville & Nashville Turnpike Road, once as famous a thoroughfare of travel between North and South as the railroad is now. The town contains a good courthouse, other public buildings, several handsome churches, excellent schools, some fine residences, a good newspaper (the *Sentinel*), and the usual number of stores and business houses. Other towns and post offices are Middleton, Palmyra, Miliken Store, Sinking Creek, Hickory Flat, etc.

Simpson County contains little of historical interest. No thrilling adventures with the savages occurred upon its soil; no great wonders of nature are found within its limits. Among the relics of antiquity, however, of which it may boast, was the discovery, in 1841, of some skeletons in a mound near

Franklin. These skeletons were found twelve feet below the surface, and evidently belonged to the prehistoric race. They were in a moderately fair state of preservation—particularly one, which was of a large size.

SPENCER COUNTY was formed in 1824 from parts of Nelson, Shelby and Bullitt Counties, and was the seventy-seventh in the State. It lies in the north middle section, and is bounded on the north by Shelby County; on the east by Anderson; on the south by Nelson; on the west by Bullitt and Jefferson, and in 1880 it had 7,040 inhabitants. It is drained by the Salt River, which flows through the center of the county from east to west, with Elk, Plum, Brashear, Big Beech, Simpson and Ash Creeks as tributaries. There are many fine productive valleys along the water-courses; the uplands are rolling or hilly but are also fertile, and produce excellent crops. The agricultural report of 1880 showed the following: Corn, 528,987 bushels; oats, 18,743; wheat, 116,006; potatoes, 8,550, and tobacco, 28,185 pounds. The principal exports are tobacco, stock and whisky.

Taylorsville, the seat of justice, is situated near the geographical center of the county, on the Salt River, and is a small town of 537 inhabitants. It was named in honor of Richard Taylor, the proprietor of the land on which it was laid out. Of the town Collins says:

Taylorsville is located in a beautiful valley, comprising about 160 acres of land, lying immediately in the forks of the Salt River and Brashear's Creek. The creek runs parallel with the river for several hundred yards, and then, making an abrupt turn, flows into it at right angles; this, with the elevation in the rear, leaves the bottom or valley in an oblong square, the longest sides extending up and down the river and creek.

The town has a brick courthouse, several churches, good schools, some handsome residences, a number of flourishing stores, and a good general trade. Other villages and postoffices are Elk Creek, Little Mount, Mount Eden, Smileytown, Waterford and Wilsonville.

Spencer County was the scene of early Indian outrages; in common with many portions of Kentucky, Kincheloe's Station, one of the earliest settlements in the county, was attacked one night and several persons were killed. A number of women and children were massacred, and a number of others carried away captives, some of whom were not released until a final peace was established with the Indians.

Capt. Spear Spencer, in honor of whom this county was named, was a young man whose devotion to his country led him up to the cannon's mouth. He fell in the battle of Tippecanoe, where some of the flower of Kentucky chivalry was sacrificed upon the altar of patriotism. Capt. Spencer commanded a rifle company in that battle, and occupied an exposed position. He was shot three times, the last proving instantly fatal. He was a warm and intimate friend of Col. Joseph Hamilton Daveiss, who also was killed in the battle of Tippecanoe.

Collins' history has the following relic of the early history of Spencer County.

The late Capt. Joseph Pierce, of Cincinnati, Ohio, had erected over the remains of his old friend, Capt. Jacob Yoder, an iron tablet (the first east west of the Alleghenies) thus inscribed:

#### JACOB YODER

Was born at Reading, Penn., August 11, 1758, and was a soldier of the Revolutionary Army in 1777-78.

He emigrated to the West in 1780, and in May, 1782, from Fort Redstone, on the Monongahela River, in the

#### FIRST FLAT BOAT

That ever descended the Mississippi River. He landed in New Orleans with a cargo of produce.

He died April 7, 1832, at his farm in Spencer County, Ky., and lies here interred beneath this tablet.

Capt. Yoder was, from the above, the pioneer of flatboatmen of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. He long followed the river, taking boat loads of produce to New Orleans, and bringing back what was most needed in the new country. He settled in Bardstown, Ky., in 1785, and in 1804 in Spencer County, where he died, as stated above.

TAYLOR COUNTY was created in 1848 from the northeast half of Green County, and was the one-hundredth in the order of formation. It was named in honor of Gen. Zachary Taylor, the gallant soldier, the old "Rough and Ready" hero of Buena Vista. It is situated in the central portion of the State, and is bounded on the north by Marion County; on the east by Casey and Adair; on the south by Adair and Green; on the west by LaRue, and in 1880 it had 9,259 inhabitants. It was originally well timbered; much of the timber still exists, and the county is watered and drained by the Green River, Robinson, Stoner, Wilson, Long Branch, Meadow, Black Lick, Blockhouse, Big and Little Brush Creeks, etc. The surface is rolling, and in places broken and hilly, but much of the land is



productive. The crop statistics in 1880 were as follows: Corn, 363,207 bushels; oats, 39,511; wheat, 43,920; horses and mules, 3,244 head; cattle, 4,009; sheep, 4,434, and hogs, 11,070. The Muldrow Hills extend through the eastern portion of the county.

Campbellsville, the seat of justice, is situated a little north of the center of the county, and is a small town of 775 inhabitants by the last census. It is on the Cumberland & Ohio Railroad, and on the turnpike road from Lebanon to Columbia, midway between the two towns. It has a brick courthouse, with other public buildings, several churches, good schools, a number of stores, and an excellent general trade, particularly in lumber. The town bears the name of Andrew Campbell, the first settler in the neighborhood. Other villages and postoffices are Saloma, Buena Vista, Tampico, Mannsville and Pittmansville.

Iron ore exists in the county, but has not been found in any part in paying quantities. A sulphur well near Campbellsville was a rather popular resort some years ago.

Camps Hobson and Andrew Johnson were Federal camps established in this county during the late war. The citizens had a full taste of the civil war. Several skirmishes took place in the county between Federal soldiers and guerrillas. Quite a little battle occurred in the southern part of the county, near where the Lebanon and Columbia pike crosses the Green River between a portion of the Twenty-fifth Michigan Infantry, under Col. O. H. Moore, and a detachment of Morgan's cavalry, in which the latter was defeated. A number of other light skirmishes occurred in the county at different times.

TODD COUNTY was created in 1819 from portions of Logan and Christian Counties, and was the sixty-fourth in the order of formation. It is situated in the southern part of the State adjoining the Tennessee line, and is bounded on the north by Muhlenburg County; on the east by Logan; on the south by the State of Tennessee; on the west by Christian County, and in 1880 it had a population of 15,994. It is finely watered by Whippoorwill, East and West Forks of the Pond River, Elk, Big and Little Clifty Creeks, etc. A large portion of the county is fine farming land, rolling or gently undulating, but most of the north part is very rough and broken. The crop statistics in 1880 were as follows: Corn, 749,789 bushels; oats, 54,407; wheat, 259,984; tobacco, 5,808,-

425 pounds. Stock raising receives considerable attention of late years.

Elkton, the seat of justice, is situated on Elk Creek, near the center of the county, and is now connected by rail with the Louisville & Nashville Railroad by a road from it to Guthrie. It is a pleasant little town of 874 inhabitants by the last census. It has a brick courthouse, several churches, schools, and the usual business. Other villages and postoffices are Allensville, Guthrie, Haydenville, Trenton, Pilot Knob, Clifty, Kirkmansville, Sharon's Grove and Daysville.

Col. John Todd, for whom this county was named, was born in Pennsylvania, but became a resident of Virginia. He came to Kentucky about 1775, located considerable land, and returned to Virginia. About the year 1786 he again visited Kentucky. He was with Gen. George Rogers Clark in his expedition against Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and succeeded Gen. Clark in the command there. He was appointed the first civil governor of Illinois. He was sent to the Virginia Legislature in 1780 as a representative from the county of Kentucky. In 1782 he was killed in the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks, being in command of the whites at the time.

TRIGG COUNTY was formed in 1820 out of parts of Christian and Caldwell Counties, and was the sixty-sixth in the State. The State of Tennessee forms its southern border, with the Tennessee River on the west, separating it from Calloway and Marshall Counties; Lyon County on the north, and Christian on the east; in 1880 it had 14,489 inhabitants. The Cumberland River flows through the county. A portion of the county is fine farming land and a portion is rough, broken and hilly, but generally produces well. The statistics for 1880 were, corn, 796,954 bushels; oats, 14,879; wheat, 94,516, and tobacco, 5,667,143 pounds. Stock raising is of late years receiving considerable attention.

Trigg County was early settled. Probably the first white people were Dr. Thomas Walker and Daniel Smith, who were appointed to survey the line between Kentucky and Tennessee, then portions of Virginia and North Carolina. The first permanent settlement in the county, however, was made in the vicinity of Cerulean Springs. As early as 1782-83 Robert Goodwin, of North Carolina, and his sons, Samuel and Jesse, settled in that neighborhood. After the Goodwins

came the Spencers, James Daniel, John Blakel, William Johnson, John Goode, Joel Thompson and others. Thus the county was occupied by the whites.

Cadiz, the county seat, is situated on Little River, a small tributary of the Cumberland, and is one of the handsomest and cleanest little towns in southern Kentucky, having 646 inhabitants in 1880. It has a new courthouse, which is an honor to the town and county, several elegant churches, fine schools, a number of flourishing stores, and a good general trade, together with an excellent newspaper.

Canton, on the Cumberland River, was at one time (before the era of railroads) the most important place in the county. It is quite a shipping point yet, but railroads have deprived it of much of its former business. It had in 1880 a population of 246. In 1870 it had 320—a falling off of seventy-four in the last decade. Other villages and post-offices are Cerulean Springs, Empire Iron Works, Caledonia, Golden Pond, Laura Furnace, Linton, Lindsay's Mills, Maple Creek, Montgomery, Rockcastle, Roaring Springs and Wallonia.

Trigg County possesses considerable mineral wealth, comprising hydraulic limestone, lead and iron ore. Several furnaces for the manufacture of iron have been erected in the county at different times, but the limited facilities for transportation rendered them expensive, and they were abandoned. The water power of the county is valuable, and with railroads to develop it the county will be one of the best in this portion of the State.

Col. Stephen Trigg, for whom this county was named, was a prominent man in the early history of Kentucky. He was born in Virginia, and came to Kentucky in 1779 as a land commissioner, and finally established a station in the present county of Mercer. He was a gallant soldier, and after coming to Kentucky took an active part against the Indians. He was killed August 19, 1782, in the disastrous battle of Blue Licks.

TRIMBLE COUNTY was named in honor of Judge Robert Trimble, who is extensively noticed in a preceding chapter of this volume. It was formed, in 1836, from parts of Gallatin, Oldham and Henry Counties, and is the eighty-sixth in the order of formation. It is situated in the northern part of the State, bordering on the Ohio River, which separates it from the State of Indiana and

forms its western and northern boundary, with Carroll, Henry and Oldham Counties on its east and south. In 1880 it had a population of 7,171. The Little Kentucky River flows across the east corner of the county, emptying into the main stream a little above the mouth of the latter; other streams are Barebone, Middle, Patton and Spring Creeks. The stock and crop statistics for 1880 are as follows: Horses and mules, 2,882 head; cattle, 4,013; sheep, 4,091; hogs, 8,610; corn, 281,183 bushels; oats, 25,399; wheat, 66,027; tobacco, 1,658,307 pounds.

Trimble County furnishes a marble, termed by geologists Conchitic marble, on Corn Creek near the Ohio River. It is a drab-gray, and is susceptible of a fine polish. Portions of it are variegated with "pink, pinkish brown, or flesh-colored spots or patches." The corresponding vein has been worked to some extent in Indiana, and pronounced a valuable marble.

Bedford, the seat of justice, is situated near the center of the county. It is a small place of 197 inhabitants in 1880, and is distinguished for nothing in particular, except being the capital of the county. It has the usual public buildings, churches, schools, stores, general business, etc. Milton, on the Ohio River, opposite Madison, Ind., is one of the oldest towns in Kentucky and the most important one in the county. It was incorporated by the Legislature of Virginia in 1789, almost a century ago. In 1880 it had 352 inhabitants. Other villages and postoffices are Corn Creek, Ewingford, Kingston, Palmyra, etc.

UNION COUNTY was created in 1811, out of the western part of Henderson County, and was the fifty-fifth in the State in the order of formation. It lies on the Ohio River, and the State line between Indiana and Illinois strikes the Ohio opposite the center of the county. It is bounded on the north by the Ohio River and Henderson County; on the east by Henderson and Webster Counties; on the south by Webster and Crittenden; on the west by the Ohio River, and in 1880 the United States census gave it 17,800 inhabitants. The surface alternates between level, undulating and hilly lands. The soil is good and the crop statistics for 1880 were as follows: Corn, 1,663,957 bushels; oats, 53,375; wheat, 256,697; tobacco, 2,996,293 pounds. Live stock also receives due attention. "The origin of the county's name," says Mr. Collins, "is in doubt; but the generally received



opinion is that it was so named because of the hearty unanimity with which the people assented to the division of the old county."

Morganfield, the seat of justice, is situated in the northeast part of the county, and by the last census has 744 inhabitants. It was laid out in 1812, and named for Gen. Morgan of Revolutionary fame. It has a new and handsome courthouse and other public buildings, a number of churches, good schools and the usual business. Uniontown is the largest town in the county, having in 1880 a population of 1,015. It is said to have attained its name from the union of two villages that were incorporated as one in 1840. Other villages and postoffices are Borderly, Boxville, Caseyville, DeKoven, Gum Grove, Hitesville, Raleigh and Seven Guns.

The county has a number of springs of sulphur, chalybeate and tar or oil. Some eight miles from Morganfield, there is a rock that is something of a curiosity. It has a flat surface upon which appear numerous barefoot tracks of human beings and of dogs, as perfect as if just made in clay. Says Collins:

About three miles from Caseyville there is a rock called the "Anvil Rock," which closely resembles a blacksmith's anvil. It is about 50 feet high, 20 feet in width, and 2 feet thick, with a projection or spur, like the horn of an anvil. This rock stands upon level bottom land, entirely isolated; and by what process it was placed there, in erect position, must forever remain a mystery.

Gen. O. M. Mitchell, a major-general in the Federal Army during the late war, was born in this county, August 28, 1810, and died at Beaufort, S. C., October 30, 1862, of yellow fever, while still in the army, and commander of the "Department of the South." He was a graduate of West Point Military Academy in 1829, ranking as fifteenth in a class of forty-six. He was a scholar and an astronomer of considerable note.

WARREN COUNTY was created in 1796, out of a part of Logan, and was the twenty-fourth formed in the State. It was named for Gen. Joseph Warren, one of the first martyrs to the war for independence, and who fell at the battle of Bunker Hill. It is situated in the southern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Edmonson and Butler Counties; on the east by Barren; on the south by Allen and Simpson, on the west by Butler and Logan, and in 1880 it had 27,531 inhabitants. The Big Barren River, which has its source near the Cumberland, flows through the county, and is

navigable as far up as Bowling Green. The other water-courses are the Gaspar River, Bay's Fork, Drake's and Jennings' Creeks. The surface of the county is undulating and well adapted to agriculture. The soil is rich and fertile, and the crop reports for 1880 showed the following statistics: Corn, 1,495,415 bushels; oats, 204,000; wheat, 150,750, and tobacco, 2,605,388 pounds. Of late years much attention has been paid to stock raising and with satisfactory results.

The first record of the Anglo Saxon, in what is now Warren County, was discovered upon the forest trees. On the north bank of the Big Barren River, some three miles from the site of Bowling Green, the following names were found cut in the bark of a large beech tree: "J. Neaville, E. Bulger, I. Hite, V. Harman, J. Jackman, W. Buchanan, A. Bowman, J. Drake, H. Skaggs, N. Nall, J. Bowman, Tho. Slaughter, J. Todd." The date was given upon the tree as follows: "1775, June Th 13." In the immediate vicinity were other trees bearing the same silent records of the presence of the white man. A beech tree a few paces from the one described bore on one side the following inscription: "Wm. Buchanan, June 14, 1775;" and on the other side: "J. Todd, June 17th, 1775." Still another beech, standing two or three rods distant, showed the following: "J. Drake, Isaac Hite, 15 June, 1775," and above the names the date "June 23, 1775." It does not follow that these men ever became actual settlers of the county. They did not; they were a company of hunters who camped in the vicinity for a short time. Some of them, however, became prominent in the State, and in the Indian wars of the early times.

Bowling Green, the capital of the county, is the largest and most important town in the Green River country. It is situated on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 114 miles south of Louisville, and on the Big Barren River at the head of slackwater navigation. It is one of the handsomest inland cities in the State, and is as enterprising as handsome, showing a steady growth and increase in population; in 1870 it had 4,574 inhabitants, and in 1880 it had 5,114. In the center of the city is a beautiful little park and fountain that are an ornament and a pleasant place of resort. No city of its size surpasses it in handsome residences, business blocks, churches and school buildings. Its courthouse is among the handsomest in the State, and the water-works cannot be excelled in any city, the reservoir being 200 feet above the general level of the town, and thus

obviating the necessity of fire engines. Several banks afford the business men of the city and surrounding country with ample facilities of trade, and a press, much above the average of small inland cities, guards well their interests.

Other towns and villages in the county are Oakland, Woodburn, Smith's Grove, Rockfield, Bristow, Memphis Junction, Rich Pond; these are all situated on the railroad. Green Hill, Three Forks and Claypool are postal villages in the southeastern part of the county. Martinsville is situated on the Big Barren River; Galloway's mill is in the southeastern part, and Hadley, Tourgee and Clark's Landing are in the western and northwestern part.

Warren County has a great many caves, and all the natural wonders common to the cavernous limestone regions. Some of these caves are of considerable magnitude. One of the most extensive is some six miles from Bowling Green in a northeast direction. In the bottom of the cave great numbers of human bones were found, but whether the cave was a sepulcher for the prehistoric race, or a den for murderers or robbers, who in the early times infested the Green River country, is not known. In the level barrens about three miles south of Bowling Green is another cave, which, together with the stream of water flowing into it, is, even in this cavernous region, something of a curiosity. A large stream of water issues from the earth, flows a short distance and empties into the cave. A mile or so from the cave the stream (supposed to be the same) breaks out again and finally mingles its waters with those of the Big Barren River. "In the cave a water grist-mill and wool-carding machine were erected years ago—the rock ceiling of the cave serving as a roof to the mill. Over the cave and mill passed the turnpike road to Nashville, Tenn., and the great number of people who traveled over the road daily little dreamed, perhaps, of the busy hum of machinery beneath them." Another of the wonders of nature, in the county, is thus described:

In the level open barrens, eight miles east of Bowling Green, there is a large deep sink, about 50 yards wide and 100 yards in length. On the south side the descent is nearly 20 feet; on the north side it is 150 feet deep. Large river trees are growing on it. Shortly after the first settlement here a blind horse fell in this sink. A hungry wolf had the folly to jump in after its prey, and being unable to get out was found and shot. Since that time it has been known by the name of the "Wolf Sink."

A number of mounds and earthworks were still plainly visible in the county when first

seen by the whites, but the hand of time has obliterated most of them. So far as the mounds were investigated they were found to contain human bones. On the bank of the Big Barren River, near Bowling Green, were the remains of a fort. Within the inclosure were a number of graves. Another fort was on the Green River, some ten miles from Bowling Green. It was on a high bluff that was as inaccessible, and as difficult to scale, as the "Heights of Abraham," except from a single point.

Among the noted men of Warren County may be mentioned the Hon. Joseph R. Underwood, who, though not a native of the county, was a citizen of it for half a century or more. He was born in 1791, in Virginia, and after receiving a good education he was sent to Transylvania University to "finish off." He then entered upon the study of the law with Hon. Robert Wickliffe, of Lexington. He enlisted in a company of volunteers recruited by Capt. John C. Morrison, for the war of 1812, and was made a lieutenant in it. He was in "Dudley's Defeat" and narrowly escaped massacre, being captured and held a prisoner for some time; many of the American prisoners were massacred in cold blood by the savages. After the war he located in Glasgow, and in 1823 removed to Bowling Green. In 1828 he was commissioned a judge of the court of appeals, which position he held until he resigned in 1835. He was several times elected to the Legislature, and repeatedly to Congress, and in 1847 was elected to the United States Senate.

Judge Underwood was a Whig in politics. When the great civil war came on he stood unflinchingly by the Union, and like many other able men of that time, suffered himself to be again elected to the State Legislature. No period, perhaps, in the history of the State could the Legislature of Kentucky boast of the assembly of brains that flourished within its halls during the years of the civil war. When the war was over Judge Underwood retired from politics, and in peace and quiet spent the remainder of his days.

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WASHINGTON COUNTY was the first county created by the new State of Kentucky, there being nine at the time the State was admitted into the Union, that had been established by the mother commonwealth, Virginia. It was formed in 1792, and comprised a large area, which has been curtailed by the formation of Anderson and Marion Counties. It was named for George Washington, Presi-



dent of the United States at the time of its formation. It is situated near the center of the State, and is bounded on the north by Nelson and Anderson Counties; on the east by Mercer; on the south by Marion; on the west by Nelson, and in 1880 had 14,419 inhabitants. The country is generally level or undulating and produces well, the crop and stock report in 1880 showing as follows: Corn, 987,576 bushels; oats, 53,942; wheat, 135,099; horses and mules, 6,879 head; cattle, 10,438; sheep, 12,242, and hogs, 28,035. The county is drained by the Salt River, and numerous other small streams, among which are Lick Run, Little Beech Fork, Cartwright, Long Lick, Thompson and Hardin Creeks.

Settlements were made very early in what is now Washington County. Sandusky Station was established in 1776 by James Sandusky. It was on Pleasant Run, and was occupied by him about ten years, when he removed to the present county of Bourbon and established a station there on Cane Ridge. Jacob Sandusky was a brother of his, and was with Harrod at his settlement at Harrodstown, now Harrodsburg. In 1774 he traveled from the settlement to the Cumberland River, and there procured a canoe and in that frail craft descended the Cumberland and Ohio into the Mississippi, and thence to New Orleans—a wonderful feat in those days of peril and danger. Upon his return he joined his brother's settlement in Washington County.

Springfield, the county seat, is an old town, verging on to a century in age. It was established in 1793 and named Springfield on account of a fine spring hard by. It is still a small town, and for the past fifty years, with slight exceptions, has "grown smaller by degrees and beautifully less," having, in the decade preceding 1840, fallen off twenty; in that preceding 1850, fallen off seventy-one; that preceding 1860, thirty; that preceding 1870, gained five, and in 1880 had a population of but 610. It has a substantial brick courthouse and other public buildings, churches, schools, stores, a bank, a newspaper and the usual general business. Other villages and postoffices are Brownsburg, Antioch, Beech Fork, Mackville, Fredericktown, Willisburg, Hadesville, Beechland, Sharpsville, etc.

The Cumberland & Ohio Railroad was located through this county, but has never been built, except a link from Lebanon to Greensburg. Recently (1886) the work has been begun of extending the Bardstown Branch of the Louisville & Nashville system to Springfield—perhaps beyond. This will

give the county a good outlet for its superfluous stock and produce.

Springfield and Washington County are well supplied with schools, male and female public and select, Catholic and Protestant. Most of the select schools, however, and those of a high order, comprising academics and collegiate courses, are under the auspice of the Roman Catholic Church. Several fine colleges—one for the education of the priesthood—are located in the county, and are liberally endowed. Their buildings are large handsome and commodious, their property valuable, and every means afforded for complete education.

Washington County claims some of the honor attaching to Abraham Lincoln. His parents, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married in this county September 23, 1806. The following certificate is to be seen in the county clerk's office:

I do hereby certify that the following is a list of the marriages solemnized by me, the subscriber since the 25th of April, 1806, until the date hereof

\* \* \* \* \*  
Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, September 23, 1806.  
\* \* \* \* \*

Given under my hand this 23d of April, 1807.  
JESSE HEAD, D. M. E. Church.

The above record of the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks is given with some fifteen or twenty others, solemnized by the old minister during the year. He was one of the well known pioneer Methodist preachers of Kentucky, and his certificate of the marriage of President Lincoln's parents confutes the slander that he (President Lincoln) was an illegitimate child. The marriage, as recorded, occurred September 23, 1806,\* and all authorities on the subject of President Lincoln's birth agree on the one point that it took place February 12, 1809. If this is authentic then the indisputable evidence in the clerk's office at Springfield, of the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, proves President Lincoln's birth without a stain. The history of his life by John G. Nicolay and John Hay, now running through the "Century Magazine," gives a portrait of Mr. Head and a view of the house in which the marriage of Lincoln's parents took place. The writer of this article has seen the record of the marriage in the clerk's office.

\*Such is the record, but by a transposition of dates in copying, the date, "September 23, 1806," was placed to Thomas Lincoln's marriage, when it should have been "June 12, 1806." Mr. Head in his certificate wrote the dates before the names and the clerk in copying it "lost the proper sequence of the entries," hence, the transposition of dates, or of giving to the Lincolns the date that properly belonged to the next couple on the list.

The Hardins were among the very early settlers of Washington County. Col. John Hardin, a sketch of whom is given in connection with Hardin County, settled here in 1786. He and his brother, Gen. William Hardin (see sketch of Breckinridge County), were the first of that noted family to penetrate the wilderness of Kentucky. They came to the State as early as 1780, and took an active part in wresting the country from the savages.

Gen. Martin D. Hardin was a son of Col. John Hardin, and a distinguished citizen of this county. He was six years old when his father immigrated to this county. After receiving a good education for the time, he read law with Col. George Nicholas, and was duly admitted to the bar, and commenced practice at Richmond. Afterward he practiced at Frankfort, and was a leader at the bar—a bar distinguished for its talent. He was a man of marked ability, and held many high and important positions. He was a major in the war of 1812, and proved himself a gallant soldier and officer. He was secretary of State during Gov. Shelby's last term, 1812–16; and he was appointed by Gov. Slaughter to fill out an unexpired term in the United States Senate. He was the father of Col. John J. Hardin, of Illinois, who fell in the battle of Buena Vista in the same bloody charge with Cols. Clay and McKee of Kentucky. He died in Frankfort in 1823 at the age of forty-three years.

Hon. John Pope, the representative of a distinguished family, was long a resident of this county. He was born in Virginia, in 1770, and brought to Kentucky when a small boy. Receiving a good education, he read law and soon acquired eminence at the bar. He served repeatedly in the Legislature, in Congress, and the National Senate, and was appointed by President Jackson governor of Arkansas Territory in 1829, which office he held for six years. He died at his home in Washington County in 1845, in his seventy-sixth year.

Judge Felix Grundy, a native of Virginia, was brought to Kentucky and to Washington County when quite young. He was educated at Bardstown Academy, studied law and commenced practice at Springfield. He served several terms in the Legislature, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1799, and in December, 1806, was appointed a judge of the court of appeals, and the next year, when lacking some months of being thirty years old, was commissioned chief justice of that august tribunal. He removed to Nashville, Tenn., where he took the highest

rank as lawyer and statesman; he was elected to the United States Senate from that State, and in 1838 was appointed attorney-general of the United States by President Van Buren. He died in Nashville, December 12, 1840, at the age of sixty-three.

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WAYNE COUNTY was created in 1800 from portions of Pulaski and Cumberland Counties, and was the forty-third in the order of formation. It was named for Gen. Wayne, a Revolutionary soldier, and whose signal victory over the Indians at the battle of the Fallen Timber gave peace to the "dark and bloody ground." It is situated in the southeastern part of the State, bordering on the State of Tennessee, with Whitley County on the east; Pulaski on the north, and Russell and Clinton on the west; in 1880 it had 12,512 inhabitants. A large portion of the county is broken and hilly; the valleys are rich and produce well and show some very fine farms. In 1880 the crop and stock statistics were as follows: Corn, 462,894 bushels; oats, 24,127; wheat, 59,574; horses and mules, 3,536 head; cattle, 8,314; sheep, 9,331, and hogs, 17,584. The Cincinnati Southern Railroad passes through the eastern part of the county.

Monticello, the seat of justice, is situated in the central part of the county, and is a small place of 354 inhabitants in 1880. It was incorporated as a town in 1820, and named for the home of Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States. It has the usual public buildings, churches, schools, stores, business, etc. The other villages and postoffices are as follows: Berryville, Coopersville, Mill Springs, Mt. Pisgah, Salt Works, Shearer's Valley, Parmleysville, Powersburg, Steubenville, etc.

Wayne County is rich in mineral wealth and resources. Iron ore is plentiful, and also sandstone suitable for building purposes. The coal deposits embrace at least one-half of the area of the county. "Besides the five sub-conglomerate coal veins, the large beds of the upper coal measures," says the State Geological Survey, "show themselves in the southeast corner of the county."

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WEBSTER COUNTY is of recent creation, bearing the date of 1860, and being the one-hundred and ninth county in order of formation. It was taken from Hopkins and Union Counties, and named for Hon. Daniel Webster, the eminent statesman. It lies in



the northwestern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Union and Henderson Counties; on the east by McLean; on the south by Hopkins; on the west by Crittenden and Union, and in 1880 it had a population of 14,246. It is drained by the Green River and its tributaries. It contains a good deal of rich bottom land, and also some hills, but the lands are generally rich and produce well, the crop statistics for 1880 being as follows: Corn, 847,243 bushels; oats, 57,446; wheat, 86,401; tobacco, 4,740,082 pounds. Stock raising receives considerable attention, and is becoming more profitable yearly.

Dixon, the seat of justice, is situated in the northwestern part of the county, and is a village of 515 inhabitants by the last census. It has a brick courthouse, several churches, good schools, a number of stores, and the usual shops, etc. Other villages and post-offices are Providence, of 267 inhabitants, situated in the southwestern part of the county; Slaughtersville, of 269 inhabitants, in the southern part on the railroad; Sebree, of 360 inhabitants, in the north part, also on the railroad; Clayville, of 248 inhabitants, and Vanderburg, Belleville, Steamport, Pool's Mill, Montezuma, etc.

WHITLEY COUNTY, the fifty-ninth in the State, was formed in 1818 from a portion of Knox, and was named for Col. William Whitley, one of the brave and gallant pioneers, who did so much in wresting from the savages the "dark and bloody ground." The county is situated in the southeast part of the State, on the Tennessee line, and has Wayne County on the west; Pulaski and Laurel on the north, and Knox and Bell on the east; by the last census (1880) it had 12,000 inhabitants. It is one of the largest counties in the State, having over 450 square miles. It is drained by the Cumberland River and its tributaries. The county, except the bottoms along the water-courses, is broken and hilly, and is rather poor and unproductive; corn, oats and wheat are the principal products, and cattle and hogs are exported in large numbers.

Whitley Court House is situated on the Cumberland River, near the center of the county. It was formerly, and is still, sometimes called Williamsburg, and was a small place of 208 inhabitants in 1880. It has the usual public buildings, stores, business, etc. Other villages and postoffices are Meadow

Creek, Rockhold, Marsh Creek, Lot, Young's Creek, Boston, etc.

Whitley is one of the counties that is rich in mineral wealth. Iron ore and coal are found in quantities, and even silver ore is believed to exist. The famous Swift silver mine (see Bell County) has been located in Whitley, as well as in some dozen other counties in the State. There are also quite a number of mineral springs, some of them possessing strong medicinal properties.

WOLFE COUNTY was created in 1860, and was the one hundred and tenth formed in the State. It was taken from portions of Breathitt, Morgan, Powell and Owsley Counties, and named for Hon. Nat. Wolfe, State senator from the Louisville District at the time of its formation. It is situated in the eastern part of the State, and is bounded on the north by Morgan and Menifee Counties; on the east by Morgan and Breathitt; on the south by Breathitt and Lee; on the west by Powell, and in 1880 it had 5,638 inhabitants. It is drained by the Kentucky and Red Rivers and tributaries. The surface is generally hilly and broken, but there are some fine bottoms that lay well, and are highly productive. Corn and wheat are the principal crops; stock is raised to a limited extent.

Compton, the seat of justice, is a small place of 102 inhabitants by the last census. It was incorporated in 1860, and has the usual public buildings, stores and business. Other villages are Blackwater, Spruce Gap, Gillmore and Stillwater.

WOODFORD COUNTY is one of the rich blue-grass counties, and lies in the central part of the State. It was created in 1788, four years before Kentucky became a State, and was the last of the nine counties formed out of the district, under the authority of the Virginia Legislature. It was taken from Fayette County, and was named for Gen. William Woodford, a gallant Revolutionary officer of Virginia, who was wounded in the battle of the Brandywine, and captured at Charleston, S. C., and died a prisoner. The county is bounded on the north by Franklin and Scott Counties; on the east by Fayette and Jessamine; on the south by Jessamine and Mercer; on the west by Mercer and Anderson, and in 1880 it had 11,800 inhabitants. The surface of the county is generally

level or undulating, the soil rich, resting on red clay, underlaid with limestone, and is highly productive. The crop and stock statistics in 1880 were as follows: Horses and mules, 4,780 head; cattle, 5,680; sheep, 1,519; hogs, 10,160; corn, 601,196 bushels; oats, 58,773, and wheat, 289,795. Large crops of hemp are also produced.

The first white visitors to Woodford County were those mentioned in connection with other counties. Among them were surveyors, hunters, land locaters, adventurers, etc. They were Hancock Taylor, Col. John Floyd, Col. William Preston, surveyor of Fincastle County, Va., Capt. Isaac Hite and others. Some of them were here as early as 1774, according to the most authentic information to be obtained. They hunted and surveyed, and did not flee from a skirmish with the Indians if occasion demanded it.

Versailles, the capital of the county, is a beautiful little city of 2,126 inhabitants by the last census. It is situated in the west central part of the county, and has the usual public buildings, several handsome churches, good schools, flourishing stores, banks, and an excellent general business.

Midway is a handsome village in the northeastern part of the county, on the Lexington division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, and had (in 1880) 950 inhabitants. Other villages and postoffices of the county are Mortonville, Troy, Millville, Ducker's and Spring Station—the last two named are stations on the railroad.

Woodford County has its antiquities and wonders of nature, in common with other historical sections of the State. These consist of caverns, springs and ancient earthworks and fortifications. Some of the latter were quite extensive when first seen by the whites, but are now nearly obliterated by the hand of time and civilization.

Capt. James Trimble was a pioneer of Woodford County, and among its early settlers. He was a native of Virginia, and was captured by the Indians when a small boy, but soon escaped from them. He took a prominent part in many of the stirring scenes on the western frontier, and died in 1804. His family moved to Ohio, where some of his sons became prominent men—one of them, Allen Trimble, governor of the State.

Thomas F. Marshall, one of the most brilliant of all Kentucky's great orators, was born in Frankfort, Ky., in 1801, and was a son of Dr. Louis Marshall. He received a liberal education and studied law with Hon. John J. Crittenden, and located in Woodford County. He took an active part in politics, and was repeatedly elected to the Legislature, where he took rank as a leader on all the great questions of the time. He was elected to Congress in 1841, from the "Ashland District," and there, as in the State Legislature, he became a leader. He advocated Gen. Scott for the Presidency in 1852, and the following year was again elected to the Legislature from Woodford County. This was his last public service. He was worn out by the turbulent storms of political life, which he had encountered, and died at the old homestead near Versailles, September 22, 1864. His biographer thus closes a sketch of him:

His intellect was of the highest order, and capable of mighty efforts. He was brilliant alike at the bar, on the stump, and in the forum. His powers of oratory and eloquence were unrivaled, matchless, and yet he was withal a pre-eminent logician. He has been described as a "literary politician," yet the political economist may find in his public efforts thoughts of great practical value. There was scarcely any position beyond his reach, but he chose not to strive for it. \* \* \* \* He was in truth a remarkable man, and we may not "look upon his like again."





## APPENDIX A.

## NOTE 1, PAGE 95.

SEVERAL shell-heaps are noted in the Report of the Geological Survey of Indiana for 1873. On page 124, the State geologist, E. T. Cox, in speaking of the food of the Mound-Builders, says: Fresh water bivalves (Unionidæ) and univalve mollusks were also consumed in such quantities that great banks of shells, miles in length, are left to mark the places, where, it is possible, high carnivals were held over fresh-water "clam-bakes." At Clarksville, just below the falls of the Ohio River, in Clarke County, there is a shell-heap extending for a mile or more up and down the river. This locality must have been a favorite place of resort; an ancient Long-Branch where it was possible to find enjoyment and pass a pleasant summer, catching fish at the foot of the falls, where they congregated at certain seasons of the year in such vast numbers as to become an easy prey to the bone hooks and spears used for their capture by these pre-historic people.

Another of these shell heaps is located on the farm of W. T. Aydelotte, six miles below New Albany, and was carefully examined by Dr. E. S. Crosier at the time of its discovery. It is described by the assistant State geologist, William W. Borden, on page 185 of the above-mentioned report, as follows: It is situated in the river bottom, a short distance from the stream, and covers a large space. It is about fifteen or twenty feet high, and has an oval or elliptical form. Several years ago, Mr. Aydelotte had occasion to build a new house, and located it upon this mound above high water mark. In excavating the cellar, the shells were met within a foot below the surface, and are continuous to the bottom of the cellar. A quantity of human bones, including fragments of a skull, with the bones of animals, and quite a number of bone implements, were exhumed by the laborers, and sent in to the museum of the New Albany Society of Natural History. Subsequently several stone axes manufactured of syenite and granite were found by further excavation, and have been added to the collection at New Albany. The river bank from Mr. W. T. Aydelotte's farm to New Albany affords a fine field for the collection of Indian relics.

Similar relics are found along the Wabash River. See same report, page 371.

## NOTE 2, PAGE 111.

*Genealogy of the Boone Family.*—It may be in-

teresting to the general reader to learn as much as is known of the genealogy of the family from which Kentucky's honored pioneer descended, and the following is therefore copied from the original record presented to the Polytechnic Library in Louisville, some years ago:

Our genealogy, or pedigree, traced as far back as had come to the knowledge of John Boone (son of George and Mary Boone) wrote by James Boone (son of James Boone, Sr., and Mary, his wife, and grandson of the said George and Mary Boone), in the year of our Lord, 1787:

George Boone I (that is the first that we have heard of) was born in old England.

George Boone II (son of George Boone the First) was born in or near the city of Exeter, being a blacksmith. His wife's maiden name was Sarah Uppey. He died aged sixty; and she died, aged eighty years, and never had an aching bone or decayed tooth.

George Boone III (son of George and Sarah Boone) was born at Stoak (a village near the city of Exeter), A. D. 1666, being a weaver. His wife's maiden name was Mary Maugridge, who was born at Bradswick (a town eight miles from the city of Exeter), in A. D. 1669; the said Mary Maugridge was a daughter of John Maugridge and Mary, his wife, whose maiden name was Milton. They, the said George III and Mary, his wife, had nine children that lived to be men and women, namely: George, Sarah, Squire, Mary, John, Joseph, Benjamin, James and Samuel, having each of them several children, excepting John, who never married. The said George and Mary Boone, with their family, came from the town of Bradwinch, in Devonshire, old England. They arrived at Philadelphia, Penn., in A. D. 1717, September 29th, old style (or October 10th, according to the new style). Three of the children, to-wit: George, Sarah and Squire, they sent in a few years before from Abington, and stayed a few months there; thence to North Wales, and lived about two years there; thence to Oley, in the same county of Philadelphia, where Sarah (being married) had moved to sometime before. This last place of their residence (since the division made in the township of Oley and county of Philadelphia) is called the township of Exeter, in the county of Berks. It was called Exeter because they came from a place near the city of Exeter. He, the said George Boone III, died A. D. 1744, July 27th, about 8 o'clock, aged seventy-eight years, and Mary, his wife, died February 2, 1740-41, aged seventy-two



years, and they were decently interred in the Friend's Burying Ground, in the said township of Exeter. When he died he left eight children, fifty-two grandchildren and ten great-grandchildren living—in all seventy—being as many persons as the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt.

George Boone IV (eldest son of George and Mary Boone) was born in Bradwinch aforesaid, July 13th, in the year 1691, and died in Exeter Township aforesaid, aged about sixty-three years and four months. He taught school for several years near Philadelphia, was a good mathematician, and taught the several branches of English learning; was a magistrate for several years. His wife's maiden name was Deborah Howell.

George Boone V (eldest son of George and Deborah Boone) was never married, and died in Exeter Township aforesaid, aged about twenty-four years.

James Boone, Sr. (the sixth son of George and Mary Boone) was born in Bradwinch aforesaid, A. D. 1709, July 7th (old style), about one-half past two in the morning then (when it was between 9 and 10 o'clock at night here, in Pennsylvania), and was married May 3, 1735, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, to Mary Foulke (the eldest daughter of Hugh and Anne Foulke), by whom he had fourteen children, and nine of them lived to be grown up, namely: Annie, Mary, Martha, James, John, Judah, Joshua, Rachel and Moses; she, the said Mary, his first wife, died February 20, 1756, at twenty minutes past one o'clock, P. M., aged forty-one years and eleven weeks. John, their second son, just now mentioned, died in 1773, March 29, in the twenty-eighth year of his life, on the 1st day of September, A. D. 1785, at ten minutes past nine at night, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and was decently interred in the Friends' Burying Ground, at Exeter. And as he was born in England when it was between 9 and 10 here in Pennsylvania, so he died when it was 9 and 10 at night here.

John Boone, Sr., (son of George and Mary Boone) was born in the town of Bradwinch, in Devonshire, old England, on the seventh day of the week, about 11 in the morning, and on the 3d of January, 1701-2, old style, or 1702, January 14 (new style), and he departed this life on the 11th of October, 1785, in the eighty-fourth year of his age (being the eldest of our name and family that we have heard of, and the last of all those of our relations who came from England). He was decently interred in the Friends' Burying Ground, at Exeter, the next day after his decease. He (with his parents, etc.) left England in the sixteenth year of his age, and 'tis remarkable that he lived exactly sixty-eight years here in North America from the day he landed at Philadelphia, and he lived only five weeks and four days after the decease of his brother James.

This genealogy, it will be observed, does not mention the subsequent history of Squire Boone, Sr. (son of George III and Mary Boone). How many children he had is not known, but Daniel,

Squire, Edward, George, Hannah, and perhaps two other sisters, Mrs. Grant and Mrs. William Bryan were residents of Kentucky for a time. Daniel was born February 11, 1731, and Squire about 1737 both in Berks County, Penn. It is not probable that Daniel was the eldest of the family of children though the eldest of the brothers named. The children seem to have been left orphans about 1745 when they were taken by friends first to Winchester Va., and thence to Holman's Ford, on the South Yadkin, in North Carolina. Here Daniel met Rebecca Bryan and his fate in a rather romantic way if the current story of the event may be credited.

When a young man, Boone was out one night with some companions on a "fire hunt." While proceeding through a heavily timbered piece of bottom land, which bordered a small stream, that formed the boundary of Morgan Bryan's plantation two brilliant sparks in the gloom gave indication that the fire had "shined the eyes" of a deer Boone, who carried his rifle, ready to shoot the game which the light should hold with its fascinating glare, gave the concerted signal to the torch-bearer who preceded him, dismounted from his horse, and having secured him to a tree, crept cautiously forward. Finding a convenient covert in a clump of hazel and plum bushes, he peered about to discover the exact location of the surprised animal. Again the eyes turned with a steady gaze toward the treacherous light, and Boone raised his rifle to fire, when some mysterious impulse caused him to hesitate. At that instant, the game, startled by some sound or motion which broke the fatal charm, sprang through the underbrush with a rustle and bound, the ardent young hunter following in rapid pursuit.

The chase led toward the cabin, and thinking he had fallen upon a pet animal of the family, he continued his course to the house, impeded in his progress by hunting-traps and dogs which beset him on his nearest approach. Reaching the door he was admitted and welcomed, but before the young hunter regained his breath sufficient to tell his story, a boy of ten years, accompanied by a breathless girl of sixteen, "with ruddy cheeks, flaxen hair, and soft blue eyes," rushed into the room. "Oh father, father," cried the boy, "Sis was down to the creek to set my lines, and was chased by a painter on something. She's too skeart to tell."

It is not probable that this was the first meeting of the young man and maiden, but however that may be, it is said that the circumstances attending this event evoked an interest in each other which eventually brought the principal actors together in marriage.

NOTE 3, PAGE 114.

It is eminently proper that the names of the adventurers who bore subordinate parts in these early surveys should be preserved as far as painstaking researches have revealed them, and for the results achieved in this direction credit is largely due to

Mr. R. C. Collins. In Bullitt's company were Col. James Harrod, subsequently founder of Harrodsburg, John Smith, Isaac Hite, James Sodousky, Abraham Haptonstall, Ebenezer Severns, John Fitzpatrick and others. In the McAfee company were James, George and Robert McAfee, brothers; James McCoun, brother-in-law, and Samuel Adams, a young man and neighbor. In Taylor's company were Matthew Bracken and Jacob Drennon, perhaps others. James Douglass appears to have come alone to join Bullitt. John Finley—not to be confused with the first pioneer—was probably a member of Thompson's company, the other members of which seem to have left no trace of their personality.

## NOTE 4, PAGE 115.

In the fall of 1758 Thomas Decker and some others commenced a settlement on the Monongahela River, at the mouth of what is now Decker's Creek. In the ensuing spring it was entirely broken up by a party of Delawares and Mingoes, and the greater part of its inhabitants murdered. There was at this time at Brownsville a fort then known as Redstone Fort, under the command of Capt. Paul. One of Decker's party escaped from the Indians who destroyed the settlement, and making his way to Fort Redstone gave its commander the melancholy intelligence. The garrison being too weak to admit of sending a detachment in pursuit, Capt. Paul dispatched a runner with the information to Capt. John Gibson, then stationed at Fort Pitt. Leaving the fort under the command of Lieut. Williamson, Capt. Gibson set out with thirty men to intercept the Indians on their return to their towns. In consequence of the distance which the pursuers had to go, and the haste with which the Indians had retreated, the expedition failed in its object. They, however, accidentally came on a party of six or seven Mingoes, on the head of Cross Creek, in Ohio, near Steubenville. These had been prowling about the river below Fort Pitt seeking an opportunity of committing depredations. As Capt. Gibson passed the point of a small knoll just after daybreak he came unexpectedly upon them. Some of them were lying down; the others were sitting around a fire making thongs of green hides. Kiskepila, or Little Eagle, a Mingo chief, headed the party. As soon as he discovered Capt. Gibson he raised the war-whoop and fired his rifle; the ball passed through Gibson's hunting-shirt and wounded a soldier just behind him. Gibson sprang forward, and swinging his sword with herculean force severed the head of Little Eagle from his body. Two other Indians were shot down, and the remainder escaped to their towns on the Muskingum.

When the captives who were restored under the treaty of 1763 came in, those who were at the Mingo towns when the remnant of Kiskepila's party returned stated that the Indians represented Gibson as having cut off Little Eagle's head with a long knife. Several of the white persons were then sacrificed to appease the manes of Kiskepila,

and a war dance ensued, accompanied with terrific shouts and bitter denunciations of revenge on "the big knife warrior." This name was soon after applied to Virginia militia generally; and to this day they are known among the northwestern Indians as the "Long Knives" or "Big Knife Nation."—*Wither's Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 1821.

## NOTE 5, PAGE 115.

Big Bone Lick is situated in Boone County, about a mile and a half east from Hamilton, on the Ohio River. This Lick, widely known as the original depository of numerous remains of extinct animals, was discovered by Longueil, a Frenchman, in 1739, and was early resorted to by the Indians in quest of game. In 1773 it was visited by various surveying parties, and its appearance is described in Robert McAfee's journal. It extended over about ten acres, which was bare of timber and herbage, and worn away by the hoofs and tongues of the animals that frequented the spot to a level some three or four feet below the original surface. Through this area the creek ran, which is fed on either side by two never-failing streams of salt water. Here the explorers of 1773 found a large number of mammoth bones in the lick or near it, indicating that the animals had stood side by side mired in mud, and so died. Some portions of the back bones lay out upon solid ground, and were used by the surveyors as seats; the ribs were found long enough to serve as tent poles, and one tusk protruded from a bank some six feet, defying the united efforts of six men to remove it. Teeth were found weighing upward of ten pounds, and with a grinding surface of seventy-five inches.

The first collection of these interesting remains was made in 1803 by Dr. William Goforth, then a physician in Cincinnati. In 1804 or 1805 the collector shipped about five tons of the bones to Pittsburgh, with the intention of forwarding them to Philadelphia, or where they could be profitably disposed of for scientific purposes. Unfortunately, this collection remained here until Thomas Ash, an Irish traveler, whose only claim to public notice is based on his literary piracies and base robbery of Dr. Goforth, met the collector. Insinuating himself into the confidence of his victim, Ash entered into a written engagement to secure the sale of these fossils for the benefit of the owner, for which the agent was to receive a percentage of the net proceeds. Thus gaining possession of the collection, Ash shipped it to New Orleans, where he refused an offer of \$7,000 for it, and subsequently took it to England. Here he sold the valuable remains at a large price and pocketed the proceeds. Parts of this collection afterward found their way to the Royal College of Surgeons in London, to Dr. Blake, of Dublin, and to Prof. Monro, of Edinburgh.

No complete description of these fossils exists, but in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, written in 1807, Dr. Goforth gives some interesting facts concerning them from memory: "The part of a head which



was in my possession, and which I thought to be the head of the mammoth, appeared small. I only possessed the maxilla superior and maxilla inferior, with the teeth. The maxilla superior was furnished with four large teeth, two on each side of the jaw; the two nearest the jaw were molars, and had two points or cones on each side of the tooth, making double processes thickly enameled on the cones or masticating surface. The maxilla inferior was in two parts naturally, teeth the same as in maxilla superior, and from the appearance of both jaws I concluded they had their full complement of teeth. —I judged the head to which these bones belonged was small, as I had teeth of the same kind more than five times the size of the largest in either jaw —each under jaw with the teeth weighing forty-eight pounds.

"I had a number of teeth ribbed transversely on the masticating surface, and enamelled, weighing from one and a half to twelve pounds each. Of the teeth of the mammoth kind, furnished with double coned or blunt pointer processes on the masticating surfaces, and thickly enamelled, and generally four processes for insertion in the jaw, as many as a wagon and four horses could draw, weighing from twelve to twenty pounds each.

"One small femoris, weight 31 pounds; 4 ribs, weight and length not recollected; they appeared to be so connected with the vertebræ as to throw their edge outward; one tusk, weighing 100 pounds, 21 inches in circumference in the middle, which was the thickest part; one other tusk, weight 150 pounds, 23 inches in circumference, and measuring 10 feet, 6 inches in length; its form thus—J; one horn 5 feet long, weight 21 pounds.

"The bones of one jaw nearly filled a flour barrel; it had four claws, and when the bones were regularly placed together, measured from the *os calcis* to the end of either middle claw 5 feet, 2 inches. The bones of this paw were similar to those of a bear's foot. Where I found these bones I found large quantities of bear's bones at the same time, and had opportunity of arranging and comparing the bones together, and the similarity was striking in every particular, except the size.

"The vertebræ of the back and neck, when arranged in order with the *os sacrum* and *coccygis*, measured nearly 60 feet, allowing for cartilages, though I am not confident the bones all belonged to one animal, and the number of vertebræ I cannot recollect. I had some thigh bones of incognita of a monstrous size when compared with my other bones, which I much regret I neither weighed nor measured, and a number of large bones so much impaired by time, it was fruitless to conjecture to what part of any animal they belonged."

A second collection was made by order of Mr. Jefferson, while he was president of the American Philosophical Society, about the year 1805, which was divided between that society and M. Cuvier, the distinguished French naturalist. A third collection was made in 1819, by the Western Museum

Society, and in 1831 a fourth collection was made by Mr. Finnell. In 1840 it was estimated that the bones of 100 mastodons and of twenty elephants besides other extinct species, had been collected here.

#### NOTE 6, PAGE 115.

Of the plain on which Louisville is built—including the sites of Portland and Shippingsport—2,000 acres were patented December 16, 1773, in the name of Dr. John Connolly, a surgeon's mate in the general hospital of the royal forces. On the same day 2,000 acres, adjoining and below the former, were patented to Charles de Warrenstaff, an ensign in the (royal) Pennsylvania regiment. In 1774 the latter conveyed his tract to Connolly and Col. John Campbell. In the following year Campbell purchased of Connolly an undivided half on the first mentioned 2,000 acres, and the 4,000 acres were partitioned in such a way that the upper and lower 1,000 acres fell to the share of Connolly. On July 1, 1780, owing to Dr. Connolly having previously been active in the cause of the crown, the upper 1,000 acres were escheated to the State, and Louisville established thereon by an act of the Virginia legislature. The other portion Connolly had conveyed to Campbell in 1778. The proof that any lots were sold on Bullitt's plan is entirely inferential, though reasonably certain. A new survey, however, was made in 1780 by Col. William Pope, and still another by William Peyton, subsequently. None of these early plats are preserved, however, and the earliest recorded plat to be found is that made in 1812 by Jared Brooks, which is just one-half of the 2,000 acres granted to Connolly. (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 360.)

#### NOTE 7, PAGE 118.

The names of these first settlers have not all been preserved. From the examination of various depositions, Mr. Collins has discovered the following names: James Blair, James Brown, Abraham Chapline, John Clark, John Crawford, Jared Cowan, John Cowan, John Crow, Azariah Davis, William Fields, David Glenn, Thomas Glenn, Silas Harlan, James Harlan, James Harrod, Thomas Harrod, Evan (or John) Hinton, — Rees, John Shelp, James Wiley and John Wilson. Of Isaac Hite's company, the following are derived from the same authority: Robert Gilbert, James Hamilton, Isaac Hite, James Knox, James McColloch, Alexander Petrey, Jacob Sanduskey, James Soudousky, Benjamin Tutt and David Williams. (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 517.)

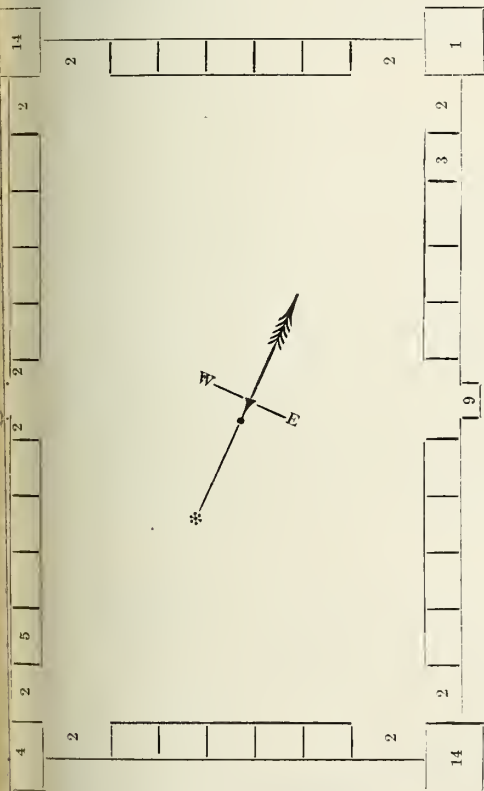
#### NOTE 8, PAGES 79-140.

At the subsequent meeting of the Indians held at Fort Stanwix, where negotiations were opened October 24, 1768, four grants were made by the Indians to the whites. One to the proprietors of Pennsylvania; one to George Croghan; one to William Trent, attorney for twenty-two traders; and one to his majesty, the king of England. A deed for the one to the traders was executed on the 3d of November, but Sir William Johnson and the commis-

tioners recommended that the chiefs of the Six Nations who had signed it, should carry it into congress and publicly acknowledge the execution of it, at the same time they executed the grant to the king of England and the proprietors of Pennsylvania. Accordingly, on November 5, these deeds being laid upon a table, were executed in the presence of the governor of New Jersey, the commissioners of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and other gentlemen present. The tract thus conveyed to the traders was between the Kanawha and Monongahela Rivers, and [was by the traders named Indiana. It was subsequently practically confiscated by Virginia. (See "Plain Facts," published by R. Aitken, Philadelphia, 1781.)

## NOTE 9, PAGE 143.

The dimensions are not found on the original draft but the general estimate of twenty feet for each cabin and opening would give the fort a length of about 260 feet and a breadth of 180 feet. The actual situation of the fort was so changed from the suggestion of the plan as to present the end of the structure toward the river. (Romance of Western History, p. 164.)



FORT AT BOONESBOROUGH.

1. Colonel Henderson's house.
2. Stockades.
3. Colonel Henderson's kitchen.
4. Mr. Luttrell's house.
5. Mr. Luttrell's kitchen.
6. Fort gates.
7. Houses built for Cols. Hart and Williams.
8. Places not numbered, were cabins.

## NOTE 10, PAGE 155.

The Girty family, of which this renegade was but one of several who achieved an infamous notoriety, is thus described by Judge Campbell: "Girty, the father, was an emigrant from Ireland, about eighty years ago, if report can be relied on. He settled in Pennsylvania, where that liberty he sought degenerated in his possession into the basest licentiousness. His hours were wasted in idleness and beastly intemperance. Nothing ranked higher in his estimation, or so entirely commanded his regard, as a jug of whisky. 'Grog was his song, and grog would he have.' His sottishness turned his wife's affection. Ready for seduction, she yielded her heart to a neighboring rustic, who, to remove all obstacles to their wishes, knocked Girty on the head and bore off the trophy of his prowess.

"He left four sons, Thomas, Simon, George and James. The three latter were taken prisoners by the Shawanese, Delawares and Senecas, in that war which developed the military talents of Gen. Washington. George was adopted by the Delawares, and continued with them until his death. He became a perfect savage, his manners being entirely Indian. To consummate cunning, he added the most fearless intrepidity. He fought in the battles of Kenhawa, Blue Licks and Sandusky, and gained himself much distinction for skill and bravery. In his latter years like his father, he gave himself up to intemperance and died drunk about twenty-five years ago on the Miami of the Lake.

"Simon was adopted by the Senecas, and became as expert a hunter as any of them. In Kentucky and Ohio, he sustained the reputation of an unrelenting barbarian. Forty-five years ago, with his name was associated everything cruel and fiend-like. To the women and children, in particular, nothing was more terrifying than the name of Simou Girty. At that time it was believed by many that he had fled from justice and sought refuge among the Indians, determined to do his countrymen all the harm in his power. This impression was an erroneous one. It is true he joined the Indians in their wars against the whites, and conformed to their usages. This was the education he had received, and those who were the foes of his brethren were also his foes. Although trained in all his pursuits as an Indian, it is said to be a fact, susceptible of proof, that through his importunities, many prisoners were saved from death. His influence was great, and when he chose to be merciful, it was generally in his power to protect the imploring captive. His reputation was that of an honest man. In the payment of his debts, he was scrupulously exact. Knowing and duly appreciating integrity, he fulfilled his engagement to the last cent. It is stated that on one occasion he sold his horse, rather than incur the odium of violating his promise.

"He was a great lover of rum; nothing could afford him more joy than a keg of this beverage. When intoxicated, in abuse he was indiscriminate sparing neither friends nor foes. Then it was he



had no compassion in his heart. Although much disabled by rheumatism for the last ten years of his life, he rode to his hunting grounds in pursuit of game. Suffering the most excruciating pains, he often boasted of his warlike spirit. It was his constant wish that he might breathe his last in battle. So it happened. He was at Proctor's defeat on the River Thames, and was cut to pieces by Col. Johnson's mounted men.

"James Girty fell into the hands of the Shawanese, who adopted him as a son. As he approached manhood, he became dextrous in all the arts of savage life. To the most sanguinary spirit he added all the vices of the depraved frontiersmen, with whom he frequently associated.

"It is represented that he often visited Kentucky at the time of its first settlement, many of the inhabitants feeling the effects of his courage and cruelty. Neither age nor sex found mercy at his hands. His delight was in carnage. When unable to walk in consequence of disease, he laid low with his hatchet captive women and children, who came within his reach. Traders, who were acquainted with him, say that so furious was he, that he would not have turned on his heel to save a prisoner from the flames. His pleasure was to see new and refined tortures inflicted; and to perfect his gratification he frequently gave directions. To this barbarian are to be attributed many of the cruelties charged upon his brother Simon. Yet this monster was caressed by Elliott and Proctor." (See "Campbell's Remains," Columbus, 1838).

#### NOTE 11, PAGE 165.

This is not the view taken by the greater number of writers, who have had occasion to recount the events which follow. Indeed the order of these events is generally reversed, though it must be observed without very clear grounds for doing so. In any statement of the relation of 'Rogers' defeat' and 'Bowman's expedition,' however, harmony is apparently to be secured only by arbitrary methods, and the order determined by the preponderance of circumstantial evidence. The confusion arises from the careless and inadequate statement of the facts of McClung, p. 148. Marshall does not mention the first event; Butler does, pp. 102-4, and it is his narration which the text follows, avoiding the manifest error into which he is betrayed by adopting McClung's conclusion of the story.

The order followed in the text is based upon the following considerations: First.—McClung's narrative is found to contain such irreconcilable statements as to require some adjustments; the chief difficulty in the way of such adjustment being the date of Capt. Benham's rescue, *i. e.*, the "27th of November." Second.—Butler, by independent evidence (pp. 102-3), indicates that the boats proceeded up the river from the falls "in the spring of 1779." Third.—When the wounded men were discovered, they had only partially recovered from their wounds, and a period of about six weeks is generally

assigned to the interval between the action and the rescue. Fourth.—Collins, Vol. II, p. 426, quotes the narrative of Samuel Frazee to the effect that he left the mouth of the Licking for Harrodsburg "to give the alarm of Indian depredations and expeditions." Returning with the volunteers at this point, the same narrator says: "We struck the trail of the red men, and followed it to O'Chillicothe," etc. Fifth.—Marshall, Vol. I, p. 9, and Butler, p. 108, place the march of Bowman's expedition in July; McClung, p. 113, in May. The former are accepted as correct. Sixth.—McClung speaks of the Indians as coming down the Little Miami in their retreat from Kentucky, a statement which is obviously a mistake. The natural conclusion seems to be that this band of "four or five hundred" Shawanese—Butler, p. 105—was on its way to attack the frontier posts in Kentucky; that falling in with Rogers, and achieving a signal victory, they accepted it as glory enough for one campaign, and retired—a proceeding entirely in accordance with their well-known practice. Seventh.—Such an explanation receives confirmation from the fact that it is clearly improbable that so large a force should have been repelled with such success as to cause so early a retreat, without finding some more complete record in the annals of this year. Neither Ranck, in his "History of Lexington," nor McClung, in his "Outline History," in Collins, mentions it. Eighth.—It should be observed, also, that such an expedition on the part of the savages was more likely to occur in the early part of the year, as in September the Shawanese were attending a conference at Fort Pitt with Brodhead, which terminated to the satisfaction of both parties. ("Annals of the West," p. 216.) Ninth.—It follows, therefore, that if the Indian invasion be placed in the fall, the expedition must have been organized immediately after this conference, to which the savages had been drawn by the chastisement inflicted upon the Pennsylvania frontier, which is improbable. Tenth.—These considerations all tend to point out the date "the 27th of November" as an error; that "Rogers' defeat" occurred in the late spring or early summer of 1779, and is so indicated in the text.

#### NOTE 12, PAGE 180.

Peter Duree was the leading man in the company of Pennsylvanians, who, in 1779, established Harrodsburg or White Oak Station on the Kentucky River in connection with Nathaniel Hart. In the fall of 1781, or in the succeeding winter, he determined to build a new station between the mouth of Mud Creek and Estill's Station, and, having erected a block-house on the chosen site, his son, Peter Duree, Jr., and his son-in-law, John Bullock, with their families, took possession of it. Here they were attacked by the Indians about the 20th of March. The men were outside of the cabin adjusting a hand-mill, when both were shot. After running a short distance toward the block-house Bullock fell, but Duree succeeded in reaching it and

throwing himself upon a bed. Mrs. Bullock, going to the door to ascertain the fate of her husband, received a shot in her breast, and fell dead upon the threshold. Mrs. Duree, doubtful whether her husband had been wounded or had fainted, drew the murdered woman within the cabin and closed the door. Grasping a rifle, she told her husband she would help him to defend the cabin, when he told her he was wounded and dying. Presenting the gun in quick succession at the different port-holes, she turned to her dying husband, and calmly watched his life go out. After waiting several hours without seeing anything more of the Indians, she ventured out to go to the older station, carrying an infant in her arms, and leading a four-year-old son by her side. Avoiding the beaten track, she hurried through the forest, hoping to gain her destination unobserved. She struck the trail at some distance from her starting-point, however, and with her strength so far exhausted that she determined to follow it. A few miles further on she met the elder Peter Duree, with his wife and youngest son, on their way with their household effects to the new station. The shocking story which the poor refugee had to relate changed their course, and, unloading their horses in an adjacent cane-brake, the whole party hurried to White Oak Station, where they arrived before daylight.

## NOTE 13, PAGE 181.

Of the five descriptions of this heroic encounter examined, no two agree upon all the essential points. That of R. H. Collins (*Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, Vol. II, p. 634 *et seq.*), who bases his statements upon an examination of the evidence presented in the case of *E. Crews vs. Crews Heirs* and other equally authoritative data (see note, p. 336), is perhaps most entitled to credit. But this account is unfortunately marred by such carelessness of statement as to throw some doubt upon an otherwise consistent narrative. This will be observed in the last two paragraphs on page 234, which seem to indicate that a body of men who "pressed forward," consumed the time from "early next morning" till "an hour before sunset" in making the distance from Little Mountain to the scene of the battle, some two miles above Mount Sterling. If true, it is of sufficient importance to warrant the author in giving the reason for such an unusual delay, but it is probably an inaccuracy, in which the writer has fallen in amending the account as it existed in the original edition. Other accounts do not attempt to fix the hour of the engagement. It was probably somewhat earlier than "an hour before sunset;" it is more probable that it occurred an hour before sunrise. This time would satisfy all the conditions much better.

Authors differ in their characterization of Miller's conduct. A tradition is mentioned by Marshall which authorizes the statement that the lieutenant made the diversion as ordered, was met by the savages, and suffered the loss of three or four

men killed or wounded. Besides its manifest improbability, this tradition is opposed by the almost unanimous conviction of the settlers and their descendants in the neighborhood of Estill's Station, and the subsequent action of Miller. For twenty years, it is said, one of the men wounded in the action patiently watched for Miller's return to Richmond, vowing to kill him on sight. "If he had met the threatened fate, no jury in Madison County would have convicted Cook—so intense was, and to this day is, \* \* \* the detestation for those who shamefully retreated." Miller did not return to Richmond.

There is a wide disagreement as to the date of the encounter. Marshall (Vol. I, p. 126) places the event in May, 1782, and Butler quotes his account without remark. The question seems to be authoritatively settled, and a sufficient warrant for the prominence accorded this inconclusive skirmish in history is given in the decision of Chief Justice Robertson, in the case of *Conley's Heirs vs. Chiles*, found in the 5th Marshall's Reports (note p. 124, Butler), the chief justice said: The battle was fought on the 23d of March, 1782, in the new county of Montgomery, and in the vicinity of Mount Sterling. It is a memorable incident, and perhaps one of the most memorable in the interesting history of the settlement of Kentucky. The usefulness and popularity of Capt. Estill; the deep and universal sensibility excited by the premature death of a citizen so gallant and so beloved; the emphatic character of his associates in battle; the masterly skill and chivalric daring displayed throughout the action ("every man to his man, and each to his tree"); the grief and despondence produced by the catastrophe, all contribute to give to "Estill's defeat" a most signal notoriety and importance, especially among the "early settlers." All the story, with all the circumstances of locality, and of "the fight," was told and told again and again, until even children knew it "by heart." No legendary tale was ever listened to with as intense anxiety, or was inscribed in as vivid and indelible an impress on the hearts of the few of both sexes, who then constituted the hope and the strength of Kentucky.

Such is the traditional as well as the recorded history of this sanguinary battle between the white men and the Indians; and such, too, is the testimony embodied in this cause.

## NOTE 14, PAGE 182.

The details in regard to the attack on Bryant's or Bryan's Station are involved in the greatest confusion. According to Marshall the Indians attacked the station on the 15th, after the settlers had engaged in their ordinary work for the day, and continued their investment of the place until "the morning of the fourth day." Butler describes the enemy as approaching the fort in the darkness of the night of the 14th, and maintaining their siege until the morning of the fourth day, the 18th inst. McClung says the Indians came on the night of the



14th, and implies that they left on the morning of the 16th. Gov. Morehead, who had access to statements of those who were actors in the events of this period, agrees with McClung. Boone's narrative says the attack took place on the 15th, and that the enemy retired on the 17th, but in his letter, quoted below (note 15), he says the attack was on the 16th, and the retreat "about 10 o'clock the next day." An account by one who was present, quoted from Cist's *Cincinnati Miscellany* (Vol. I, page 236) makes the attack occur on the 16th, and the retreat "before daylight" on the 17th.

Later writers here generally accepted the night of the 14th, as the date of the arrival of the Indians, though why this rather than the 16th is not clear. By the concurrent testimony of McClung, Morehead, Boone and Cist's *Miscellany*, the period of active hostilities extended only through one day. The relieving party arrived on the next day, and on the third day fought the battle at the Lower Blue Lick. The date of the battle is invariably fixed on the 19th, and the date of the arrival of the force from Lexington and the beginning of the pursuit, on the 18th. This will be found the case in Marshall, Butler, McClung, Morehead, Collins, Perkins' "Annals of the West," Ranck's "History of Fayette County, Ky.," McKnight's "Our Western Border," and Shaler's "Kentucky." If these dates may be considered established, it follows that the attack occurred on the 17th, and the approach of the enemy on the night before, as in the text

NOTE 15, PAGE 188.

The various writers who have recounted the battle of Blue Lick differ in their account of the opening details. The common narrative is given by Marshall, Stipp (*Miscellany*, Xenia, Ohio, 1827), McClung and Cooper. They represent the whole army following McGary in headlong confusion, without previous examination of the locality by scouts, or halt until confronted by the enemy. Boone's account in a letter to the governor of Virginia is as follows:

BOONE'S STATION, FAYETTE CO.,  
August 30, 1782. }

*Sir*.—Present circumstances of affairs cause me to write to your Excellency as follows: On the 16th inst, a large number of Indians with some white men attacked one of our frontier stations, known by the name of Bryan's Station. The siege continued from about sunrise till about 10 o'clock the next day, when they marched off.

Notice being given to the neighboring stations, we immediately raised 181 horsemen, commanded by Col. John Todd, including some of the Lincoln County militia, commanded by Col. Trigg, and having pursued about forty miles, on the 19th inst. we discovered the enemy lying in wait for us. On this discovery we formed our columns into one single line and marched up to their front within about forty yards before there was a gun fired. Col. Trigg commanded on the right, myself on the left, Maj. McGary in the center, and Maj. Harlan, the advance party, in the front.

From the manner in which we had formed, it fell to my lot to bring on the attack. This was done with a very heavy fire on both sides, and ex-

tended back of the line to Col. Trigg, where the enemy was so strong that they rushed up and broke the right wing at the first fire. Thus the enemy got in our rear, and we were compelled to retreat with the loss of seventy-seven of our men and twelve wounded.

Afterward we were enforced by Col. Logan which made our force 460 men. We marched again to the battle-ground, but finding that the enemy had gone we proceeded to bury the dead. We found forty-three on the ground, and many lay about which we could not stay to find, hungry and weary as we were, and somewhat dubious that the enemy might not have gone off quite. By the sign we thought the Indians had exceeded 400, while the whole of the militia of this county does not amount to more than 130.

From these facts your Excellency may form an idea of our situation. I know that your own circumstances are critical, but are we to be wholly for gotten? I hope not. I trust about 500 men may be sent to our assistance immediately. If these shall be stationed as our county lieutenants shall deem necessary, it may be the means of saving our part of the country, but if they are placed under the direction of Gen. George Rogers Clark they will be of little or no service to our settlement. The falls lie 100 miles west of us, and the Indians northeast, while our men are frequently called to protect them. I have encouraged the people in this county all that I could, but can no longer justify them or myself to risk our lives here under such extraordinary hazards. The inhabitants of this county are very much alarmed at the thought of the Indians bringing another campaign into our country this fall. If this should be the case it will break up these settlements. I hope, therefore, your Excellency will take the matter into your consideration, and send us some relief as quickly as possible.

These are my sentiments without consulting any person. Col. Logan will, I expect, immediately send you an express, by whom I humbly request your Excellency's answer. In the meanwhile  
I remain, DANIEL BOONE.

In this letter it will be observed Boone does not mention McGary's reckless conduct, and leaves it to be inferred that the battle was brought on by the determination of the council and in regular order. That it was begun in regular order receives confirmation from "a distinguished citizen of Kentucky" whom Mr. Collins quotes (Vol. II, p. 659). This gentleman gained his information from participants in the battle, and agrees with the accounts given by actors in this scene by Kenton and Clark.

Morehead, whom the text follows, takes a middle course; notes the precipitate action of McGary but describes the final approach in accordance with Boone's account. This account raises the questions whether McGary would be likely to stop when once started in his mad career, and whether, if McGary did act the part generally assigned to him, Boone would be likely to omit all mention of it. To the latter it may be replied that Boone aimed only to give the outlines of the event, and omits many undoubtedly authentic details which have been recorded by the historians; that his purpose was not to make an official report, but to picture the general situation, and on his own responsibility to seek relief for the alarmed settlers; and that if the fact be as Marshall states, McGary's action would not appear of such importance as to be noted in the letter referred to

Whether McGary would be any more amenable to reason after crossing the river than before, is a question for the decision of which there exists no evidence. It may be supposed, however, that the crossing may have given the crowd which followed him an opportunity for a sober second thought, and the "Rubicon" having been passed, they may have been inclined to accept the precautionary measures offered.

There is little reason to doubt that McGary forced the fighting in some way contrary to the calmer judgment of his superiors, and that by his contemporaries he was generally held responsible, to a large degree, for the disaster which followed. This responsibility, it is said, he defended rather than denied, and in so doing, aspersed the character of Todd, a proceeding which seems to make his culpability more probable. Butler (p. 129) refers to his defense as a tradition in which it was held that he "counseled a delay at Bryant's Station for twenty-four hours, until Logan could arrive with his powerful re-enforcement. This was rather tauntingly rejected, as it is alleged, by Col. Todd, who, in the honorable ambition of a brave man, was fearful of the escape of the Indians, and was apprehensive that he should lose this opportunity of distinguishing himself, by the arrival of his senior colonel." This view is not at all in keeping with the known character of the respective officers. McGary was of a reckless disposition, insubordinate, quarrelsome in his relations to his superiors. Todd was of a quiet, judicial temperament, and unselfish in his public and private life. Of this there is abundant evidence. It is true that Logan ranked higher in public esteem as an Indian fighter than any, save Clark, on the border, but Cooper is authority for the statement that Logan was not certainly expected, and as a matter of fact Todd was not only colonel in the militia, but also in the Stateline, which made him Logan's senior. In this connection, Mr. Charles McKnight ("Our Western Border," p. 283) relates: "Several years after the battle of the Blue Lick, a gentleman of Kentucky, since dead, fell in company of McGary at one of the circuit courts, and the conversation soon turned on the battle. McGary frankly acknowledged that he was the immediate cause of the loss of blood on that day, and with great heat and energy, assigned his reasons for urging on the battle. He said that in the hurried council that was held at Bryant's, on the 18th, he strenuously urged Todd and Trigg to halt for twenty-four hours, assuring them that with the aid of Logan, they would be able to follow them even to Chillicothe if necessary, and that their numbers then were too weak to encounter them alone. He offered, he said, to pledge his head that the Indians would not return with such precipitation as was supposed, but would afford ample time to collect more force, and give them battle with a prospect of success.

"He added that Col. Todd scouted his arguments

and declared that, if a single day were lost, the Indians would never be overtaken; but would cross the Ohio and disperse; that now was the time to strike them, while they were in a body; that to talk of their numbers was nonsense, the more the merrier; that for his part he determined to pursue them without a moment's delay and did not doubt that there were brave men enough on the ground to enable him to attack them with effect." McGary declared that he felt somewhat nettled at the manner in which his advice had been received; that he thought Todd and Trigg jealous of Logan, who, as senior colonel, would be entitled to the command on his arrival; and that, in their eagerness to have the honor of victory to themselves, they were rashly throwing themselves into a condition which would endanger the safety of the country.

"'However, sir' (continued he, with an air of unamiable triumph) 'when I saw the gentlemen so keen for a fight, I gave way, and joined in the pursuit as willingly as any; but when we came in sight of the enemy, and the gentlemen began to talk of numbers, position, Logan and waiting, I burst into a passion, d—d them for a set of cowards, who could not be wise until they were scared into it, and swore that since they had come so far for a fight, they *should fight*, or I would disgrace them forever. That when I spoke of waiting for Logan on the day before, they had scouted the idea, and hinted about courage, that now it would be shown who had courage, or who were d—d cowards, who could talk big when the enemy were at a distance, but turned pale when danger was near. I then dashed into the river, and called upon all who were not cowards to follow.' The gentleman, upon whose authority this is given, added that even then, McGary spoke with bitterness of the deceased colonels, and swore that they had received just what they deserved, and that he, for one, was glad of it."

Such a statement can scarcely be credited, but if it be true, as there are indications that it is, it leaves nothing further wanting to mark McGary as the willful murderer of his comrades and the malicious slanderer of the noble dead.

The loss of the Indians is stated generally as equal to that of the whites. This appears incredible when the number and advantageous position of the savages are considered. Logan found no Indian burials, and but few trails of blood, but Boone states in his narrative that on numbering their dead the Indians discovered that their loss exceeded the whites by four, and therefore four of the prisoners were, by general consent, ordered to be killed. This is confirmed by the statement of prisoners who were exchanged in the next year. The loss of the Indians referred to, however, may have included the casualties received in both the battle of the Blue Lick and before Bryan's Station. In the latter engagement the whites had only two killed in the station, while the savages are believed to have lost



heavily. The losses in the two battles may have been equalized in the manner stated.

NOTE 16, PAGE 195.

In 1802 F. A. Michaux, M. D., a distinguished French naturalist, made a tour of the newer portions of the United States under the auspices of the French minister of the interior, and subsequently recorded the result of his observations in a volume printed in Paris. This was translated into English by B. Lambert, and published at London in 1805. It is from this work that the following extract is made:

The Barrens or meadows of Kentucky comprise an extent of sixty or seventy miles in length by fifty or sixty in breadth. From the signification of the word I expected to cross a bare tract, with a few plants scattered here and there upon it; and in this opinion I was supported by the notion which some of the inhabitants had given me of these meadows before I reached them. They told me that at this season (28th of August) I should perish with heat and thirst, and that I should not meet with any shade the whole length of the road, for the greater number of the Americans who live in woods have no conception that countries can exist that are entirely free from them, and still less that they can be habitable. Instead of finding a country such as described to me, I was agreeably surprised to see a beautiful meadow well covered with grass of two or three feet in height, which is used to feed cattle. A great variety of plants also grow here. \* \* \*

In some parts of these meadows several species of wild creeping vines are met with, and particularly that called by the inhabitants summer grapes. These grapes are as large and of as good a quality as those from the vineyards in the neighborhood of Paris, with this difference, that they are not so close upon the bunches.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Barrens are circumscribed within a chain of woods two or three miles in breadth, forming a continuation of the forests which cover the country. The trees comprising them are not very close, and their distances from each other increase in approaching the meadows. On the Tennessee side this chain is formed exclusively of post oaks, *Quercus obtusiloba*, the wood of which being very hard and not perishing easily is preferred to all others in the formation of fences. \* \* \*

Here and there through the meadows are also to be seen black oaks, *Quercus nigra*, and walnuts, *Juglans hickery*, which rise to about twelve or fifteen feet; sometimes they form small groves, but always so far asunder as not in any way to interrupt the sight. With the exception of little sallows about two feet high, *Salix longirostris*, and some sumachs, there is not any shrub to be seen. The surface of these meadows is in general very even; but toward the Dripping Spring I observed a long and high hill, slightly covered with wood and with enormous detached rocks which are visible from the road.

There appears to be a great number of subterraneous caverns in the Barrens, some of which are very near the surface. A short time before I passed this way, one of them sunk in the road near Bear Wallow, under the feet of a traveler, who only escaped by a most fortunate chance. The danger of such accidents in a country where the habitations are so remote from each other, and where, perhaps a traveler does not pass once in fifteen days, may be conceived.

There are also to be seen in these meadows broken holes of the shape of a funnel, the breadth of which varies, according to the depth, from fifteen to thirty feet. In some of these cavities, at five or six feet from the bottom, there is a small, trickling stream of water, which is totally lost in the crevice at the lower extremity of the funnel. These kind of streams never dry up, which has induced several of the inhabitants to settle in their vicinity; for except the Big Barren River, I did not discover the smallest brook or creek through all these plains. Neither have I heard of any attempt having been made to dig wells; and, therefore, can form no judgment of the success of the trials, which will doubtless be hereafter made. From these observations it is evident that the want of water, and of wood fit for fences will long be an obstacle to the increase of the establishments in this part of Kentucky. \* \*

The Barrens are therefore at present very thinly inhabited in comparison with their extent; for on the road, where the plantations are the most contiguous, there are only eighteen in a space of seventy miles.

Some of the inhabitants divide the land of the Barrens of Kentucky into three classes, according to their qualities, and in their opinion the middle class occupies the largest part of them. That part which I crossed, where the soil is yellowish and little gravelly, seemed to be very well calculated for the culture of wheat. \* \* \*

Every year, in the course of the months of March and April, the inhabitants set fire to the herbage which at that period is dry, and the extreme length of which would deprive the cattle, for a fortnight or three weeks longer, of the new grass, which then begins to shoot. This custom is, however, generally blamed, and with reason; for, being set fire to early, the grass dries, and, in consequence of its drooping, does not protect the rising crop from the spring frosts, and its vegetation retarded. This custom was formerly practiced by the natives, who came to hunt in these countries, and is still continued by them in other parts of North America where there are savannahs of vast extent. Their object in setting fire to them is to attract the stags, bison, etc., into the burnt parts, when they can perceive them at a distance.

No idea can be formed of these dreadful conflagrations without having seen them. The flame which generally occupies a line of several miles in extent, is sometimes driven forward with such rapidity that men on horseback have become their prey

The American hunters and the savages preserve themselves from this danger by a method as simple as ingenious; they immediately set fire to that part of the meadow in which they happen to be, and afterward retreat to this burnt spot, where the flame, which threatened them, stops for want of fuel. This is what the Canadian hunters call making their own fire.—*Michaux's Travels*, pp. 182-190.

## NOTE 17, PAGE 195.

The early promise of success in grape culture was not confirmed by experience. Nearly eighteen years after Imlay wrote, Michaux recorded the result of the "agitation," to which the text refers: I left Lexington for Nashville, in the State of Tennessee, on the 10th of August, wrote the French traveler, and as the establishment formed for naturalizing the vine in Kentucky was only a few miles out of my road, I determined to visit it. \* \* \*

At fourteen miles from Lexington, I quitted the road to Hickman's Ferry. I turned to the left and lost myself in the middle of the woods, so that I did not reach the vineyard until evening, where I was very politely received by M. Dufour, who directs the undertaking. He invited me to sleep there and pass the following day with him, which I accepted.

There is a public spirit in the United States which causes them to seize with avidity every prospect tending to enrich the country by agriculture or commerce. That of acclimating the vine in Kentucky was eagerly received. Several individuals formed themselves into a society to carry it into execution, and it was determined to raise a capital of 10,000 piasters (dollars), divided into 200 shares of 50 piasters each. This subscription was soon filled. M. Defour, the principal of a small Swiss colony, who had established himself seven or eight years before in Kentucky, and was the proposer of this scheme, was employed to look for a suitable soil to procure some plants, and to do everything which he might judge necessary to insure success. The spot which he had selected and cleared was situated on the River Kentucky, twenty miles from Lexington. The soil is excellent, and the vines are planted on a small hill with a steep declivity, exposed to the south, and the base of which is about 200 toises (a fathom, six French feet, or 6.39459 English feet) from the river.

M. Dufour intended to pass into France to procure the vine plants, and with this view he went to New York, but the war or some other cause, with which I am unacquainted, prevented him, and he contented himself with procuring there and at Philadelphia plants of every species, which he could obtain from individuals who had them in their gardens. He collected twenty-five species, which he brought to Kentucky, where he has endeavored to multiply them. But his success is not equal to his attention; not more than four or five varieties are left, among which are those which he calls by the names of Burgundy and Madeira, and the first does not thrive well; the fruit always rots before it ar-

rives at maturity. When I saw them the bunches were few and stunted, the grapes small, and everything appeared as though the vintage of the year 1802 would not be more abundant than those of the preceding years. The Madeira vines, on the contrary, seemed to give some hopes of 150 or 200 plants—about a third were loaded with very fine grapes. These vines do not occupy a space of more than six acres; they are planted and supported by props, as in the environs of Paris. The vicinity of the woods attracts a species of bird which is very destructive to them, and the nature of the country is a great obstacle to getting freed from them.

Such was then the situation of this establishment, in which the proprietors took but slight interest, and which was likely to meet with another hindrance in the division of M. Dufour's family, a part of which was on the point of quitting it to settle on the banks of the Ohio. These details are sufficient to give a very different idea of the state of the pretended flourishing vines of Kentucky, from that which may have been formed on the pompous accounts of them some months ago in the public papers.—*Michaux's Travels*, pp. 163-167.

## NOTE 18, PAGE 199.

The decade which preceded Kenton's removal from Kentucky, marked the culmination and rapid decline of his fortunes. He had entered large tracts of land, which the continued immigration greatly enhanced in value. On the site of his old block-house, near Washington, he erected a fine brick residence, which became widely noted for the open-handed hospitality dispensed by its owner. But this prosperity was only short-lived. The great tide of immigration, which at first contributed so largely to his prosperity finally proved his ruin. Land became more scarce, and the greedy speculator began to invade his domains and involve him in legal difficulties, to which his ignorance and credulity made him an easy victim. One after another of his possessions were wrested from him on legal informalities, until not only was his valuable property absorbed, but even his body taken to satisfy the warranty of deeds to land which he had given away. Thus, four years after the general pacification of the Indians had promised him a life of ease, dearly earned by twenty years of constant danger and hardship, he found himself beggared by land suits.

In this predicament he turned to Ohio, where he had previously pushed his speculations. Here, in 1799, he "took up" land and began anew, settling, in 1802, near Urbana. His misfortunes still followed him, and it was not until 1820, when he moved to the head-waters of the Mad River, in Logan County, and entered land in the name of his wife and children, that he escaped the persecutions of the malign spirit which presided over the lands of Kentucky. In all this trouble he never inveighed against the injustice of his country, which to his exalted patriotism, seemed incapable of doing



wrong. In 1805, he was made brigadier-general of Ohio militia, and was ready at all times to give his services in defense of the frontier. On the breaking out of hostilities in 1812, he was anxious to take part in the military operations, and in the succeeding year, when Gov. Shelby led the Kentucky troops northward, he joined them with his rifle and horse as a volunteer, though constrained to act as a privileged member of the Governor's military family. In this capacity he was present at the battles of the Thames and of the Moravian town, where he displayed his old-time courage and address. With this he ended his military career.

In 1824 he made his first visit to Kentucky after his removal from that State. Certain mountainous lands of little value, which had, on that account, escaped the voracity of the land-hunters, had become forfeited to the State for unpaid taxes. To seek the release of this last vestige of his Kentucky fortunes, he was induced to undertake the journey alone. He made his way to Frankfort, where the legislature was in session, with as little idea of what steps were to be taken to effect his wishes as a child. On reaching his destination, he found himself an utter stranger. His worn out horse and tattered garments proclaimed his fallen fortunes, while his simple, dazed manner sharpened the curiosity of those who observed his entry into the town. Aimlessly wandering in the street, peering into each face for some familiar countenance, and followed by a crowd of curious urchins, the old white-haired man was at length recognized by Gen. Thomas Fletcher, who provided him with decent clothing, and took the old pioneer home for entertainment. His presence was soon noised abroad, and large numbers came to greet the renowned hunter and scout. He was taken to the capitol and placed in the speaker's chair, where the leading members of the government, as well as prominent citizens, were introduced to him. This spontaneous courtesy completely won his heart, and the simple-hearted old man counted this the proudest day of his life. His lands were promptly released by the State, and in the same year, through the exertions of Judge Burnett, of Cincinnati, and Gov. Vance, of Ohio, then members of congress, the United States granted Kenton a pension of \$20 a month. This thoughtful provision enabled the old pioneer to end his days free from want. He died April 29, 1836, a victim of the cholera, which prevailed in this year.

Kenton married Elizabeth Jarbo, probably in Kentucky, by whom he had several children, though, strange to say, of all the notices of his eventful career to be found in the various encyclopedias and reviews, these important details omitted by his biographer have been supplied in none. His descendants subsequently moved to Indiana. McDonald, who became acquainted with the veteran pioneer in 1789, and knew him well during the remainder of his life, writes thus of his character and general

appearance: "Gen. Kenton was of fair complexion six feet one inch in height. He stood and walked very erect, and in the prime of life weighed about 190 pounds. He never was inclined to be corpulent, although of sufficient fullness to form a graceful person. He had a soft, tremulous voice, very pleasing to the hearer. He had laughing grey eyes which appeared to fascinate the beholder. He was a pleasant, good-humored and obliging companion. When excited or provoked to anger (which was seldom the case) the fiery glance of his eye would almost curdle the blood of those with whom he came in contact. His rage, when roused, was a tornado. In his dealing he was perfectly honest; his confidence in man and his credulity were such that the same man might cheat him twenty times, and if he professed friendship he might cheat him still." He remains still rest in the obscurity of his unmarked grave in Ohio.

#### NOTE 19, PAGE 200.

On leaving Kentucky, Boone seems to have been swayed by alternating impulses, which carried him hither and thither, the prey of conflicting desires. In April, 1794, he is found at Point Pleasant, in western Virginia; in February, 1796, a few miles from Paris, Bourbon Co., Ky.; in April, 1797, floating down the Ohio River in a canoe, bound for that part of the Spanish possessions now known as Missouri. In all these wanderings his wife was his devoted companion, and in the last named year this aged couple found a resting place with their son Daniel, Jr.

It appears that the venerable pioneer had received assurances from the governor of upper Louisiana that a liberal grant of land should be awarded him and his family. Ten thousand acres of choice land were accordingly marked out on the Missouri River and given him for his individual use, but the title was never completed, as it could only be done by a trip to New Orleans, which Boone unfortunately failed to make. He became a citizen of Spain, and was appointed syndic or chief of the district of St. Charles. For a time prosperity seemed to shine upon him; he once more enjoyed the unbounded freedom of the woods, and with his rifle and trap earned sufficient to pay the debts which he was obliged to leave unsettled on his removal from Kentucky. It is said, he one day suddenly appeared amid the scenes of his pioneer labors, clad and armed as of old, sought out his various creditors and taking their account of his indebtedness, paid each one in full, disappearing as suddenly as he came.

But the settlements began once more to intrude upon his hunting grounds. The territory was ceded to the French, and then to the United States. Longer trips were necessary for his hunting and trapping excursions, which took him far up the Missouri River and its tributaries. On one occasion he went to the Osage, accompanied only by a negro

lad. Having pitched his camp he was suddenly taken sick, and continued seriously ill for so long a time that the old woodsman thought the end was approaching. One pleasant day, when feeling somewhat stronger, he took his attendant to a slight eminence, and imperturbably marked out his own grave, and gave minute directions in regard to the distribution of his personal effects, and the manner of his burial. This done, he returned to his camp to await the arrival of the "awful summons," but his strong vitality weathered the storm, and he recovered to live some years.

About 1810 he again fell a victim to his incapacity for business affairs. Settlers intruded upon his land, and when he laid his claim before the commissioners of land claims, appointed by congress, they were compelled by their instructions to reject it, because he had failed to settle on and cultivate the land. These were the usual conditions annexed by the Spanish to their grants of land, but in the case of Boone, his official duties in the Spanish government requiring his residence elsewhere, these conditions were dispensed with. However, his failure to complete his title of gift, and his failure to occupy the land claimed, defeated his case before the commissioners. He, therefore, memorialized congress to afford relief, and "left once more, at about the age of eighty, to be a wanderer in the world," he prayed the legislature of Kentucky "to support his application to congress by their aid and influence." This petition promptly received the favorable attention of the legislature, and its instruction to the Kentucky senators and representatives in congress to use their exertions to secure a confirmation of the Spanish grant, or a suitable quantity as a donation, was prefaced by a tribute to the "many eminent services rendered by Col. Daniel Boone," which was alike honorable to the sentiment which moved the assembly and grateful to the simple, guileless spirit, whose keen sagacity and generous bravery had done so much for the infant fortunes of the commonwealth. It is pleasant to record that this effort on the part of the assembly was crowned with success. On February 10, 1814, congress granted Boone, as a donation, 1,000 arpens of land.

His old misfortunes still followed him. Not only did he lose the lands which he called his own, but such as he had sold became a source of loss and trouble. In selling these he gave a "warrantee deed," and subsequently when the original title proved invalid, under the jugglery of the Virginia law, he was obliged to part with his late grant from the United States to satisfy the purchaser. A greater misfortune befel Boone, however, about 1813, in the death of his aged wife. He mourned her loss as one who "would not be comforted," and from this event forward his spirit seems to have been completely broken. He took up his residence with his son, Nathan, and sought forgetfulness in long hunting excursions, which he extended in 1816 as far as Fort Osage, on the Kansas River, a hun-

dred miles from his home. In these expeditions he was accompanied by an attendant who was bound by a written agreement to return his body, wherever he might die, to be buried beside his wife. But the infirmities of age curbed, at last, even the untiring energies of this indefatigable man. Obligated to forego his hunting excursions, and unable to walk far, he would sit at his cabin door for hours at a time, his trusty rifle across his knee, and his eyes directed toward the forest with a dreamy gaze, while in fancy he lived again amid the stirring scenes of his vigorous manhood.

His narrative, preserved by Filson, was a constant source of enjoyment to the kind-hearted old man, and he was never more gratified than when some friend would read to him the meager story of his eventful life. He listened with the keenest interest, occasionally rubbing his hands with excess of satisfaction, and ejaculate, "All true, every word true; not a lie in it." But while thus pleased with the record of his exploits, he seldom spoke of himself, save when particularly questioned. It was the printed memorial that "completely overcame the cold philosophy of his general manner, and he seemed to think it a master-piece of composition."

In 1819 an American artist, prompted by a patriotic wish to preserve the portrait of this notable man, visited him in Missouri, and communicated the following description of his surroundings to Gov. Morehead, who embodied it in his address: "He found him in a small rude cabin, indisposed and resting on his bed. A slice from the loin of a buck, twisted round the rammer of his rifle, within reach of him as he lay, was roasting before the fire. Several other cabins, arranged in the form of a parallelogram, marked the spot of a dilapidated station. They were occupied by the descendants of the pioneer. Here he lived in the midst of his posterity. His withered energies and locks of snow indicated that the sources of existence were nearly exhausted." A fever terminated his life on September 26, 1820, at the house of his son-in-law, Flanders Callaway, in Charette Village, on the Missouri River. He was buried by the side of his wife.

The legislature in session at St. Louis, on the announcement of this event, adjourned for the day in token of respect to his memory, and wore the usual badge of mourning for twenty days. In Kentucky no special observance of the event was made for some years. In its session of 1844-45, the Kentucky legislature adopted measures to have the mortal remains of the celebrated pioneer and his wife removed from Missouri to the public cemetery at Frankfort. On the 13th of September, 1845, these efforts were consummated by the elaborate obsequies with which the remains of the pioneer couple were placed in their new resting place. Since then a handsome monument has been erected, which, though somewhat marred by time, and relic hunters, still remains to mark the resting place of Daniel and Rebecca Boone.



## NOTE 20, PAGE 202.

It is probable that Harrod's life was ended by murder. He had had a suit at law with one Bridges, in regard to some property, the result of which had produced a bitter enmity between the two litigants. They had not spoken to each other for some time, when, one day in 1793, Bridges returned after several weeks' absence, and, professing to wish a reconciliation, disclosed to Harrod that he had discovered an abandoned silver mine, of which there was a current tradition, and solicited him to furnish the capital to work it. Harrod's wife earnestly opposed his going alone with Bridges to examine the alleged discovery, and prevailed on him to allow a third person to join the investigation.

On reaching the Three-Forks of the Kentucky River, in the vicinity of which the mine was supposed to be located, the company halted, prepared a camp, and then set out in quest of game, each one pursuing his own course. Bridges and Harrod were not widely separated and proceeded some distance from camp, while the third man explored the less remote regions. He soon heard the report of a gun in the direction and about the vicinity he supposed Harrod was, and thinking he had secured a deer, returned to camp. Here he found Bridges apparently greatly alarmed; he said he had seen fresh Indian "signs," and believed Harrod had been killed; and insisted upon a precipitate retreat, in spite of the earnest remonstrance of his companion, who, rather than be left alone, soon followed to the settlements.

Bridges subsequently sold a quantity of furs to a hatter in Lexington, and at the same time disposed of a pair of silver buttons engraved with the letter H. These being sent to Mrs. Harrod, she instantly recognized them as the ones the colonel had worn in his linen hunting-shirt, when he set out on the expedition. A party of men at once set out for the Three-Forks, where they discovered the bones of a human being, picked bare by the wild beasts of the woods, but a hunting-shirt with the buttons gone remained, and was identified as belonging to Harrod. In the meanwhile, Bridges took the alarm, left the country, and was never more heard of. (See Dr. Graham's narrative in Collins, Vol. II, p. 614.)

## NOTE 21, PAGE 208.

The "Kentucky boat," or "broad horn," was a flat-boat, constructed upon the crudest principles of naval architecture. Until 1800, it was the only traffic boat on the western rivers, but at this time the "keel-boat" was introduced, which gradually superseded its predecessor in the public service, although flat-boats were found on the Mississippi in considerable numbers until the steam-boat ended the career of all such craft.

The numerous water-ways and the utter lack of roads made travel and transportation by water an early necessity, and the flat-boat was an outgrowth of the self-help of the pioneers. It was earliest in demand as a means to transport immigrants and

their goods to Kentucky, which gave rise to its name. At first these boats were constructed by those who had need of them, but immigration subsequently increased to such an extent that their construction became one of the more prominent industries of Brownsville and Pittsburgh, Penn., and of Wheeling, W. Va. The business was not confined to these points, however, and almost every settlement upon the navigable portion of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny Rivers, did more or less of boat building. Subsequently, when the "keel-boat" became prominent, the flat-boat lost its distinctive name, and was chiefly used by the farmers and merchants of Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana to convey their produce to the New Orleans market.

The form of these boats was a parallelogram, varying in length from fifteen to fifty feet, and in width from ten to fifteen feet, affording a capacity which varied from fifty to 500 tons burthen. On the Kentucky and Illinois Rivers they were sometimes built seventy-five feet long, and carried from 2,000 to 5,000 bushels of grain. The method and style of construction was simple, and suited to the meager resources of the times. The plan was to take a fine poplar or sycamore tree, hew it in rectangular shape about eighteen by twenty-four inches. This was split through the middle, leaving strips about twelve by eighteen inches, and of varying length to suit the boat. These formed the gunwales, and constituted the main strength of the boat. The heart side was placed outward, and on the inner corner was cut a "gain" large enough to allow the two-inch flooring to rest in it, and come to the level of the bottom of the gunwale. The width of the boat was established by cross pieces framed in the gunwales at moderate distances apart. Lengthwise the boat was further strengthened by "streamers" running parallel with the gunwales about four feet apart. Upon this framework, securely framed and fastened together, flooring of two-inch oak planks was laid double, pinned with wooden pins and heavy nails.

The boat, thus far constructed, was bottom side up, and after being well caulked, the difficulty encountered was to turn it over to be finished and launched. Among the farmers the practice was to choose a location on the bank of the river convenient for launching, and when the work reached this stage to turn it on the land, though the more skillful turned it on the water. If it was done on the land, the men of the neighborhood were invited, and all joined in lifting one side of the wooden leviathan, and letting it fall over on brush heaps and a multitude of hoop-poles, somewhat inclined to break its fall. This was attended with considerable risk of damage, and the other way was preferred. That was to place a temporary board railing on one side and the ends. Against this railing an embankment of earth was placed on the boat, and thus prepared, it was launched into the stream and towed by yawls into deep water. The side of

the boat, weighted with earth was placed up stream across the current, and while held in this position the embankment was broken in two places, to allow the water to find its way into the boat. The weight of the earth held this side lower than the other, to which was added the weight of the admitted water; this resulted in such a depression of this side as to give the current such hold of the structure as to turn it under the stream, when, the dirt falling off, it righted with the proper side uppermost. Great care was necessary to prevent the embankment from being prematurely broken, and for those who managed the turning to escape a serious wetting by leaping into a small boat kept near at hand.

When turned, it was hauled ashore by a cable previously fastened to it, and then completed. The gunwales were trimmed off at the prow to give the boat the proper "rake;" sides about four feet high were added by nailing clapboards on studding, framed in the sills or gunwales, and caulking applied to the first and second joints from the bottom, and sometimes higher. In case of boats bound for New Orleans, about three feet of the prow was left uninclosed to prevent snags piercing into the cargo. The inclosed portion was roofed over with boards projecting over the sides to shed the water perfectly, and rounded from one side to the other, the center being about five and a half to six feet high. This was the rule in case of traffic boats, but in other cases only the cabin was provided with roof. This was located at the stern, about six feet of which was devoted to bunks, a stone fireplace with "cat and clay" chimney. Emigrant boats were made to resemble a box and were abandoned to the current without any effort or means of navigating them. Traffic boats were provided with "sweeps," and a steering oar.

Such a craft could be purchased of regular builders at a price varying from \$1 to \$1.25 per linear foot, but the purchaser found it necessary to provide a cable, pump and fire-place at an additional cost of about \$10. Flat-boats were built with square prow to resist the rapid current, and were illy adapted to progress up stream. Traffic boats were, therefore, sold as lumber or firewood on reaching their destination. Emigrant boats found some purchasers who would use them to continue the trip to New Orleans, but they were generally disposed of cheaply for the lumber in them.

## NOTE 22, PAGE 209.

In his reminiscential letters, Dr. Drake, speaking of a visit in 1845 to the scene of his early home at Mayslick, Mason Co., Ky., says: "It is a remarkable fact that in the early period of which I am writing, from 1794 to 1800, the white population was greater in that neighborhood than I found it in the visit referred to. In a single solitary walk of two miles, which included the spot of our old home, I passed over the foundation—the decayed logs and dust—of no less than twelve cabins, on the broad hearths of which I used to warm myself in

winter, or play around in other seasons, when sent to them on errands, or permitted to visit the boys and girls with which they were redolent. Besides, I saw two of a better kind than the first, erected of hewed logs, which were tenantless and surrounded by hemp. \* \* \* \* \* The loss of white population so impressively shown forth by what I have said, has occurred in various parts of Kentucky. ("Pioneer Life in Kentucky," pp. 182-3.)

The following table shows the population at each census, 1790-1880:

Census Years.	Whites.	Free Colored	Slaves.	Total.
1790.....	61,133	114	12,430	73,677
1800.....	179,873	739	40,343	220,955
1810.....	324,237	1,713	80,561	406,511
1820.....	434,647	2,759	126,732	564,135
1830.....	517,787	4,917	165,213	687,917
1840.....	590,253	7,317	182,258	779,828
1850.....	761,413	10,011	210,981	982,405
1860.....	919,484	10,684	225,483	1,155,651
1870.....	1,098,692	222,210	.....	1,321,011
1880.....	1,377,187	271,521*	.....	1,648,708

\*Including 10 Chinese and 50 Indians.

The following cities had in 1880 a population exceeding 5,000:

Louisville.....	123,645
Covington.....	29,720
Newport.....	20,433
Lexington.....	16,656
Paducah.....	8,376
Frankfort (State capital).....	6,958
Maysville.....	5,220

## NOTE 23, PAGE 214.

"We have individuals in Kentucky," wrote the famous naturalist, Audubon, "that even there are considered wonderful adepts in the management of the rifle. Having resided some years in Kentucky, and having more than once been witness of rifle sport, I shall present the results of my observation, leaving the reader to judge how far rifle shooting is understood in that State.

"Several individuals who conceive themselves adepts in the management of the rifle, are often seen to meet for the purpose of displaying their skill; and, betting a trifling sum, put up a target, in the center of which, a common sized nail is hammered for about two thirds its length. The marksmen make choice of what they consider a proper distance, and which may be forty paces. Each man cleans the interior of his tube, which is called *wiping* it, places a ball in the palm of his hand, pouring as much powder from his horn as will cover it. This quantity is supposed to be sufficient for any distance short of 100 yards. A shot which comes very close to the nail is considered that of an indifferent marksman; the bending of the nail is of course somewhat better; but nothing less than hitting it right on the head is satisfactory. One out of three shots generally hits the nail; and should the shooters amount to half a dozen, two nails are frequently needed before each can have a shot.



Those who drive the nail have a further trial among themselves, and the two best shots out of these generally settle the affair, when all the sportsmen adjourn to some house and spend an hour or two in friendly intercourse, appointing before they part a day for another trial. This is technically termed, 'driving the nail.'

"Barking of squirrels is delightful sport, and in my opinion, requires a greater degree of accuracy than any other. I first witnessed this manner of procuring squirrels while near the town of Frankfort. The performer was the celebrated Daniel Boone. We walked out together and followed the rocky margins of the Kentucky River until we reached a piece of flat land, thickly covered with black walnuts, oaks and hickories. As the general mast was a good one for that year, squirrels were seen gamboling on every tree around us. My companion, a stout, hale, athletic man, dressed in a homespun hunting shirt, bare-legged and moccasined, carried a long and heavy rifle, which, as he was loading, he said had proved efficient in all of his former undertakings, and which he hoped would not fail on this occasion, as he felt proud to show me his skill. The gun was wiped, the powder measured, the ball patched with six-hundred-thread linen, and a charge sent home with a hickory rod. We moved not a step from the place, for the squirrels were so thick that it was unnecessary to go after them.

"Boone pointed to one of these animals, which had observed us, and was crouched on a bough about fifty paces distant, and bade me mark well where the ball should hit. He raised his piece gradually until the bead, or sight of the barrel, was brought to a line with the spot he intended to hit. The whip-like report resounded through the woods, and along the hills in repeated echoes. Judge of my surprise when I perceived that the ball had hit the piece of bark immediately underneath the squirrel, and shivered it into splinters, the concussion produced by which had killed the animal, and sent it whirling through the air as if it had been blown up by the explosion of a powder magazine. Boone kept up his firing, and before many hours had elapsed, we had procured as many squirrels as we wished. Since that first interview with the veteran Boone, I have seen many other individuals perform the same feat.

"The snuffing of a candle with a ball I first had an opportunity of seeing near the banks of the Green River, not far from a large pigeon-roost, to which I had previously made a visit. I had heard many reports of guns during the early part of a dark night, and knowing them to be those of rifles, I went forward toward the spot to ascertain the cause. On reaching the place I was welcomed by a dozen tall, stout men, who told me they were exercising for the purpose of enabling them to shoot after night, at the reflected light from the eyes of a deer or wolf by torch-light. A fire was blazing near,

the smoke of which rose curling among the thick foliage of the trees. At a distance which rendered it scarcely distinguishable, stood a burning candle but which in reality was only fifty yards from the spot on which we all stood. One man was within a few yards of it to watch the effect of the shots, as well as to light the candle should it chance to go out, or to replace it should the shot cut it across. Each marksman shot in his turn. Some never hit either the snuff or the candle, and were congratulated with a loud laugh, while others actually snuffed the candle without putting it out, and were recompensed for their dexterity with numerous hurrahs. One of them, who was particularly expert, was very fortunate, and snuffed the candle three times out of seven, while the other shots either put out the candle or cut it immediately under the light.

"Of the feats performed by the Kentuckians with the rifle, I might say more than might be expedient on the present occasion. By way of recreation, they often cut off a piece of the bark of a tree, make a target of it, using a little powder wetted with water or saliva, for the bulls-eye, and shoot into the mark all the balls they have about them, picking them out of the wood again."

#### NOTE 24, PAGE 223.

A great part of the insecurity of land-titles arose from the eagerness of ignorant men. The location of land at that date was attended with no little danger, arising from the hostility of the Indians, and demanded for its successful accomplishment such qualifications as were seldom possessed by the frontiersmen. To the technical proficiency of the surveyor, the situation demanded the addition of the wood-craft of the pioneer and the bold hardiness of the scout. Those who possessed the last two generally lacked the first qualification, and it was believed it could better be omitted in choosing a locator than the others. Hence it followed that, in their eagerness to anticipate their competitors for possession of public lands, many holders of land-warrants entrusted their interests to persons who were more skilled in wood-craft than in the legal requirements of the legislative enactment. But the success of such locators was generally hindered by the dangers and natural difficulties of the work, as well as by the urgency of their employers, and the inevitable result was that, notwithstanding the honest intentions of the agents, "locations" were strewn "over the face of the country, as autumn distributes its falling leaves." The character of the consequent confusion is aptly illustrated by Marshall (Vol. I, pp. 150, 151) as follows: "Lewis Craig enters 500 acres of land upon a treasury warrant, adjoining his former entry on the north side, and running along northwardly with Christian's and Todd's line for quantity."

Here, it is to be remarked, that of all the country north of the Kentucky River, no particular water-course is called for, or other object of general de-

description named, whereby the attention of the subsequent locator could be led to a particular section or precinct, within, or about, which to look for the particular objects of location. Again, it does not appear what former entry of Craig's is meant; neither is it certain what line of Christian and Todd is intended, or who, among many of the name, they are; or what line of theirs is to be followed, or where it is to be found; or, if one be found, whether it be the same called for by Craig or not. This exemplifies a vague entry.

The same day "George Smith enters 500 acres of land on a treasury-warrant, lying on the north side of Kentucky, a mile below a creek, beginning about twenty poles below a lick, running down the river, westerly and northwestwardly, for quantity."

It is obvious that the location-calls in this entry are all vague and uncertain to a subsequent locator.

The "north side of Kentucky" comprehended the whole county of Fayette, and more than one-third of the whole country. The next call is, "a mile below a creek," but which of the 500 creeks on the north side of the Kentucky does not appear either by name or description; and finally it is to begin "about twenty poles from a lick," but what lick, or where, are questions all-important to the locator of the adjoining land, but which are left unanswered and unanswerable by anything in Mr. Smith's entry. It is presumable that the person who made Mr. Smith's location knew the place which he intended to include, but certainly those holding unlocated warrants were not bound to find him; nor could his verbal explanation, if seen, aid an entry which the law required should be in writing. The holder of a warrant, which he desired to locate, with a copy of Mr. Smith's entry in his hand, could not know how to adjoin it, nor yet how to avoid an interference. He would, however, proceed to make his entry, and possibly, with a similar degree of vagueness. When they came to be surveyed, very probably, and to the very great surprise of both owners, the two interfered.

Another instance: "Edward Hall enters 622 acres of land, upon a treasury warrant, on Eagle Creek, a branch of Kentucky; beginning at a small beech, marked thus, 'I. N,' on the north side of a small drain; then east 320 poles; then north at right angles for quantity."

To see that this entry is wholly vague and uncertain to a subsequent locator, it is only necessary to observe that Eagle Creek is fifty miles in length, has 1,000 drains, and 1,000,000 of beech trees; while I. N. being cut on any one of them left it still destitute of notoriety. Hence it was totally unreasonable to require of a subsequent locator that he should find where it was in order to avoid an interference. He, of course, proceeded without knowing.

Besides these, there were other circumstances which contributed to produce interference between the claims to land, and which the importance of

the subject requires should be mentioned. The country, being unknown and unsettled in its greatest extent, was explored by individuals, or small parties, who often gave different names to the same objects, such as water-courses, traces, licks, etc., and often mistook or confounded places and distances from the one to the other.

Whence sprang an infinitude of conflicting claims. Others made or referred to obscure marks, which, not having acquired the attention of those conversant in their vicinity, wanted *notoriety* to supply the *absence of description*, and relied on them as the foundation of their locations. To notice another source of interference, though last not least productive, it often happened that two sets of locators, commencing their entries on parallel creeks, and running out each way until they interlocked, were quite astonished to find their surveyors crossing each other's lines.

## NOTE 25, PAGE 228.

This plant, known to the botanist as *Panax quinque folium*, is highly prized by the Chinese. The root, when dried, is of a yellowish white color, with a mucilaginous sweetness in the taste, somewhat resembling licorice, accompanied with a slight aromatic bitterness. It is found in America, from Lower Canada as far as the State of Georgia. It thrives most in the mountainous regions of the Alleghanies, where it is more abundant. It is also met with in the environs of New York and Philadelphia, as well as in those parts of the northern States situated between the mountains and the sea, but it is so scarce as not to be worth the trouble of seeking. It is not found in the lower parts of Virginia and the Carolinas. It grows on declivities of mountains, in cool shady places, and in the richest soil. A man will not take up more than eight or nine pounds of the fresh roots in a day; these roots are always less than an inch in diameter, even after a growth of fifteen years, if any dependence can be placed on the number of rings on the upper part of the neck of the root, which are produced by the annual addition of successive layers.

Its collection in the United States is begun in the spring and ends when frost begins. Its root shrivels in drying, and finally becomes extremely hard, losing a third of its volume, and nearly half its weight in the process. By a simple process the Chinese give it a semi-transparency, which greatly enhances its commercial value. A description of this operation, though no secret, was early sold for \$400 to persons in Kentucky, who turned the knowledge to a valuable account. Ginseng, thus prepared, brought \$6 or \$7 a pound in Philadelphia, and was sold at \$50 to \$100 in Canton. A considerable quantity was exported direct to China from Kentucky. It is still gathered and sold to some extent.

## NOTE 26, PAGE 265.

On January 1, 1785, all that part of Jefferson



south of Salt River became Nelson County, in accordance with an act of the legislature passed the previous year. In the fall session of this year acts were passed forming three new counties, and all that part of Fayette lying "within a line beginning at the mouth of Upper Howard's Creek, on Kentucky River, running up the main fork thereof to the head; thence with the dividing ridge between Kentucky and Licking, until it comes opposite Eagle Creek; from thence a direct line to the nearest part of Raven Creek, a branch of Licking, and down Raven Creek to the mouth thereof; thence with Licking to the Ohio; thence with the Ohio to the mouth of Sandy Creek, up said creek to Cumberland Mountain; thence with the said mountain to the line of Lincoln County; thence with that line and the Kentucky River to the beginning," was constituted the county of Bourbon, and organized May 1, 1786.

The county of Mercer was formed of that part of Lincoln County lying within "a line beginning at the confluence of Sugar Creek and Kentucky River; thence a direct line to the mouth of Clark's Run; thence a straight line to Wilson's Station, in the fork of Clark's Run; then the same course continued to the line of Nelson County; thence with the said line to the line of Jefferson County; thence with that line to the Kentucky River; thence up the said river to the beginning."

Madison County was formed at the same time from that portion of Lincoln lying within "a line beginning at the confluence of Kentucky River and Sugar Creek; thence up said creek to the fork that James Thompson lives on; thence up said fork to the head thereof; thence a straight line to where an east course from John Ellis' will intersect the ridge that divides the waters of Paint Lick from the waters of Dick's River; thence along the top of said ridge southwardly, opposite to Hickman's Lick; thence south, forty-five degrees east, to the main Rockcastle River; thence up the said river to the head thereof; thence with the ridge that divides the waters of Kentucky River from the waters of Cumberland River to the line of Washington County; thence along said line to the main fork of Kentucky River that divides the county of Fayette from the county of Lincoln; thence down the said river to the beginning."

This will suffice to indicate the order and character of this development, which may be summarized in the following table:

New Counties.	Formed from.	Year.
1 Jefferson	Kentucky	1780
2 Fayette	Kentucky	1780
3 Lincoln	Kentucky	1780
4 Nelson	Jefferson	1784
5 Bourbon	Fayette	1785
6 Mercer	Lincoln	1785
7 Madison	Lincoln	1785
8 Mason	Bourbon	1788
9 Woodford	Fayette	1788
10 Washington	Nelson	1792
11 Scott	Woodford	1792

New Counties.	Formed from.	Year.
12 Shelby	Jefferson	1792
13 Logan	Lincoln	1792
14 Clark	Fayette and Bourbon	1792
15 Hardin	Nelson	1792
16 Greene	Lincoln and Nelson	1792
17 Harrison	Bourbon and Scott	1793
18 Franklin	Woodford, Mercer and Shelby	1794
19 Campbell	Harrison, Scott and Mason	1794
20 Bullitt	Jefferson and Nelson	1796
21 Christian	Logan	1796
22 Montgomery	Clark	1796
23 Bracken	Mason and Campbell	1796
24 Warren	Logan	1796
25 Garrard	Mercer, Lincoln and Madison	1796
26 Fleming	Mason	1798
27 Pulaski	Lincoln and Greene	1798
28 Pendleton	Bracken and Campbell	1798
29 Livingston	Christian	1798
30 Boone	Campbell	1798
31 Henry	Shelby	1798
32 Cumberland	Greene	1798
33 Gallatin	Franklin and Shelby	1798
34 Muhlenburg	Logan and Christian	1798
35 Ohio	Hardin	1798
36 Jessamine	Fayette	1798
37 Barren	Warren and Greene	1798
38 Henderson	Christian	1798
39 Breckinridge	Hardin	1799
40 Floyd	Fleming, Montgomery and Mason	1799
41 Knox	Lincoln	1799
42 Nicholas	Bourbon and Mason	1799
43 Wayne	Pulaski and Cumberland	1800
44 Adair	Greene	1801
45 Greenup	Mason	1803
46 Casey	Lincoln	1806
47 Clay	Madison, Knox and Floyd	1806
48 Lewis	Mason	1806
49 Hopkins	Henderson	1806
50 Estill	Madison and Clark	1808
51 Caldwell	Livingston	1809
52 Rockcastle	Lincoln, Pulaski, Madison and Knox	1810
53 Butler	Logan and Ohio	1810
54 Grayson	Hardin and Ohio	1810
55 Union	Henderson	1811
56 Bath	Montgomery	1811
57 Allen	Warren and Barren	1815
58 Daviess	Ohio	1815
59 Whitley	Knox	1818
60 Harlan	Floyd and Knox	1819
61 Hart	Hardin and Greene	1819
62 Owen	Scott, Franklin and Greene	1819
63 Simpson	Logan, Warren and Allen	1819
64 Todd	Logan	1819
65 Monroe	Barren and Cumberland	1820
66 Trigg	Christian and Caldwell	1820
67 Grant	Pendleton	1820
68 Perry	Clay and Ford	1820
69 Lawrence	Greenup and Floyd	1821
70 Pike	Floyd	1821
71 Hickman	Caldwell and Livingston	1821
72 Calloway	Hickman	1822
73 Morgan	Floyd and Bath	1822
74 Oldham	Jefferson, Shelby and Henry	1823
75 Graves	Hickman	1823
76 Meade	Hardin and Breckinridge	1823
77 Spencer	Nelson, Shelby and Bullitt	1824
78 McCracken	Hickman	1824
79 Edmonson	Warren, Hart and Grayson	1825
80 Laurel	Rockcastle, Clay, Knox and Whitley	1825
81 Russell	Adair, Wayne and Cumberland	1825
82 Anderson	Franklin, Mercer and Washington	1827
83 Hancock	Breckinridge, Daviess and Ohio	1829

New Counties.	Formed from.	Year.
84 Marion.....	Washington.....	1834
85 Clinton.....	Wayne and Cumberland.....	1835
86 Trimble.....	Gallatin, Henry and Oldham.....	1836
87 Carroll.....	Gallatin.....	1838
88 Carter.....	Greenup and Lawrence.....	1838
89 Breathitt.....	Clay, Perry and Estill.....	1839
90 Kenton.....	Campbell.....	1840
91 Crittenden.....	Livingston.....	1842
92 Marshall.....	Calloway.....	1842
93 Ballard.....	Hickman and McCracken.....	1842
94 Boyle.....	Mercer and Lincoln.....	1842
95 Letcher.....	Perry and Harlan.....	1842
96 Owsley.....	Clay, Estill and Breathitt.....	1843
97 Johnson.....	Floyd, Lawrence and Morgan.....	1843
98 Larue.....	Hardin.....	1843
99 Fulton.....	Hickman.....	1845
100 Taylor.....	Greene.....	1848
101 Powell.....	Montgomery, Clark and Estill.....	1852
102 Lyon.....	Caldwell.....	1854
103 McLean.....	Daviess, Muhlenburg and Ohio.....	1854
104 Rowan.....	Fleming and Morgan.....	1856
105 Jackson.....	Estill, Owsley, Clay, Laurel, Rockcastle and Madison.....	1858
106 Metcalfe.....	Barren, Greene, Adair, Cum- berland and Monroe.....	1860
107 Boyd.....	Greenup, Carter and Lawrence.....	1860
108 Magoffin.....	Morgan, Johnson and Floyd.....	1860
109 Webster.....	Hopkins, Henderson and Union.....	1860
110 Wolfe.....	Morgan, Breathitt, Owsley and Powell.....	1860
111 Robertson.....	Nicholas, Harrison, Braeken and Mason.....	1867
112 Bell.....	Harlan and Knox.....	1867
113 Menifee.....	Bath, Morgan, Powell, Mont- gomery and Wolfe.....	1869
114 Elliott.....	Morgan, Carter and Lawrence.....	1869
115 Lee.....	Owsley, Estill, Wolfe and Breathitt.....	1870
116 Martin.....	Pike, Johnson, Floyd and Law- rence.....	1870
117 Knott.....	Floyd, Letcher, Perry, Breathitt.....	1884
118 Carlisle.....	Ballard.....	1886

For a time the organization of successive counties indicated the gradual development of the country, but that period has passed sometime since. Many of the later counties owe their origin to other motives than the demands of a sound public policy, and a number of "pauper counties" have been added to the list, the existence of which is prejudicial to nearly every interest concerned. The last county formed is a conspicuous example of this unfortunate legislation, the origin of which is given in a very readable article found in the *Louisville Commercial* for July 8, 1885, as follows:

The last legislature included a plain-looking man of forty-five, of the average size, cheaply dressed, slightly bald and wearing spectacles—Robert Bates, the member from Letcher and some other counties. He occupied a seat in a remote corner of the House of Representatives, and never arose to speak even to a "point of order." The chief distinction he wore was that of being a brother to "Baby Bates," the celebrated Kentucky giant, known to the patrons of every museum in the land. Back of the seat occupied by Bates, frequently leaning over the railing of the lobby to talk with him, sat an ex-member named Fitzpatrick, tall, awkward, smooth-faced, and always appearing in the same heavy drab overcoat. Before the session closed an act was passed

to create a county to be called Knott, with a county-seat named Hindman, in honor of the two officials wearing these names. Perhaps it would not have been termed inappropriately "An act to establish a county-seat upon the land of Robert Bates."

The traveler southward from Catlettsburg, on the Chattaroi Railroad, will find that the cars stop at Richardson, on the Big Sandy River. In the winter some sort of a boat can be procured to Prestonburg, in Floyd County, but at this season part of the distance must be traveled in a vehicle, which may be described as an ambulance, and part on horseback. Here the traveler is still forty-two miles from the Forks of Troublesome, indicated by the act as the seat of government for the new county. Another horse must be procured for the ride over the rough road which follows Beaver Creek during a greater part of the way. Upon arriving at the Forks of Troublesome nothing appears but two or three log houses, not grouped together with any view of making a beginning for a town, while vast forests extend in every direction. A road extends to Whitesburg, the county-seat of Letcher; another to Hazard, in Perry County, and a third to Jackson, in Breathitt. Two of these counties, at least, have made a reputation for outlawry that has extended beyond the State.

On Monday, July 7, 1884, the commissioners named to form the new county of Knott assembled at the "forks." The event had been duly advertised throughout those parts of Breathitt, Floyd, Perry and Letcher Counties, which were to be embraced in the new organization. A few persons from a distance were lodged in the "double" log-house, which served as the only inn in that section. It consisted of two log peas, covered by one roof, with a space between them large enough for another room. The second largest house was the store of "Chick" Allen, a son-in-law of Robert Bates aforesaid. The third house was what is facetiously known in the "moonshine" districts as a "bonded warehouse." No distillery was in sight, but a plentiful supply of white native whisky was served from the log-cabin with the high-sounding name. Mr. Bates was on hand, of course, as was his friend, Fitzpatrick, the latter being the spokesman of the commissioners.

Early in the day the neighboring people—and not all of them near neighbors—began to assemble. The young people predominated, because a "good time" was promised. Rustic maidens, accompanied by their swains, and rugged farmers with their families came on foot or on horseback, according to the distance. Soon two fiddlers of local repute made an appearance, which was a signal for clearing a small level space near the store, which was used for dancing through the day. The "bonded warehouse" was the chief attraction, however, and the pure mountain liquor, as the good people deemed it, flowed steadily from morning until night. With some, numerous potations proved an incentive for



greater agility on the dancing-ground—not that anybody was drunk, but “they war a drinkin’ some.” The effect upon others was to make them boisterous, singing and shouting, now and then firing a pistol to add to the general “hilarity.” The people of these counties are the most hospitable in the world, and the most amiable toward strangers, who give no grounds for suspicion. Everything was good natured, therefore, though a few small disputes had to be settled by personal encounters in which no weapons were employed.

A marked figure on this scene was old man Everidge, evidently of the age of sixty, who had never owned a hat, “‘cause it made his head too warm.” Nor did he wear any shoes in summer. Not even a coat was needed to complete his costume for the dance. He drank nothing, but was none the less hilarious for that, and danced as regularly as any of the younger bloods. The dancing ground was small, bounded on one side by a dry ditch, which, during part of the year, is one of the branches of Troublesome Creek. Once, while dancing a cotillion, the old man was led to the brink of the ditch by two of the women, whose hands held him, when they suddenly let him go, with the effect of landing him on his back on the sand below. It was great sport for everybody, and the old man lost no temper in consequence. A figure more noticeable was the belle of the ball—a young woman of twenty, with a most attractive form and the bearing of a princess. A ruddy complexion, great brown eyes, and a profusion of auburn ringlets were additional attractions. Dressed tastefully, she would have attracted wide admiration on any of our fashionable streets. Perhaps she would have excited greater curiosity, however, in her native habiliments. She wore a dress of red calico, severely plain with the exception of a yellow ruffle about the bottom of the skirt and a narrow blue ribbon around the waist. A small green sun-bonnet, which did not hide half her ringlets, formed the rest of her attire. The belle wore shoes, without stockings, upon her arrival, but like the other dancers she placed these against the stone wall which lined one side of the dancing-ground. She was heard to say that she “couldn’t dance to do no good with shoes on.” The ladies drank more sparingly than their lords of the white whisky, so that none of them, except one or two of dubious reputations, became intoxicated.

Meanwhile the commissioners were compelled, by the general excitement, to adjourn to a farmhouse half a mile down the creek, where their business was transacted. The nature of that business perhaps was never recorded. It was not altogether a peaceable meeting. The territory to be formed into a new county embraced the homes of the assessor of Floyd County, the sheriff of Letcher, the coroner of Breathitt and the surveyor of Perry. The first mentioned, Bolling Hall, was named as the head of a committee to divide the county into

magisterial districts, but refused to serve, asserting that he would never consent to any arrangement which would deprive him of his former well-paying office, as the formation of the new county would do. Another work of the commissioners was to arrange for the election of county officers a month later, and to order a set of blank books for the county records. The latter have been secured, and the bill for them sent, as the law requires, to Frankfort, to be paid by the State. The shrewdness of these unsophisticated people is shown in the fact that while no other new county has expended more than \$1,200 for an outfit of record books, the bill sent by Knott was \$2,100, an amount which Auditor Hewitt has refused to pay until forced by law to do so. Thus it seems that one of the first acts of the new county was to raid the State treasury for the private benefit of a few citizens. There is a story told at Frankfort which is *a propos*: The late James Davidson, while State treasurer, always doled out the public moneys grudgingly, as if bestowing private alms upon undeserving persons. One day the sheriff of Perry County came in to make his settlement with the State. There were twenty-five “idiot claims,” which were approved by the auditor, who gave a warrant upon the treasurer for their payment. Mr. Davidson counted the claims slowly and aloud, turning, as he finished, to the sheriff with the remark:

“Why, Mr. Coombs, you must all be idiots up in Perry County.”

“Pretty near, I guess,” was the reply, “but we generally have sense enough to get what’s comin’ to us from the treasury.”

In the latter respect it seems that Perry County people are not unlike all the others.

The close of the festivities at what had become, during the day, the town of Hindman, was a fitting climax. The local magistrate and the only physician in the community lay on their backs in the sand, which lined the bottom of the dry creek, the former singing with all his might until he became too drowsy longer to make any exertion. Many others lay stretched at full length upon the grass. The growth of the darkness made the enthusiastic survivors more reckless, and pistol shots became more frequent until late in the night. Since the first day’s performance in making the new county it is not reported that any further measures have been taken toward setting the county machinery in motion. The double log-house is the only known repository of the expensive record books, and no accommodations have been provided for holding courts. Such is the new county named for the present governor of Kentucky. Such is the county formed for the benefit of Mr. Bates and his friends.

Yet these are not bad people. Their quarrels are among themselves, and they do not offer to molest a stranger. Their ideas are narrow because they have no relations with the rest of the world. The man among them who happens to get to Frank-

port once or twice in a lifetime, as the steerer of a raft of logs, is listened to thereafter on public questions as an oracle. Probably not more than two dozen persons present at the organization of Knott County could read, but there was evident a certain amount of respect for the man able to read and write. Some one was being discussed with reference to his becoming a candidate for the legislature.

"Hell!" says one; "he ain't fitten for no legislature."

"Yes he is!" ejaculated his neighbor; "*he can read and repeat!*"

What degree of qualification this may be is left for the reader to conjecture.

## NOTE 27, PAGE 268.

James Wilkinson was born in Maryland in 1757, studied medicine in Philadelphia, but after the battle of Bunker Hill repaired to Cambridge, and was soon appointed captain in Reed's New Hampshire regiment, serving as such with Arnold in the northern army; promoted brigade-major July, 1776, and lieutenant-colonel January 12, 1777; bearer of dispatches to Gen. Washington from Gen. Gates December, 1776, he participated in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Upon Gates' accession to command of the northern army, Wilkinson was made his adjutant-general May, 1777, and upon surrender of Burgoyne he conveyed the official dispatches to congress. Brevetted brigadier-general in November, he was, in January, 1778, appointed secretary of the board of war, of which Gates was president. A quarrel arising with the latter at the time of the Conway cabal, Wilkinson resigned his secretaryship, and in July, 1779, was appointed clothier-general of the army. Settled in Kentucky after the peace, and engaged in mercantile affairs. Appointed lieutenant-colonel Second Infantry November, 1791, and conducted an expedition against the Wabash Indians in 1791-92; promoted to be brigadier-general March 1792, and commanded the right wing of Wayne's army at Maumee Rapids, and in December, 1796, became general-in-chief of the army, serving on the western frontier; one of the commissioners to receive Louisiana from the French in 1803; he was governor of that territory in 1805-06; ordered to command on the Mississippi December, 1808; he was recalled to Washington in 1810, and tried by court-martial in 1811 on charges of corruptly receiving money from Spain, and being in complicity with Aaron Burr. The court acquitted him with credit, and he returned to the southern department. In 1813 he was appointed major-general and transferred to the northern frontier. Owing to the failure of Hampton to co-operate with him, his plans for the occupation of Canada totally failed. He was superseded in command, and a court of inquiry ordered in 1815, which acquitted him of all blame. On the re-organization of the army in 1815, he was discharged,

and passed the later years of his life upon his estates in Mexico. In 1816 he published "*Memoirs of My Own Times*" (3 Vols., 8 vo.); died near the City of Mexico December 28, 1825. (Johnson's Cyclopedia.)

## NOTE 28, PAGE 275.

A memoir by Daniel Clark, supposed to be the nephew of the gentleman of the same name who was appointed Wilkinson's agent, gives a concise history of the matter, which is extracted from American State Papers, Vol. XX, p. 707. Wilkinson, in his "*Memoirs of My Own Times*," confirms this account as substantially correct. "About the period of which we are now speaking, in the middle of the year 1787, the foundation of an intercourse with Kentucky and the settlements on the Ohio was laid, which daily increased. Previous to that time, all those who ventured on the Mississippi had their property seized by the first commanding officer whom they met, and little or no communication was kept up between the countries. Now and then an emigrant who wished to settle in Natchez, by dint of entreaty, and solicitation of friends who had interests in New Orleans, procured permission to move there with his family, slaves, cattle, furniture and farming utensils, but was allowed to bring no other property except cash. An unexpected incident, however, changed the face of things, and was productive of a new line of conduct. The arrival of a boat, belonging to Gen. Wilkinson, loaded with tobacco and other productions of Kentucky, is announced in town, and a guard was immediately sent on board of it. The general's name had hindered this being done at Natchez, as the commandant was fearful that such a step might be displeasing to his superiors, who might wish to show some respect to the property of a general officer; at any rate the boat was proceeding to New Orleans, and they would there resolve on what measures they ought to pursue and put in execution. The government, not much disposed to show any mark of respect or forbearance toward the general's property, he not having at that time arrived, was about proceeding in the usual way of confiscation, when a merchant in New Orleans, who had considerable influence there, and who was formerly acquainted with the general, represented to the governor that the measures taken by the intendant would very probably give rise to disagreeable events; that the people of Kentucky were already exasperated at the conduct of the Spaniards in seizing on the property of all those who navigated the Mississippi; and if this system was pursued, they would very probably, in spite of congress and the executive of the United States, take upon themselves to obtain the navigation of the river by force, which they were well able to do; a measure for some time before much dreaded by this government, which had no force to resist them, if such a plan was put in execution. Hints were likewise given



that Wilkinson was a very popular man, who could influence the whole of that country; and probably that his sending a boat before him with a wish that she might be seized was but a snare at his return to influence the minds of the people, and, having brought them to the point he wished, induce them to appoint him their leader, and then, like a torrent, spread over the country, and carry fire and desolation from one end of the province to the other.

"Gov. Miro, a weak man, unacquainted with the American government, ignorant even of the position of Kentucky with respect to his own province, but alarmed at the very idea of an irruption of Kentucky men, whom he feared without knowing their strength, communicated his wishes to the intendant that the guard might be removed from the boat, which was accordingly done, and a Mr. Patterson, who was the agent of the general, was permitted to take charge of the property on board, and to sell it free of duty. The general, on his arrival in Orleans, sometime after, was informed of the obligation he lay under to the merchant, who had impressed the government with such an idea of his importance and influence at home, waited on him, and in concert with him, formed a plan for their future operations. In his interview with the governor, that he might not seem to derogate from the character given of him, by appearing concerned in so trifling a business as a boat load of tobacco, hams and butter, he gave him to understand that the property belonged to many citizens of Kentucky, who, availing themselves of his return to the Atlantic States, by way of Orleans, wished to make trial of the temper of this government, as he, on his arrival, might inform his own what steps had been pursued under his eye, that adequate measures might be afterward taken to procure satisfaction. He acknowledged with gratitude the attention and respect manifested by the governor toward himself in the favor shown to his agent; but at the same time mentioned that he would not wish the governor to expose himself to the anger of his court by refraining from seizing on the boat and cargo, as it was but a trifle, if such were the positive orders from the court, and that he had not power to relax them according to circumstances. Convinced by this discourse that the general rather wished for an opportunity of embroiling affairs than sought to avoid it, the governor became more alarmed. For two or three years before, particularly since the arrival of the commissioners from Georgia, who had come to Natchez to claim that country, he had been fearful of an invasion at every annual rise of the waters, and the news of a few boats being seen was enough to alarm the whole province. He revolved in his mind what measures he ought to pursue (consistent with the orders he had from home not to permit the free navigation of the river), in order to keep the Kentucky people quiet; and in his succeeding interviews with Wilkinson, having procured more knowledge than he had hitherto ac-

quired of their character, population, strength and dispositions, he thought he could do nothing better than hold out a bait to Wilkinson to use his influence in restraining the people from an invasion of this province till he could give advice to his court and require further instructions. This was the point to which the parties wished to bring him, and being informed that in Kentucky two or three crops were on hand, for which, if an immediate vent was not to be found, the people could not be kept within bounds, he made Wilkinson the offer of a permission to import, on his own account to New Orleans free of duty, all the productions of Kentucky thinking by this means to conciliate the good will of the people, without yielding the point of navigation, as the commerce carried on would appear the effect of an indulgence to an individual, which could be withdrawn at pleasure. On consultation with his friends, who well knew what further concessions Wilkinson would extort from the fears of the Spaniards, by the promise of his good offices in preaching peace, harmony, and good understanding with this government, until arrangements were made between Spain and America, he was advised to insist that the governor should insure him a market for all the flour and tobacco he might send, as in the event of an unfortunate shipment, he would be ruined whilst endeavoring to do a service to Louisiana. This was accepted. Flour was always wanted in New Orleans, and the king of Spain had given orders to purchase more tobacco for the supply of his manufactories at home than Louisiana at that time produced, and which was paid for at about \$9.50 per cwt. In Kentucky it cost but \$2 and the profit was immense. In consequence, the general had appointed his friend Daniel Clark his agent here, returned by way of Charleston in a vessel, with a particular permission to go to the United States, even at the very moment of Gardouqui's information; and on his arrival in Kentucky, bought up all the produce he could collect, which he shipped and disposed of as before mentioned, and for some time all the trade for the Ohio was carried on in his name, a line from him sufficing to ensure the owner of the boat every privilege and protection he could desire."

NOTE 29, PAGE 284.

*An act concerning the erection of the District of Kentucky into an independent State. Passed the 18th of December, 1789.*

WHEREAS it is represented to this present General Assembly, that the act of last session entitled "an act concerning the erection of the District of Kentucky into an independent State," which contains terms materially different from those of the act of October session, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, are found incompatible with the views of this Commonwealth, as well as injurious to the good people of said district:

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly* That in the month of May, next, on the respective court days of the counties within the said district and at the respective places of holding courts therein

Representatives to continue in appointment for one year, and to compose a convention, with the powers, and for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, shall be elected by the free male inhabitants of each county above the age of twenty-one years, in like manner as delegates to the General Assembly have been elected within said district in the proportions following: In the county of Jefferson shall be elected five representatives; in the county of Nelson, five representatives; in the county of Mercer, five representatives; in the county of Lincoln, five representatives; in the county of Madison, five representatives; in the county of Fayette, five representatives; in the county of Woodford, five representatives; in the county of Bourbon, five representatives; and in the county of Mason, five representatives: *Provided*, That no free male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years shall vote in any other county except that in which he resides, and that no person shall be capable of being elected unless he has been a resident within the said district at least one year.

SEC. 2. That full opportunity may be given to the good people of exercising their right of suffrage on an occasion so interesting to them, each of the officers holding such elections, shall continue the same from day to-day, passing over Sunday, for five days, including the first day, and shall cause this act to be read on each day immediately preceding the opening of the election at the door of the court house or other convenient place; each of the said officers shall deliver to each person duly elected a representative, a certificate of his election, and shall transmit a general return to the clerk of the Supreme Court, to be, by him, laid before the convention.

SEC. 3. For every neglect of any of the duties hereby enjoined on such officer, he shall forfeit one hundred pounds, to be recovered by action of debt by any person suing for the same.

SEC. 4. The said convention shall be held at Danville, on the twenty-sixth day of July next, and shall and may proceed, after choosing a president and other proper officers, and settling the proper rules of proceeding, to consider and determine whether it be expedient for, and the will of the good people of the district, that the same be erected into an independent State, on the terms and conditions following:

SEC. 5. First, that the boundary between the proposed State and Virginia, shall remain the same as at present separates the district from the residue of this commonwealth.

SEC. 6. Second, that the proposed State shall take upon itself a just proportion of the debt of the United States, and the payment of all the certificates granted on account of the several expeditions carried on from the Kentucky district against the Indians, since the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five.

SEC. 7. Third, that all private rights and interests of lands within the said district, derived from the laws of Virginia prior to such separation, shall remain valid and secure under the laws of the proposed State, and shall be determined by the laws now existing in this State.

SEC. 8. Fourth, that the lands within the proposed State of non-resident proprietors, shall not in any case be taxed higher than the lands of residents, at any time prior to the admission of the proposed State to a vote by its delegates in Congress, where such non-residents reside out of the United States, nor at any time either before or after such admission, where such non-residents reside within this Commonwealth, within which the stipulation shall be reciprocal; or where such non-residents reside within any other of the United States,

which shall declare the same to be reciprocal within its limits; nor shall a neglect of cultivation or improvement of any land within either the proposed State of this Commonwealth, belonging to non-residents, citizens of the other, subject such non-residents to forfeiture or other penalty, within the term of six years, after the admission of the said State into the Federal Union.

SEC. 9. Fifth, that no grant of land or land warrant to be issued by the proposed State, shall interfere with any warrant heretofore issued from the land office of Virginia, which shall be located on land within the said district, now liable thereto, on or before the first day of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

SEC. 10. Sixth, that the unlocated lands within the said district, which stand appropriated to individuals of description of individuals, by the laws of this Commonwealth, for military or other services, shall be exempted from the disposition of the proposed State, and shall remain subject to be disposed of by the Commonwealth of Virginia, according to such appropriation until the first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and no longer; thereafter the residue of all lands remaining within the limits of the said, shall be subject to the disposition of the proposed State.

SEC. 11. Seventh, that the use and navigation of the river Ohio, so far as the territory of the proposed State, or the territory which shall remain within the limits of this Commonwealth lies therein, shall be free and common to the citizens of the United States, and respective jurisdictions of this Commonwealth and of the proposed State on the river as aforesaid, shall be concurrent only with the States which may possess the opposite shores of the said river.

SEC. 12. Eighth, that in case any complaint or dispute shall at any time arise between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the said district, after it shall be an independent State, concerning the meaning or execution of the foregoing articles, the same shall be determined by six commissioners, of whom two shall be chosen by each of the parties, and the remainder by the commissioners so first appointed.

SEC. 13. *Provided, however*, That five members assembled shall be a sufficient number to adjourn from day to day, and to issue writs for supplying vacancies which may happen from deaths, resignations or refusals to act; a majority of the whole shall be a sufficient number to choose a President, settle the proper rules of proceeding, authorize any number to summon a convention during a recess, and to act in all other instances where a greater number is not expressly required. Two-thirds of the whole shall be a sufficient number to determine on the expediency of forming the said district into an independent State on the aforesaid terms and conditions: *Provided*, that a majority of the whole number to be elected concur therein.

SEC. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That if the said convention shall approve of the erection of the said district into an independent State on the foregoing terms and conditions, they shall and may proceed to fix a day posterior to the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, on which the authority of this Commonwealth, and of its laws, under the exceptions aforesaid, shall cease and determine forever over the proposed State, and the said articles become a solemn compact mutually binding on the parties, and unalterably by either without the consent of the other.

SEC. 15. *Provided, however*, That prior to the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, the general government of the United States shall consent to the erection of the



said district into an independent State, shall release this Commonwealth from all its Federal obligations arising from the said district as being part thereof, and shall agree that the proposed State shall immediately after the day to be fixed as aforesaid, posterior to the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, or at some convenient time future thereto, be admitted into the Federal Union.

SEC. 16. And to the end that no period of anarchy may happen to the good people of the proposed State, it is to be understood that the said convention shall have the authority to take the necessary provisional measures for the election and meeting of a convention, at some time prior to the day fixed for the determination of the authority of this Commonwealth, and of its laws over said district, and posterior to the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one aforesaid, with full power and authority to frame and establish a fundamental constitution of government for the proposed State, and to declare what laws shall be in force therein, until the same shall be abrogated or altered by the legislative authority acting under the constitution so to be framed and established.

SEC. 17. *And be it further enacted*, That the electors in going to, continuing at, and returning from an election of members to the said convention, shall be entitled to the same privileges from arrest, as are by law allowed at an election of members to the General Assembly; and each person returned to serve as a member in said convention, shall be entitled to the same privileges from arrest in going to, during his attendance on, and returning from said convention, as are by law allowed to members of the General Assembly.

SEC. 18. This act shall be transmitted by the Executive to the representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, who are hereby instructed to use their endeavors to obtain from Congress a speedy act to the effect above specified.

#### NOTE 30, PAGE 297.

The House, according to the standing order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Commonwealth, Mr. Caldwell in the chair. And after some time spent therein, the Speaker resumed the chair, and Mr. Caldwell reported that the committee had, according to order, had under consideration the Governor's address, and had come to the following resolutions thereupon, which he had delivered in at the Clerk's table, where they were twice read and agreed to by the House.\*

I. *Resolved*, That the several States composing the United States of America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government; but that by compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States and of amendments thereto, they constituted a general government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whenever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthorized, void and of no force; That to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party; That the government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that as in all other cases of compact among

parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

II. *Resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States having delegated to Congress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States, piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the laws of nations, and no other crimes whatever, and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared "that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," therefore, also, the same act of Congress passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, entitled "An act in addition to the act entitled an act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States;" as also the act passed by them on the 27th day of June, 1798, entitled "An act to punish frauds committed on the Bank of the United States" (and all other of their acts which assume to create, define or punish crimes other than those enumerated in the Constitution), are altogether void and of no force, and that the power to create, define and punish such other crimes is reserved, and of right appertains solely and exclusively to the respective States, each within its own territory.

III. *Resolved*, That it is true as a general principle, and is also expressly declared by one of the amendments to the Constitution that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people;" and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press being delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, all lawful powers respecting the same did of right remain, and were reserved to the States or to the people: That thus was manifested their determination to retain to themselves the right of judging how far the licentiousness of speech and of the press may be abridged without lessening their useful freedom, and how far those abuses, which cannot be separated from their use, should be tolerated, rather than the use be destroyed, and thus also they guarded against all abridgement by the United States of the freedom of religious opinions and exercises, and retained to themselves the right of protecting the same, as this State, by a law passed on the general demand of its citizens, had already protected them from all human restraint or interference. And that in addition to this general principle and express declaration, another and more special provision has been made by one of the amendments to the Constitution which expressly declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," whereby guarding in the same sentence and under the same words, the freedom of religion, of speech, or of the press inasmuch, that whatever violates either, throws down the sanctuary which covers the others, and that libels, falsehoods, defamation equally with heresy and false religion, are withheld from the cognizance of Federal tribunals. That therefore the act of Congress of the United States passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, entitled "An act in addition to the act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not law, but is altogether void and of no effect.

IV. *Resolved*, That alien friends are under the jurisdiction and protection of the laws of the State wherein they are; that no power over them has been delegated to the United States nor pro-

\*Proceedings Kentucky Legislature, November 10, 1798.

hibited to the individual State distinct from their power over citizens; and it being true as a general principle and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," the act of the Congress of the United States passed on the 22d day of June, 1798, entitled "An act concerning aliens," which assumes power over alien friends not delegated by the Constitution, is not law, but is altogether void and of no force.

V. *Resolved*, That in addition to the general principle as well as the express declaration, that powers not delegated are reserved, another and more special provision inserted in the Constitution from abundant caution has declared, "that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808." That this Commonwealth does admit the migration of alien friends described as the subject of the said act concerning aliens; that a provision against the prohibiting their migration is a provision against all acts equivalent thereto, or it would be nugatory; that to remove them when migrated is equivalent to a prohibition of their migration, and is therefore contrary to the said provision of the Constitution, and void.

VI. *Resolved*, That the imprisonment of a person under the protection of the laws of this Commonwealth on his failure to obey the simple order of the President to depart out of the United States, as is undertaken by the said act entitled "An act concerning aliens," is contrary to the Constitution, one amendment to which has provided that "no person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law," and that another having provided "that in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a public trial by an impartial jury, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense," the same act undertaking to authorize the President to remove a person out of the United States who is under the protection of the law, on his own suspicion, without accusation, without jury, without public trial, without confrontation of the witnesses against him, without having witnesses in his favor, without defense, without counsel, is contrary to these provisions also of the Constitution, is therefore not law, but utterly void and of no force. That transferring the power of judging any person who is under the protection of the laws, from the courts to the President of the United States, as is undertaken by the same act concerning aliens, is against the article of the Constitution which provides that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in courts, the judges of which shall hold their offices during good behavior," and that the said act is void for that reason also; and it is further to be noted, that this transfer of judiciary power is to that magistrate of the general government who already possesses all the executive, and a qualified negative in all the legislative powers.

VII. *Resolved*, That the construction applied by the general government (as is evinced by sundry of their proceedings) to those parts of the Constitution of the United States, which delegate to Congress a power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense, and general welfare of the United States, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the gov-

ernment of the United States, or any department thereof, goes to the destruction of all the limits prescribed to their power by the Constitution; that words meant by that instrument to be subsidiary only to the execution of the limited powers ought not to be so construed as themselves to give unlimited powers, nor a part so to be taken as to destroy the whole residue of the instrument; that the proceedings of the general government, under color of these articles, will be a fit and necessary subject for revisal and correction at a time of greater tranquility, while those specified in the preceding resolutions call for immediate redress.

VIII. *Resolved*, That the preceding resolutions be transmitted to the senators and representatives in Congress from this Commonwealth, who are hereby enjoined to present the same to their respective houses, and to use their best endeavors to procure, at the next session of Congress, a repeal of the aforesaid unconstitutional and obnoxious acts.

IX. *Resolved*, Lastly, that the governor of this Commonwealth be, and is hereby authorized and requested to communicate the preceding resolutions to the legislatures of the several States, to assure them that this Commonwealth considers union for specified national purposes, and particularly for those specified in their late Federal compact, to be friendly to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all the States; that faithful to that compact, according to the plain intent and meaning in which it was understood and acceded to by the several parties, it is sincerely anxious for its preservation; that it does also believe, that to take from the States all the powers of self-government, and transfer them to a general and consolidated government, without regard to the special delegations and reservations solemnly agreed to in that compact, is not for the peace, happiness, or prosperity of these States. And that, therefore, this Commonwealth is determined, as it doubts not its co-States are, to tamely submit to undelegated and consequently unlimited powers in no man or body of men on earth; that if the acts before specified should stand, these conclusions would flow from them; that the general government may place any act they think proper on the list of crimes and punish it themselves, whether enumerated or not enumerated by the Constitution as cognizable by them; that they may transfer its cognizance to the President or any other person, who may himself be the accuser, counsel, judge and jury, whose suspicions may be the evidence, his order the sentence, his officer the executioner, and his breast the sole record of the transaction; that a very numerous and valuable description of the inhabitants of these States being by this precedent reduced as outlaws to the absolute dominion of one man, and the barrier of the Constitution thus swept away from us all, no rampart now remains against the passions and the powers of a majority of Congress, to protect from a like exportation or other more grievous punishment the minority of the same body, the Legislature, judges, governors, and counselors of the States, nor their other peaceable inhabitants who may venture to reclaim the constitutional rights and liberties of the State and people, or who for other causes, good or bad, may be obnoxious to the views or marked by the suspicions of the President, or be thought dangerous to his or their elections or other interests, public or personal; that the friendless alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment, but the citizens will soon follow, or rather has already followed; for already has a seditious act marked him as its prey; that these and successive acts of the same character, unless arrested on the threshold, may tend to drive these States into revolution and blood, and will furnish new calumnies against Re-



publican governments, and new pretexts for those who wish it to be believed that man cannot be governed but by a rod of iron; that it would be a dangerous delusion were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights; that confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism. Free government is founded in jealousy and not in confidence. It is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power; that our Constitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which and no further our confidence may go; and let the honest advocate of confidence read the alien and sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has now been wise in fixing limits to the government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits. Let him say what the government is if it be not a tyranny, which the men of our choice have conferred on the President, and the President of our choice has assented to and accepted over the friendly strangers, to whom the mild spirit of our country and its laws had pledged hospitality and protection; that the men of our choice have more respected the bare suspicions of the President than the solid rights of innocence, the claims of justification, the sacred force of truth, and the forms and substance of law and justice. In questions of power then let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the claims of the Constitution. That this Commonwealth does therefore call on its co-States for an expression of their sentiments on the acts concerning aliens, and for the punishment of certain crimes hereinbefore specified, plainly declaring whether these acts are or are not authorized by the Federal compact. And it doubts not that their sense will be so announced as to prove their attachment unaltered to limited government, whether general or particular, and that the rights and liberties of their co-States will be exposed to no dangers by remaining embarked on a common bottom with their own; that they will concur with this Commonwealth in considering the said acts as so palpably against the Constitution as to amount to an undisguised declaration, that the compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the general government, but that it will proceed in the exercise over these States of all powers whatsoever; that they will view this as seizing the rights of the States and consolidating them in the hands of the general government with a power assumed to bind the States (not merely in cases made Federal) but in all cases whatsoever, by laws made not with their consent; that this would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and to live under one deriving its power from its own will, and not from out authority; and that the co-States, recurring to their natural right in cases not made Federal, will concur in declaring these acts void and of no force, and will each unite with this Commonwealth in requesting their repeal at the next session of Congress.

EDMUND BULLOCK.  
*Speaker House of Representatives.*

JOHN CAMPBELL.  
*Speaker Senate, pro tem.*

Passed the House of Representatives November 10, 1798.

Attest: THOMAS TODD,  
*Chairman House of Representatives.*

In Senate, November 13, 1798, unanimously concurred in.

Attest: B. THRUSTON,  
*Clerk Senate*

Approved November 16, 1798, by the Governor.

JAMES GARRARD,  
*Governor Kentucky.*

HARRY TOULMIN,  
*Secretary of State.*

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Secretary's Department Boston, October 20, 1884.

A true copy of the original, on file in this Department.

[L. s.] Witness the Seal of the Commonwealth.  
HENRY B. PIERCE,  
*Secretary.*

NOTE 31, PAGE 325.

## CONSTITUTION OF 1850.

### ARTICLE I.

#### CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT.

SECTION 1. The powers of the government of the State of Kentucky shall be divided into three distinct departments, and each of them to be confided to a separate body of magistracy, to-wit, those which are legislative to one; those which are executive to another, and those which are judiciary to another.

SEC. 2. No person, or collection of persons, being of one of those departments, shall exercise any power properly belonging to either of the others, except in the instances hereinafter expressly directed or permitted.

### ARTICLE II.

#### CONCERNING THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION 1. The legislative power shall be vested in a House of Representatives and Senate, which together shall be styled "The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky."

SEC. 2. The members of the House of Representatives shall continue in service for the term of two years from the day of the general election, and no longer.

SEC. 3. Representatives shall be chosen on the first Monday in August in every second year, and the mode of holding the election shall be regulated by law.

SEC. 4. No person shall be a Representative, who, at the time of his election, is not a citizen of the United States, has not attained the age of twenty-four years, and who has not resided in this State two years next preceding his election, and the last year thereof in the county, town or city for which he may be chosen.

SEC. 5. The General Assembly shall divide each county of this Commonwealth into convenient election precincts, or may delegate power to do so to such county authorities as may be designated by law; and elections for Representatives for the several counties shall be held at the places for holding their respective courts, and in the several election precincts into which the counties may be divided. *Provided*, That when it shall appear to the General Assembly that any city or town hath a number of qualified voters equal to the ratio then fixed, such city or town shall be invested with the privilege of a separate Representative, in either or both houses of the General Assembly, which shall be retained so long as such city or town shall contain a number of qualified voters equal to the ratio which may from time to time be fixed by law, and, thereafter, elections for the county in which such city or town is situated shall not be held therein; but such city or town shall not be entitled to a separate representation unless such county, after the separation, shall also be entitled to one or more

representatives. That whenever a city or town shall be entitled to a representation in either house of the General Assembly, and by its members shall be entitled to more than one representative, such city or town shall be divided, by squares which are contiguous, so as to make the most compact form, into representative districts, as nearly equal as may be, equal to the number of representatives to which such city or town may be entitled; and one representative shall be elected from each district. In like manner shall said city or town be divided into senatorial districts, when by the apportionment more than one Senator shall be allotted to such city or town, and a Senator shall be elected from each senatorial district; but no ward or municipal division shall be divided by such division of senatorial or representative districts, unless it be necessary to equalize the elective, senatorial or representative districts.

SEC. 6. Representation shall be equal and uniform in this Commonwealth, and shall be forever regulated and ascertained by the number of qualified voters therein. In the year 1850, again in the year 1857, and every eighth year thereafter, an enumeration of all qualified voters of the State shall be made, and to secure uniformity and equality of representation, the State is hereby laid off into ten districts. The first district shall be composed of the counties of Fulton, Hickman, Ballard, McCracken, Graves, Calloway, Marshall, Livingston, Crittenden, Union, Hopkins, Caldwell and Trigg. The second district shall be composed of the counties of Christian, Muhlenburgh, Henderson, Daviess, Hancock, Ohio, Breckinridge, Meade, Grayson, Butler and Edmonson. The third district shall be composed of the counties of Todd, Logan, Simpson, Warren, Allen, Monroe, Barren and Hart. The fourth district shall be composed of the counties of Cumberland, Adair, Green, Taylor, Clinton, Russell, Wayne, Pulaski, Casey, Boyle and Lincoln. The fifth district shall be composed of the counties of Hardin, Larue, Bullitt, Spencer, Nelson, Washington, Marion, Mercer and Anderson. The sixth district shall be composed of the counties of Garrard, Madison, Estill, Owsley, Rockcastle, Laurel, Clay, Whitley, Knox, Harlan, Perry, Letcher, Pike, Floyd and Johnson. The seventh district shall be composed of the counties of Jefferson, Oldham, Trimble, Carroll, Henry and Shelby and the city of Louisville. The eighth district shall be composed of the counties of Bourbon, Fayette, Scott, Owen, Franklin, Woodford and Jessamine. The ninth district shall be composed of the counties of Clark, Bath, Montgomery, Fleming, Lewis, Greenup, Carter, Lawrence, Morgan and Breathitt. The tenth district shall be composed of the counties of Mason, Bracken, Nicholas, Harrison, Pendleton, Campbell, Grant, Kenton, Boone and Gallatin. The number of Representatives shall, at the several sessions of the General Assembly next, after making the enumerations, be apportioned among the ten several districts, according to the number of qualified voters in each; and the representatives shall be apportioned, as near as may be, among the counties, towns and cities in each district; and in making such apportionment the following rules shall govern, to-wit: Every county, town or city, having the ratio, shall have one Representative; if double the ratio, two Representatives, and so on. Next the counties, towns or cities having one or more Representatives, and the largest number of qualified voters above the ratio, and counties having the largest number under the ratio, shall have a Representative, regard being always had to the greatest number of qualified voters. *Provided*, That when a county may not have a sufficient number of qualified voters to entitle it to one Representative, then such county may be joined to some adjacent county or counties, which

counties shall send one Representative. When a new county shall be formed of territory belonging to more than one district, it shall form a part of that district having the least number of qualified voters.

SEC. 7. The House of Representatives shall choose its speaker and other officers.

SEC. 8. Every free white male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who has resided in the State two years, or in the county, town, or city in which he offers to vote, one year next preceding the election, shall be a voter; but such voter shall have been for sixty days next preceding the election a resident of the precinct in which he offers to vote, and he shall vote in said precinct and not elsewhere.

SEC. 9. Voters, in all cases, except treason, felony, breach or surety of the peace, shall be privileged from arrest during their attendance at, going to, and returning from elections.

SEC. 10. Senators shall be chosen for the term of four years, and the Senate shall have power to choose its officers biennially.

SEC. 11. Senators and Representatives shall be elected under the first apportionment after the adoption of this Constitution, in the year 1851.

SEC. 12. At the session of the General Assembly next after the first apportionment under this Constitution, the Senators shall be divided by lot, as equally as may be, into two classes; the seats of the first class shall be vacated at the end of two years from the day of the election, and those of the second class at the end of four years, so that one-half shall be chosen every two years.

SEC. 13. The number of Representatives shall be one hundred, and the number of Senators thirty-eight.

SEC. 14. At every apportionment of representation, the State shall be laid off into thirty-eight senatorial districts, which shall be so formed as to contain, as near as may be, an equal number of qualified voters, and so that no county shall be divided in the formation of a senatorial district, except such county shall be entitled, under the enumeration, to two or more Senators; and where two or more counties compose a district, they shall be adjoining.

SEC. 15. One Senator for each district shall be elected by the qualified voters therein, who shall vote in the precincts where they reside, at the places where elections are by law directed to be held.

SEC. 16. No person shall be a Senator, who at the time of his election, is not a citizen of the United States, has not attained the age of thirty years, and who has not resided in this State six years next preceding his election, and the last year thereof in the district for which he may be chosen.

SEC. 17. The election for Senators, next after the first apportionment under this constitution shall be general throughout the State, and at the same time that the election for representatives is held, and thereafter there shall be a biennial election for Senators to fill the places of those whose term of service may have expired.

SEC. 18. The General Assembly shall convene on the first Monday in November, after the adoption of this constitution, and again on the first Monday in November, 1851, and on the same day of every second year thereafter, unless a different day be appointed by law, and their sessions shall be held at the seat of government.

SEC. 19. Not less than a majority of the members of each house of the General Assembly shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and shall be authorized by law to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as may be prescribed thereby.



SEC. 20. Each house of the General Assembly shall judge of the qualifications, elections and returns of its members; but a contested election shall be determined in such manner as shall be directed by law.

SEC. 21. Each house of the General Assembly may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish a member for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member, but not a second time for the same cause.

SEC. 22. Each house of the General Assembly shall keep and publish, weekly, a journal of its proceedings, and the yeas and nays of the members on any question shall, at the desire of any two of them, be entered on their journal.

SEC. 23. Neither house during the session of the General Assembly shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which they may be sitting.

SEC. 24. The members of the General Assembly shall severally receive from the public treasury a compensation for their services, which shall be three dollars a day during their attendance on, and twelve and a half cents per mile for the necessary travel in going to, and returning from, the sessions of their respective houses: *Provided*, That the same may be increased or diminished by law; but no alteration shall take effect during the session at which such alteration shall be made; nor shall a session of the General Assembly continue beyond sixty days, except by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each house, but this shall not apply to the first session held under this constitution.

SEC. 25. The members of the General Assembly shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, breach or surety of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

SEC. 26. No Senator or Representative shall, during the term for which he was elected, nor for one year thereafter be appointed or elected to any civil office of profit under this Commonwealth, which shall have been created, or the emoluments of which shall have been increased, during said term, except to such offices or appointments as may be filled by the election of the people.

SEC. 27. No person, while he continues to exercise the functions of a clergyman, priest or teacher of any religious persuasion, society or sect, nor while he holds or exercises any office of profit under this Commonwealth, or under the government of the United States, shall be eligible to the General Assembly except attorneys at law, justices of the peace and militia officers: *Provided*, That attorneys for the Commonwealth who receive a fixed annual salary, shall be ineligible.

SEC. 28. No person who at any time may have a collector of taxes or public moneys for the State or the assistant or deputy of such collector, shall be eligible to the General Assembly unless he shall have obtained a quietus, six months before the election, for the amount of such collection, and for all public moneys for which he may have been responsible.

SEC. 29. No bill shall have the force of a law until on three several days it be read over in each House of the General Assembly, and free discussion allowed thereon, unless, in cases of urgency, four-fifths of the house where the bill shall be depending, may deem it expedient to dispense with this rule.

SEC. 30. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose amendments, as in other bills: *Provided*, that they shall not introduce any new

matter, under color of amendment, which does not relate to raising revenue.

SEC. 31. The General Assembly shall regulate by law by whom and in what manner writs of election shall be issued to fill the vacancies which may happen in either branch thereof.

SEC. 32. The General Assembly shall have no power to grant divorces, to change the names of individuals, or direct the sales of estates belonging to infants or other persons laboring under legal disabilities, by special legislation; but by general laws shall confer such powers on the courts of justice.

SEC. 33. The credit of this Commonwealth shall never be given or loaned in aid of any person, association, municipality or corporation.

SEC. 34. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws to diminish the resources of the sinking-fund, as now established by law, until the debt of the State be paid, but may pass laws to increase them; and the whole resources of said fund from year to year, shall be sacredly set apart and applied to the payment of the interest and principal of the State debt, and to no other use or purpose, until the whole debt of the State is fully paid and satisfied.

SEC. 35. The General Assembly may contract debts to meet casual deficits or failures in the revenue; but such debts, direct or contingent, singly or in the aggregate, shall not at any time exceed \$500,000; and the moneys arising from loans creating such debts shall be applied to the purposes for which they were obtained or to repay such debts: *Provided*, That the State may contract debts to repel invasion, suppress insurrection, or if hostilities are threatened, provide for the public defense.

SEC. 36. No act of the General Assembly shall authorize any debt to be contracted on behalf of the Commonwealth, except for the purposes mentioned in the thirty-fifth section of this article, unless provision be made therein to lay and collect an annual tax sufficient to pay the interest stipulated, and to discharge the debt within thirty years; nor shall such act take effect until it shall have been submitted to the people at a general election, and shall have received a majority of all the votes cast for or against it: *Provided*, that the General Assembly may contract debts, by borrowing money to pay any part of the debt of the State, without submission to the people, and without making provision in the act authorizing the same for a tax to discharge the debt so contracted, or the interest thereon.

SEC. 37. No law enacted by the General Assembly shall relate to more than one subject, and that shall be expressed in the title.

SEC. 38. The General Assembly shall not change the venue in any criminal or penal prosecution, but shall provide for the same by general laws.

SEC. 39. The General Assembly may pass laws authorizing writs of error in criminal or penal cases, and regulating the right of challenge of jurors therein.

SEC. 40. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass any act or resolution for the appropriation of any money, or the creation of any debt, exceeding the sum of one hundred dollars, at any one time, unless the same, on its final passage, shall be voted for by a majority of all the members then elected to each branch of the General Assembly, and the yeas and nays thereon entered on the journal.

### ARTICLE III.

#### CONCERNING THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION 1. The supreme executive power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a chief magistrate, who shall be styled the Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

SEC. 2. The Governor shall be elected for the term of four years by the qualified voters of the State, at the time when and places where they shall respectively vote for Representatives. The person having the highest number of votes shall be Governor; but if two or more shall be equal and highest in votes, the election shall be determined by lot, in such manner as the General Assembly may direct.

SEC. 3. The Governor shall be ineligible for the succeeding four years after the expiration of the term for which he shall have been elected.

SEC. 4. He shall be at least thirty-five years of age, and a citizen of the United States, and have been an inhabitant of this State at least six years next preceding his election.

SEC. 5. He shall commence the execution of the duties of his office on the fifth Tuesday succeeding the day of the general election on which he shall have been chosen, and shall continue in the execution thereof until his successor shall have taken the oath or affirmation prescribed by this Constitution.

SEC. 6. No member of Congress, or person holding any office under the United States, or minister of any religious society, shall be eligible to the office of Governor.

SEC. 7. The Governor shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the term for which he was elected.

SEC. 8. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of this Commonwealth, and of the militia thereof, except when they shall be called into the service of the United States; but he shall not command personally in the field, unless advised so to do by a resolution of the General Assembly.

SEC. 9. He shall have power to fill vacancies that may occur, by granting commissions, which shall expire when such vacancies shall have been filled according to the provisions of this Constitution.

SEC. 10. He shall have power to remit fines and forfeitures, grant reprieves and pardons, except in cases of impeachment. In cases of treason he shall have power to grant reprieves until the end of the next session of the General Assembly, in which the power of pardoning shall be vested; but he shall have no power to remit the fees of the Clerk, Sheriff, or Commonwealth Attorney in penal or criminal cases.

SEC. 11. He may require information, in writing, from the officers in the executive department upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.

SEC. 12. He shall, from time to time, give to the General Assembly information of the state of the Commonwealth, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he may deem expedient.

SEC. 13. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the General Assembly at the seat of government, or at a different place if that should have become, since their last adjournment, dangerous from an enemy or from contagious disorders; and in case of disagreement between the two Houses, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper, not exceeding four months.

SEC. 14. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

SEC. 15. A Lieutenant-Governor shall be chosen at every regular election for Governor, in the same manner, to continue in office for the same time, and possess the same qualifications as the Governor. In voting for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor the electors shall state for whom they vote as Governor and for whom as Lieutenant-Governor.

SEC. 16. He shall, by virtue of his office, be Speaker of the Senate, have a right, when in Com-

mittee of the Whole, to debate and vote on all subjects, and, when the Senate are equally divided to give the casting vote.

SEC. 17. Should the Governor be impeached, removed from office, die, refuse to qualify, resign, or be absent from the State, the Lieutenant-Governor shall exercise all the power and authority appertaining to the office of Governor, until another be duly elected and qualified, or the Governor absent or impeached shall return or be acquitted.

SEC. 18. Whenever the government shall be administered by the Lieutenant-Governor, or he shall fail to attend as Speaker of the Senate, the Senators shall elect one of their own members as Speaker for that occasion. And if during the vacancy of the office of Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor shall be impeached, removed from office, refuse to qualify, resign, die, or be absent from the State, the Speaker of the Senate shall, in like manner, administer the government: *Provided*, That whenever a vacancy shall occur in the office of Governor, before the first two years of the term shall have expired, a new election for Governor shall take place to fill such vacancy.

SEC. 19. The Lieutenant-Governor, or Speaker *pro tempore* of the Senate, while he acts as Speaker of the Senate, shall receive for his services the same compensation which shall, for the same period, be allowed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and no more; and during the time he administers the government, as Governor, shall receive the same compensation which the Governor would have received had he been employed in the duties of his office.

SEC. 20. If the Lieutenant-Governor shall be called upon to administer the government, and shall, while in such administration, resign, die, or be absent from the State during the recess of the General Assembly, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State, for the time being, to convene the Senate for the purpose of choosing a Speaker.

SEC. 21. The Governor shall nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint a Secretary of State, who shall be commissioned during the term for which the Governor was elected, if he shall so long behave himself well. He shall keep a fair register, and attest all the official acts of the Governor, and shall, when required, lay the same, and all papers, minutes and vouchers relative thereto, before either House of the General Assembly; and shall perform such other duties as may be required of him by law.

SEC. 22. Every bill which shall have passed both Houses shall be presented to the Governor. If he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to the House in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large upon their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, a majority of all the members elected to that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be considered, and, if approved by a majority of all the members elected to that House, it shall be a law; but in such cases, the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the members voting for and against the bill shall be entered upon the journals of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the Governor within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, it shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the General Assembly, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall be a law, unless sent back within three days after their next meeting.



SEC. 23. Every order, resolution, or vote in which the concurrence of both Houses may be necessary, except on a question of adjournment, shall be presented to the Governor, and before it shall take effect be approved by him; or, being disapproved, shall be re-passed by a majority of all the members elected to both Houses, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in case of a bill.

SEC. 24. Contested elections for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor shall be determined by both houses of the General Assembly, according to such regulations as may be established by law.

SEC. 25. A Treasurer shall be elected by the qualified voters of the State, for the term of two years; and an Auditor of Public Accounts, Register of the Land-Office, and Attorney-General for the term of four years. The duties and responsibilities of these officers shall be prescribed by law: *Provided*; That inferior State officers, not specially provided for in this Constitution, may be appointed or elected in such manner as shall be prescribed by law, for a term not exceeding four years.

SEC. 26. The first election under this Constitution for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Treasurer, Auditor of Public Accounts, Register of the Land-Office and Attorney-General, shall be held on the first Monday in August, in the year 1851.

#### ARTICLE IV.

##### CONCERNING THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of this Commonwealth, both as to matters of law and equity, shall be vested in one Supreme Court (to be styled the Court of Appeals), the courts established by this Constitution, and such courts, inferior to the Supreme Court, as the General Assembly may, from time to time, erect and establish.

##### CONCERNING THE COURT OF APPEALS.

SEC. 2. The Court of Appeals shall have appellate jurisdiction only, which shall be co-extensive with the State, under such restrictions and regulations, not repugnant to this Constitution, as may, from time to time be prescribed by law.

SEC. 3. The Judges of the Court of Appeals shall, after their first term, hold their offices for eight years, from and after their election, and until their successors shall be duly qualified, subject to the conditions hereinafter prescribed; but for any reasonable cause the Governor shall remove any of them on the address of two-thirds of each House of the General Assembly: *Provided, however*, That the cause or causes for which such removal may be required shall be stated at length in such address and on the journal of each House. They shall, at stated times, receive for their services an adequate compensation, to be fixed by law, which shall not be diminished during the time for which they have been elected.

SEC. 4. The Court of Appeals shall consist of four Judges, any three of whom may constitute a court for the transaction of business. The General Assembly at its first session after the adoption of this Constitution, shall divide the State, by counties, into four districts, as nearly equal in voting population and with as convenient limits as may be, in each of which the qualified voters shall elect one Judge of the Court of Appeals: *Provided*, That whenever a vacancy shall occur in said court, from any cause, the General Assembly shall have the power to reduce the number of Judges and districts; but in no event shall there be less than three Judges and districts. Should a change in the number of the Judges of the Court of Appeals be made, the term of office

and number of districts shall be so changed as to preserve the principle of electing one Judge every two years.

SEC. 5. The Judges shall, by virtue of their office, be conservators of the peace throughout the State. The style of all process shall be "The Commonwealth of Kentucky." All prosecutions shall be carried on in the name and by the authority of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and conclude "against the peace and dignity of the same."

SEC. 6. The Judges first elected shall serve as follows, to wit: One shall serve until the first Monday in August, 1852; one until the first Monday in August, 1854; one until the first Monday in August, 1856; and one until the first Monday in August, 1858. The Judges, at the first term of the court succeeding their election, shall determine, by lot, the length of time which each one shall serve; and at the expiration of the service of each an election in the proper district shall take place to fill the vacancy. The Judge having the shortest time to serve shall be styled Chief Justice of Kentucky.

SEC. 7. If a vacancy shall occur in said court from any cause, the Governor shall issue a writ of election to the proper district to fill such vacancy for the residue of the term: *Provided*, That if the unexpired term be less than one year, the Governor shall appoint a Judge to fill such vacancy.

SEC. 8. No person shall be eligible to the office of Judge of the Court of Appeals who is not a citizen of the United States, a resident of the district for which he may be a candidate two years next preceding his election, at least thirty years of age, and who has not been a practicing lawyer eight years or whose service upon the bench of any court of record when added to the time he may have practiced law, shall not be equal to eight years.

SEC. 9. The Court of Appeals shall hold its sessions at the seat of government, unless otherwise directed by law; but the General Assembly may, from time to time, direct that said court shall hold sessions in any one or more of said districts.

SEC. 10. The first election of the Judges and Clerks of the Court of Appeals shall take place on the second Monday in May, 1851, and thereafter, in each district, as a vacancy may occur, by the expiration of the term of office; and the Judges of the said court shall be commissioned by the Governor.

SEC. 11. There shall be elected, by the qualified voters of this State, a Clerk of the Court of Appeals, who shall hold his office, from the first election, until the first Monday in August, 1858, and thereafter for the term of eight years from and after his election; and should the General Assembly provide for holding the Court of Appeals in any one or more of said districts, they shall also provide for the election of a Clerk by the qualified voters of such district, who shall hold his office for eight years, possess the same qualifications, and be subject to removal in the same manner, as the Clerk of the Court of Appeals; but if the General Assembly shall, at its first or any other session, direct the Court of Appeals to hold its session in more than one district, a Clerk shall be elected by the qualified voters of such district. And the Clerk first provided for in this section shall be elected by the qualified voters of the other district or districts. The same principle shall be observed whenever the court shall be directed to hold its sessions in either of the other districts. Should the number of Judges be reduced, the term of the office of Clerk shall be six years.

SEC. 12. No person shall be eligible to the office of Clerk of the Court of Appeals, unless he be a citizen of the United States, a resident of the State two years next preceding his election, of the age of twenty-one years, and have a certificate from a Judge of the Court of Appeals, or a Judge of

Circuit Court, that he has been examined by the Clerk of his Court, under his supervision, and that he is qualified for the office for which he is a candidate.

SEC. 13. Should a vacancy occur in the office of Clerk of the Court of Appeals, the Governor shall issue a writ of election, and the qualified voters of the State, or of the district in which the vacancy may occur, shall elect a Clerk of the Court of Appeals, to serve until the end of the term for which such Clerk was elected: *Provided*, That when a vacancy shall occur from any cause, or the Clerk be under charges upon information, the Judges of the Court of Appeals shall have power to appoint a Clerk *pro tempore*, to perform the duties of Clerk until such vacancy shall be filled or the Clerk acquitted: *And provided further*, That no writ of election shall issue to fill a vacancy unless the unexpired term exceed one year.

SEC. 14. The General Assembly shall direct, by law, the mode and manner of conducting and making due returns to the Secretary of State of all elections of the Judges and Clerk or Clerks of the Court of Appeals, and of determining contested elections of any of these offices.

SEC. 15. The General Assembly shall provide for an additional Judge or Judges, to constitute, with the remaining Judge or Judges, a special court for the trial of such cause or causes as may, at any time, be pending in the Court of Appeals, on the trial of which a majority of the Judges cannot sit, on account of interest in the event of the cause, or on account of their relationship to either party, or when a Judge may have been employed in or decided the cause in the inferior court.

#### CONCERNING THE CIRCUIT COURTS.

SEC. 16. A Circuit Court shall be established in each county now existing, or which may hereafter be erected in this commonwealth.

SEC. 17. The jurisdiction of said court shall be and remain as now established, hereby giving to the General Assembly the power to change or alter it.

SEC. 18. The right to appeal or sue out a writ of error to the Court of Appeals shall remain as it now exists, until altered by law, hereby giving to the General Assembly the power to change, alter, or modify said right.

SEC. 19. At the first session after the adoption of this Constitution, the General Assembly shall divide the State into twelve judicial districts, having due regard to business, territory, and population: *Provided*, That no county shall be divided.

SEC. 20. They shall, at the same time that the judicial districts are laid off, direct elections to be held in each district, to elect a Judge for said district, and shall prescribe in what manner the election shall be conducted. The first election of Judges of the Circuit Court shall take place on the second Monday in May, 1851; and afterward on the first Monday in August, 1856, and on the first Monday in August in every sixth year thereafter.

SEC. 21. All persons qualified to vote for members of the General Assembly, in each district, shall have the right to vote for Judges.

SEC. 22. No person shall be eligible as Judge of the Circuit Court who is not a citizen of the United States, a resident of the district for which he may be a candidate two years next preceding his election, at least thirty years of age, and who has not been a practicing lawyer eight years, or whose service upon the bench of any court of record, when added to the time he may have practiced law, shall not be equal to eight years.

SEC. 23. The Judges of the Circuit Court shall, after their first term, hold their office for the term

of six years from the day of their election. They shall be commissioned by the Governor, and continue in office until their successors be qualified, but shall be removable from office in the same manner as the Judges of the Court of Appeals; and the removal of a Judge from his district shall vacate his office.

SEC. 24. The General Assembly, if they deem it necessary, may establish one additional district every four years, but the judicial districts shall not exceed sixteen, until the population of this State shall exceed 1,500,000.

SEC. 25. The Judges of the Circuit Court shall, at stated times, receive for their service an adequate compensation, to be fixed by law, which shall be equal and uniform throughout the State, and which shall not be diminished during the time for which they were elected.

SEC. 26. If a vacancy shall occur in the office of Judge of the Circuit Court, the Governor shall issue a writ of election to fill such vacancy for the residue of the term: *Provided*, that if the unexpired term be less than one year, the Governor shall appoint a Judge to fill such vacancy.

SEC. 27. The judicial districts of this State shall not be changed, except at the first session after enumeration, unless when a new district may be established.

SEC. 28. The General Assembly shall provide by law for holding Circuit Courts when, from any cause, the Judge shall fail to attend, or, if in attendance, cannot properly preside.

#### CONCERNING COUNTY COURTS.

SEC. 29. A County Court shall be established in each county now existing, or which may hereafter be erected within this Commonwealth, to consist of a Presiding Judge and two Associate Judges, any two of whom shall constitute a court for the transaction of business: *Provided*, the General Assembly may at any time abolish the office of the Associate Judges, whenever it shall be deemed expedient; in which event they may associate the said court any or all of the Justices of the Peace for the transaction of business.

SEC. 30. The Judges of the County Court shall be elected by the qualified voters in each county, for the term of four years, and shall continue in office until their successors be duly qualified, and shall receive such compensation for their services as may be provided by law.

SEC. 31. The first election of County Court Judges shall take place at the same time of the election of Judges of the Circuit Court. The Presiding Judge, first elected, shall hold his office until the first Monday in August, 1854. The Associate Judges shall hold their offices until the first Monday in August, 1852, and until their successors be qualified; and afterward elections shall be held on the first Monday in August, in the years in which vacancies regularly occur.

SEC. 32. No person shall be eligible to the office of Presiding or Associate Judge of the County Court, unless he be a citizen of the United States, over twenty-one years of age, and shall have been a resident of the county in which he shall be chosen one year next preceding the election.

SEC. 33. The jurisdiction of the County Court shall be regulated by law; and, until changed, shall be the same now vested in the County Courts of this State.

SEC. 34. Each county in this State shall be laid off into districts of convenient size, as the General Assembly may from time to time direct. Two Justices of the Peace shall be elected in each district, by the qualified voters therein, at such time and place as may be prescribed by law, for the term of



four years, whose jurisdiction shall be co-extensive with the county. No person shall be eligible as a Justice of the Peace unless he be a citizen of the United States, twenty-one years of age, and a resident of the district in which he may be a candidate.

SEC. 35. Judges of the County Court and Justices of the Peace shall be conservators of the peace. They shall be commissioned by the Governor. County and district officers shall vacate their offices by removal from the district or county in which they shall be appointed. The General Assembly shall provide by law the manner of conducting and making due return of all elections of Judges of the County Court and Justices of the Peace, and for determining contested elections, and provide the mode of filling vacancies in these offices.

SEC. 36. Judges of the County Court and Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Coroners, Surveyors, Jailors, County Assessor, Attorney for the County, and Constables, shall be subject to indictment or presentment for malfeasance or misfeasance in office, or willful neglect in the discharge of their official duties, in such mode as may be prescribed by law, subject to appeal to the Court of Appeals; and upon conviction, their offices shall become vacant.

SEC. 37. The General Assembly may provide by law that the Justices of the Peace in each County shall sit at the Court of Claims and assist in laying the county levy and making appropriations only.

SEC. 38. When any city or town shall have a separate representation, such city or town, and the county in which it is located, may have such separate municipal courts and executive and ministerial officers as the General Assembly may from time to time provide.

SEC. 39. The Clerks of the Court of Appeals, Circuit and County Courts, shall be removable from office by the Court of Appeals, upon information and good cause shown. The court shall be judges of the fact as well as the law. Two-thirds of the members present must concur in the sentence.

SEC. 40. The Louisville Chancery Court shall exist under this Constitution, subject to repeal, and its jurisdiction to enlargement and modification of the General Assembly. The Chancellor shall have the same qualifications as the Circuit Court Judge, and the Clerk of the said Court as the Clerk of the Circuit Court, and the Marshal of said Court as a Sheriff; and the General Assembly shall provide for the election, by the qualified voters within its jurisdiction, of the Chancellor, Clerk and Marshal of said Court, at the same time that the Judge and Clerk of the Circuit Court are elected for the County of Jefferson, and they shall hold their offices for the same time, and shall be removable in the same manner; *Provided*, that the Marshal of said Court shall be ineligible for the succeeding term.

SEC. 41. The City Court of Louisville, the Lexington City Court, and all other police courts established in any city or town, shall remain until otherwise directed by law, with their present powers and jurisdictions; and the Judges, Clerks, and Marshals of said Courts shall have the same qualifications, and shall be elected by the qualified voters of such cities or towns at the same time, and in the same manner, and hold their offices for the same term, as County Judges, Clerks and Sheriffs, respectively, and shall be liable to removal in the same manner. The General Assembly may vest judicial powers, for police purposes, in Mayors of cities, Police Judges and Trustees of towns.

#### ARTICLE V.

##### CONCERNING IMPEACHMENTS.

SECTION 1. The House of Representatives shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 2. All impeachments shall be tried by the Senate. When sitting for that purpose, the Senators shall be on oath or affirmation. No person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

SEC. 3. The Governor and all civil officers shall be liable to impeachment for any misdemeanor in office; but judgment in such cases shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold any office of honor, trust, or profit under this Commonwealth; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be subject and liable to indictment, trial, and punishment by law.

#### ARTICLE VI.

##### CONCERNING EXECUTIVE AND MINISTERIAL OFFICERS FOR COUNTIES AND DISTRICTS.

SECTION 1. A Commonwealth's Attorney for each Judicial District, and a Circuit Court Clerk for each County, shall be elected, whose term of office shall be the same as that of the Circuit Judges; also a County Court Clerk, an Attorney, Surveyor, Coroner, and Jailor, for each County, whose term of office shall be the same as that of the presiding Judge of the County Court.

SEC. 2. No person shall be eligible to the offices mentioned in this article who is not at the time twenty-four years old (except Clerks of the County and Circuit Courts, Sheriffs, Constables and County Attorneys, who shall be eligible at the age of twenty-one years), a citizen of the United States and who has not resided two years next preceding the election in the State, and one year in the county or district for which he is a candidate. No person shall be eligible to the office of Commonwealth's Attorney or County Attorney unless he shall have been a licensed practicing attorney for two years. No person shall be eligible to the office of Clerk unless he shall have procured from a Judge of the Court of Appeals, or a Judge of the Circuit Court, a certificate that he has been examined by the Clerk of his court, under his supervision, and that he is qualified for the office for which he is a candidate.

SEC. 3. The Commonwealth's Attorney and Circuit Court Clerk shall be elected at the same time as the Circuit Judge—the Commonwealth's Attorney by the qualified voters of the district, the Circuit Court Clerk by the qualified voters of the county. The County Attorney, Clerk, Surveyor, Coroner and Jailor shall be elected at the same time and in the same manner as the Presiding Judge of the County Court.

SEC. 4. A Sheriff shall be elected in each county by the qualified voters thereof, whose term of office shall, after the first term, be two years, and until his successor be qualified; and he shall be re-eligible for a second term; but no Sheriff shall, after the expiration of the second term, be re-eligible, or act as deputy, for the succeeding term. The first election of Sheriff shall be on the second Monday in May, 1851; and the Sheriffs then elected shall hold their offices until the first Monday in January, 1853, and until their successors be qualified; and on the first Monday in August, 1852, and on the first Monday of August every second year thereafter, elections for Sheriff shall be held: *Provided*, That the Sheriffs first elected shall enter upon the duties of their respective offices on the first Monday in June, 1851, and after the first election on the first Monday in January next succeeding their election.

SEC. 5. A Constable shall be elected in every Justice's district, who shall be chosen for two years, at such time and place as may be provided by law, whose jurisdiction shall be co-extensive with the county in which he may reside.

SEC. 6. Officers for towns and cities shall be elected for such terms, and in such manner, and

with such qualifications as may be prescribed by law.

SEC. 7. Vacancies in offices under this article shall be filled, until the next regular election, in such manner as the General Assembly may provide.

SEC. 8. When a new county shall be erected, officers for the same to serve until the next stated election, shall be elected or appointed in such a way and at such times as the general assembly may prescribe.

SEC. 9. Clerks, Sheriffs, Surveyors, Coroners, Constables and Jailers, and such other officers as the General Assembly may from time to time require, shall, before they enter upon the duties of their respective offices, and as often thereafter as may be deemed proper, give such bond and security as shall be prescribed by law.

SEC. 10. The General Assembly may provide for the election or appointment, for a term not exceeding four years, of such other county or district ministerial and executive officers as shall, from time to time, be necessary and proper.

SEC. 11. A County Assessor shall be elected in each county at the same time and for the same term that the Presiding Judge of the County Court is elected, until otherwise provided for by law. He shall have power to appoint such assistants as may be necessary and proper.

#### ARTICLE VII.

##### CONCERNING THE MILITIA.

SECTION 1. The militia of this Commonwealth shall consist of all free, able-bodied male persons (negroes, mulattoes and Indians excepted) resident in the same, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years; except such persons as now are, or hereafter may be, exempted by the laws of the United States or of this State; but those who belong to religious societies, whose tenets forbid them to carry arms, shall not be compelled to do so, but shall pay an equivalent for personal services.

SEC. 2. The Governor shall the Adjutant-General and his other staff-officers, the Major-Generals, Brigadier-Generals, and Commandants of regiments shall respectively appoint their staff-officers; and commandants of companies shall appoint their non-commissioned officers.

SEC. 3. All militia officers, whose appointment is not herein otherwise provided for, shall be elected by persons subject to military duty within their respective companies—battalions, regiments, brigades and divisions—under such rules and regulations, and for such terms, not exceeding six years, as the General Assembly may, from time to time, direct and establish.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

##### GENERAL PROVISIONS.

SECTION 1. Members of the General Assembly and all officers, before they enter upon the execution of the duties of their respective offices, and all members of the bar, before they enter upon the practice of their profession, shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear [or affirm, as the case may be] that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of this State, and be faithful and true to the Commonwealth of Kentucky so long as I continue a citizen thereof, and that I will faithfully execute, to the best of my abilities, the office of —, according to law; and I do further solemnly swear [or affirm] that since the adoption of the present Constitution I, being a citizen of this State, have not fought a duel, with deadly weapons, within this State, nor out of it, with a citizen of this State, nor

have I sent or accepted a challenge to fight a duel, with deadly weapons, with a citizen of this State; nor have I acted as second in carrying a challenge, or aided or assisted any person thus offending: So help me God."

SEC. 2. Treason against this Commonwealth shall consist only in levying war against it, or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or his own confession in open court.

SEC. 3. Every person shall be disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit for the term for which he shall have been elected, who shall be convicted of having given or offered any bribe or threat to procure his election.

SEC. 4. Laws shall be made to exclude from office and from suffrage those who shall be hereafter convicted of bribery, perjury, forgery, or other crimes or high misdemeanors. The privilege of free suffrage shall be supported by laws regulating elections and prohibiting, under adequate penalties, all undue influence thereon from power, bribery, tumult or other improper practices.

SEC. 5. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in pursuance of appropriations made by law, nor shall any appropriations of money for the support of an army be made for a longer time than two years, and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public moneys shall be published annually.

SEC. 6. The General Assembly may direct by law, in what manner, and in what courts, suits may be brought against the Commonwealth.

SEC. 7. The manner of administering an oath or affirmation shall be such as is most consistent with the conscience of the deponent, and shall be esteemed by the General Assembly the most solemn appeal to God.

SEC. 8. All laws which, on the first day of June, 1792, were in force in the State of Virginia, and which are of a general nature, and not local to the State, and not repugnant to this Constitution, nor to the laws which have been enacted by the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, shall be in force within this State, until they shall be altered or repealed by the General Assembly.

SEC. 9. The compact with the State of Virginia, subject to such alterations as may be made therein agreeably to the mode prescribed by the said compact, shall be considered as a part of this Constitution.

SEC. 10. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass such laws as shall be necessary and proper to decide differences by arbitrators, to be appointed by the parties who may choose that summary mode of adjustment.

SEC. 11. All civil officers for the Commonwealth at large shall reside within the State, and all district, county, or town officers, within their respective districts, counties or towns (trustees of towns excepted), and shall keep their offices at such places therein as may be required by law; and all militia officers shall reside in the bounds of the division, brigade, regiment, battalion or company to which they may severally belong.

SEC. 12. Absence on the business of this State or the United States, shall not forfeit a residence once obtained, so as to deprive any one of the right of suffrage, or of being elected or appointed to any office under this Commonwealth, under the exception contained in this Constitution.

SEC. 13. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to regulate, by law, in what cases, and what deductions from the salaries of public officers shall be made, for neglect of duty in their official capacity.



SEC. 14. Returns of all elections by the people shall be made to the Secretary of State, for the time being, except in those cases otherwise provided for this Constitution, or which shall be otherwise directed by law.

SEC. 15. In all elections by the people, and also by the Senate and House of Representatives jointly or separately, the votes shall be publicly and personally given *viva voce*: *Provided*, That dumb persons, entitled to suffrage, may vote by ballot.

SEC. 16. All elections by the people shall be held between the hours of six o'clock in the morning and seven o'clock in the evening.

SEC. 17. The General Assembly shall, by law, prescribe the time when the several officers authorized or directed by this Constitution to be elected or appointed shall enter upon the duties of their respective offices, except where the time is fixed by this Constitution.

SEC. 18. No member of Congress, nor person holding or exercising any office of trust or profit under the United States, or either of them, or under any foreign power, shall be eligible as a member of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, or hold or exercise any office of trust or profit under the same.

SEC. 19. The General Assembly shall direct by law how persons who now are, or who may hereafter become, securities for public officers may be relieved or discharged on account of such securityship.

SEC. 20. Any person who shall, after the adoption of this Constitution, either directly or indirectly, give, accept, or knowingly carry a challenge to any person or persons to fight in single combat, with a citizen of this State, with any deadly weapon, either in or out of the State, shall be deprived of the right to hold any office of honor or profit in this Commonwealth, and shall be punished otherwise in such manner as the General Assembly may prescribe by law.

SEC. 21. The Governor shall have power, after five years from the time of the offence, to pardon all persons who shall have in anywise participated in a duel, either as principals, seconds or otherwise, and to restore him or them to all the rights, privileges and immunities to which he or they were entitled before such participation. And upon the presentation of such pardon, the oath prescribed in the first section of this article shall be varied to suit the case.

SEC. 22. At its first session after the adoption of this Constitution, the General Assembly shall appoint not more than three persons, learned in the law, whose duty it shall be to revise and arrange the statute laws of this Commonwealth, both civil and criminal, so as to have but one law on any subject; and also three other persons, learned in the law, whose duty it shall be to prepare a code of practice for the courts both civil and criminal in this Commonwealth, by abridging and simplifying the rules of practice and laws in relation thereto; all of whom shall, at as early a day as practicable, report the result of their labors to the General Assembly for their adoption or modification.

SEC. 23. So long as the Board of Internal Improvement shall be continued, the President thereof shall be elected by the qualified voters of this Commonwealth, and hold the office for the term of four years, and until another be duly elected and qualified. The election shall be held at the same time, and be conducted in the same manner, as the election of Governor of this Commonwealth under this Constitution; but nothing herein contained shall prevent the General Assembly from abolishing said Board of Internal Improvement, or the office of President thereof.

SEC. 24. The General Assembly shall provide by law for the trial of any contested election of

Auditor, Register, Treasurer, Attorney-General, Judges of Circuit Courts, and all other officers not otherwise herein specified.

SEC. 25. The General Assembly shall provide by law for the making of the returns, by the proper officers, of the election of all officers to be elected under this Constitution; and the Governor shall issue commissions to the Auditor, Register, Treasurer, President of the Board of Internal Improvement, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and such other officers as he may be directed by law to commission, as soon as he has ascertained the result of the election of those officers respectively.

SEC. 26. When a vacancy shall happen in the office of Attorney-General, Auditor of Public Accounts, Treasurer, Register of the Land Office, President of the Board of Internal Improvements, or Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Governor, in the recess of the Senate, shall have power to fill the vacancy, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of the next session, and shall fill the vacancy for the balance of the time by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

## ARTICLE IX.

### CONCERNING THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

The seat of government shall continue in the city of Frankfort, until it shall be removed by law. *Provided, however*, That two-thirds of all the members elected to each House of the General Assembly shall concur in the passage of such law.

## ARTICLE X.

### CONCERNING SLAVES.

SECTION 1. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners, or without paying their owners, previous to such emancipation, a full equivalent in money for the slaves so emancipated, and providing for their removal from the State. They shall have no power to prevent immigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in slavery by the laws of this State. They shall pass laws to permit owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the rights of creditors, and to prevent them from remaining in this State after they are emancipated. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State as merchandise. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State who have been, since the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, or may hereafter be, imported into any of the United States from a foreign country. And they shall have full power to pass such laws as may be necessary to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity; to provide for them necessary clothing and provisions; to abstain from all injuries to them, extending to life or limb, and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with the directions of such laws, to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of their owner or owners.

SEC. 2. The General Assembly shall pass laws providing that any free negro or mulatto hereafter immigrating to, and any slave hereafter emancipated in, and refusing to leave this State, or having left, shall return and settle within this State, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by confinement in the penitentiary thereof.

SEC. 3. In the prosecution of slaves for felony no inquest by a grand jury shall be necessary, but the proceedings in such prosecutions shall be regulated by law, except that the General Assembly

shall have no power to deprive them of the privilege of an impartial trial by a petit jury.

## ARTICLE XI.

### CONCERNING EDUCATION.

SECTION 1. The capital of the fund called and known as the "common school fund," consisting of one million two hundred and twenty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight dollars and forty-two cents, for which bonds have been executed by the State to the Board of Education, and seventy-three thousand five hundred dollars of stock in the Bank of Kentucky; also, the sum of fifty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-three dollars and twenty-nine cents, balance of interest on the school-fund of the year 1848, unexpended, together with any sum which may be hereafter raised in the State by taxation, or otherwise, for the purposes of education, shall be held inviolate, for the purpose of sustaining a system of common schools. The interest and dividends of said funds, together with any sum which may be produced for that purpose, by taxation, or otherwise, may be appropriated in aid of common schools, but for no other purpose. The General Assembly shall invest said fifty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-three dollars and twenty-nine cents in some safe and profitable manner, and any portion of the interest and dividends of said school-fund, or other money or property raised for school purposes, which may not be needed in sustaining common schools, shall be invested in like manner. The General Assembly shall make provision by law for the payment of the interest of said school-fund. *Provided*, That each county shall be entitled to its proportion of the income of said fund, and if not called for for common school purposes, it shall be re-invested from time to time for the benefit of such county.

SEC. 2. A Superintendent of Public Instruction shall be elected by the qualified voters of this Commonwealth at the same time the Governor is elected, who shall hold his office for four years, and his duties and salary shall be prescribed and fixed by law.

## ARTICLE XII.

### MODE OF REVISING THE CONSTITUTION.

SECTION 1. When experience shall point out the necessity of amending this Constitution, and when a majority of all the members elected to each house of the General Assembly shall, within the first twenty days of any regular session, concur in passing a law for taking the sense of the good people of this Commonwealth as to the necessity and expediency of calling a convention, it shall be the duty of the several Sheriffs and other officers of elections, at the next general election which shall be held for Representatives to the General Assembly after the passage of such a law, to open a poll for, and make a return to the Secretary of State, for the time being, of the names of all those entitled to vote for Representatives who have voted for calling a convention; and if thereupon it shall appear that a majority of all the citizens of the State entitled to vote for Representatives have voted for calling a convention, the General Assembly shall, at their next regular session, direct that a similar poll shall be opened and return made for the next election for Representatives, and if thereupon it shall appear that a majority of all the citizens of this State entitled to vote for Representatives have voted for calling a convention, the General Assembly shall, at their next session, pass a law calling a convention to consist of as many members as there shall be in the House of Representatives, and no more, to be

chosen on the first Monday in August thereafter, in the same manner and proportion, and at the same places, and possessed of the same qualifications of a qualified elector by citizens entitled to vote for Representatives, and to meet within three months after their election for the purpose of re-adopting, amending or changing this Constitution; but if it shall appear by the vote of either year, as aforesaid, that a majority of all the citizens entitled to vote for Representatives did not vote for calling a convention, a convention shall not then be called. And for the purpose of ascertaining whether a majority of the citizens entitled to vote for Representatives, did or did not vote for calling a convention as above, the General Assembly passing the law authorizing such vote shall provide for ascertaining the number of citizens entitled to vote for Representatives within the State.

SEC. 2. The convention when assembled shall judge of the election of its members, and decide contested elections, but the General Assembly shall, in calling a convention, provide for taking testimony in such cases and for issuing a writ of election in case of a tie.

## ARTICLE XIII.

### BILL OF RIGHTS.

That the general, great and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognized and established, we declare:

SECTION 1. That all freemen, when they form a social compact, are equal, and that no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive, separate public emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services.

SEC. 2. That absolute, arbitrary power over the lives, liberty and property of freemen, exists nowhere in a Republic, not even in the largest majority.

SEC. 3. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave, and its increase, is the same, as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever.

SEC. 4. That all property is inherent in the people and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their peace, safety, happiness, security and the protection of property. For the advancement of these ends, they have at all times an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform or abolish their government, in such manner as they may think proper.

SEC. 5. That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man shall be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; that no human authority ought, in any case, whatever, to control or interfere with the rights of conscience; that no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious societies or modes of worship.

SEC. 6. That the civil rights, privileges or capacities of any citizen shall in no wise be diminished or enlarged on account of his religion.

SEC. 7. That all elections shall be free and equal.

SEC. 8. That the ancient mode of trial by jury shall be held sacred, and the right thereof remain inviolate, subject to such modifications as may be authorized by this Constitution.

SEC. 9. That printing-presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the general assembly, or any branch of government, and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable



rights of man, and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

SEC. 10. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court as in other cases.

SEC. 11. That the people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers and possessions from unreasonable seizures and searches, and that no warrant to search any place, or to seize any person or thing, shall issue, without describing them as nearly as may be, nor without probable cause supported by oath or affirmation.

SEC. 12. That in all criminal prosecutions, the accused hath a right to be heard by himself and counsel; to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him; to meet the witness face to face; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and, in prosecutions by indictment or information, a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the vicinage; that he cannot be compelled to give evidence against himself; nor can he be deprived of his life, liberty or property unless by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land.

SEC. 13. That no person shall, for any indictable offence, be proceeded against criminally, by information, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service, in time of war or public danger, or by leave of the court, for oppression or misdemeanor in office.

SEC. 14. No person shall, for the same offence, be twice put in jeopardy of his life or limb; nor shall any man's property be taken or applied to public use without the consent of his representatives and without just compensation being previously made to him.

SEC. 15. That all courts shall be open, and every person, for an injury done him in his lands, goods, person or reputation, shall have remedy by the due course of law and right and justice administered without sale, denial or delay.

SEC. 16. That no power of suspending laws shall be exercised, unless by the General Assembly or its authority.

SEC. 17. That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel punishments inflicted.

SEC. 18. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient securities, unless for capital offences, when the proof is evident or presumption great; and the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

SEC. 19. That the person of a debtor, where there is not strong presumption of fraud, shall not be continued in prison after delivering up his estate for the benefit of his creditors, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law.

SEC. 20. That no *ex post facto* law, nor any law impairing contracts, shall be made.

SEC. 21. That no person shall be attainted of treason or felony by the General Assembly.

SEC. 22. That no attainder shall work corruption of blood, nor, except during the life of the offender, forfeiture of the estate to the Commonwealth.

SEC. 23. That the estates of such persons as shall destroy their own lives shall descend or vest as in case of natural death; and if any person shall be killed by casualty, there shall be no forfeiture by reason thereof.

SEC. 24. That the citizens have the right, in a peaceable manner, to assemble together for their

common good, and to apply to those invested with the powers of government for redress of grievances, or other proper purposes, by petition, address or remonstrance.

SEC. 25. That the rights of the citizens to bear arms in defense of themselves and the State shall not be questioned; but the General Assembly may pass laws to prevent persons from carrying concealed arms.

SEC. 26. That no standing army shall, in time of peace, be kept up without the consent of the General Assembly, and the military shall, in all cases and at all times, be in strict subordination to the civil power.

SEC. 27. That no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

SEC. 28. That the General Assembly shall not grant any title of nobility, or hereditary distinction, nor create any office, the appointment to which shall be for a longer time than for a term of years.

SEC. 29. That emigration from the State shall not be prohibited.

SEC. 30. To guard against transgressions of the high powers which we have delegated, we declare that everything in this article is excepted out of the general powers of government, and shall forever remain inviolate, and that all laws contrary thereto, or contrary to this Constitution, shall be void.

#### SCHEDULE.

That no inconvenience may arise from the alterations and amendments made in the Constitution of this Commonwealth, and in order to carry the same into complete operation, it is hereby declared and ordained:

SECTION 1. That all the laws of this Commonwealth, in force at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, and not inconsistent therewith, and all rights, actions, prosecutions, claims, and contracts, as well of individuals as of bodies-corporate, shall continue as if this Constitution had not been adopted.

SEC. 2. The oaths of office herein directed to be taken, may be administered by any Judge or Justice of the Peace, until the general assembly shall otherwise direct.

SEC. 3. No office shall be superseded by the adoption of this Constitution, but the laws of the State relative to the duties of the several officers, legislative, executive, judicial, and military, shall remain in full force, though the same be contrary to this Constitution, and the several duties shall be performed by the respective officers of the State, according to the existing laws, until the organization of the government, as provided for under this Constitution, and the entering into office of the officers to be elected or appointed under said government, and no longer.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly which shall convene in the year 1850, to make an apportionment of the representation of this State, upon the principles set forth in this Constitution; and until the first apportionment shall be made as herein directed, the apportionment of Senators and Representatives among the several districts and counties in this State shall remain as at present fixed by law: *Provided*, That on the first Monday in August, 1850, all Senators shall go out of office, and on that day an election for Senators and Representatives shall be held throughout the State, and those then elected shall hold their offices for one year, and no longer: *Provided further*, that at the elections to be held in the year 1850, that provision in this Constitution which requires voters to vote in the precinct within which they reside, shall not apply.

SEC. 5. All recognizances heretofore taken, or which may be taken before the organization of the judicial department under this Constitution, shall remain as valid as though this Constitution had not been adopted, and may be prosecuted in the name of the Commonwealth. All criminal prosecutions and penal actions which have arisen or may arise, before the reorganization of the judicial department under this Constitution, may be prosecuted to judgment and execution in the name of the Commonwealth.

We, the Representatives of the freemen of Kentucky, in convention assembled, in their name, and by the authority of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and in virtue of the powers vested in us, as delegates from the counties respectively affixed to our names, do ordain and proclaim the foregoing to be the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Kentucky from and after this day.

Done at Frankfort this eleventh day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred and fifty, and in the fifty-ninth year of the Commonwealth.

JAMES GUTHRIE, *President.*

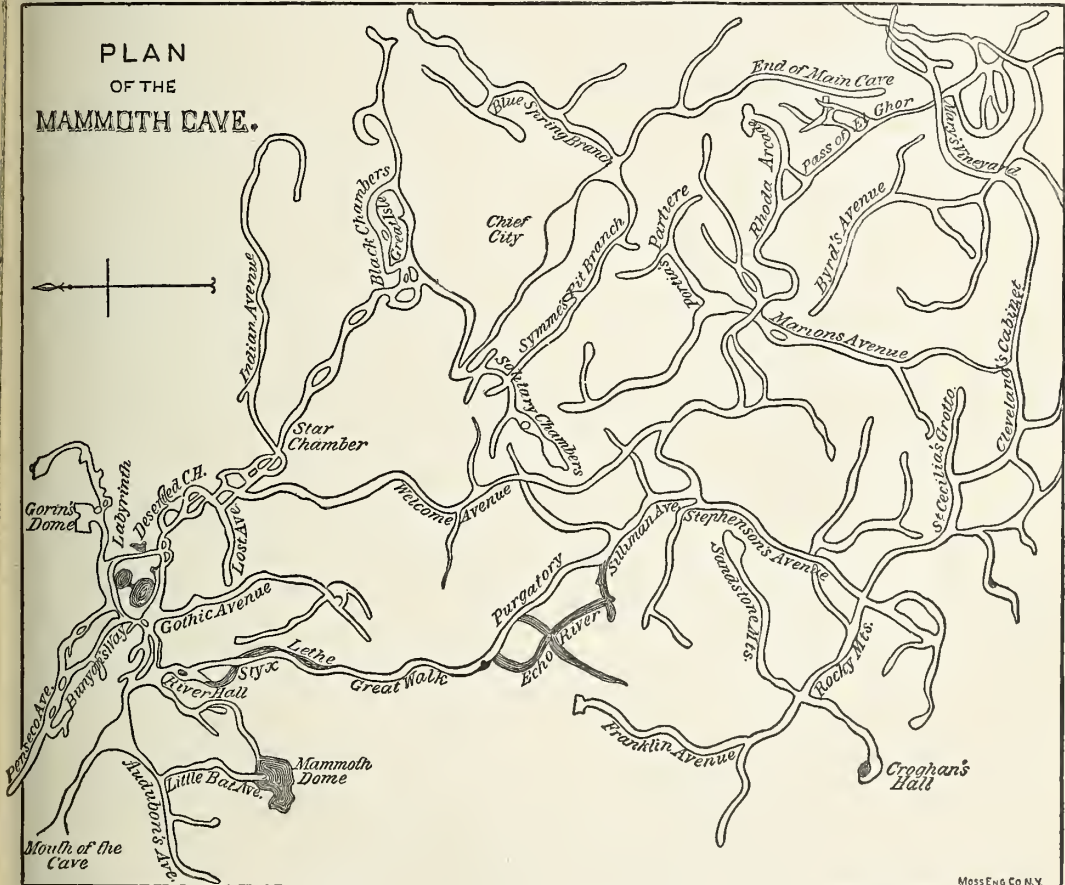
THO. S. HELM, *Secretary,*

THO. D. TILFORD, *Assistant Secretary.*

feet above the sea. This aperture is not the original mouth, the latter being a chasm a quarter of a mile north of it, and leading into what is known as Dixon's Cave. The two portions are not now connected, though persons in one can make themselves heard by those in the other. Saltpetre was formerly made from the nitrous earth, in which the cave abounded, but it is now mainly turned to account as a place of exhibition.

The cavernous limestone of Kentucky covers an area of 8,000 square miles, is massive and homogeneous, and belongs to the subcarboniferous period. It shows few traces of dynamic disturbance, but has been carved since the Miocene epoch into many caverns, of which the Mammoth Cave is the noblest specimen known. The region is undulating, but its valleys are mostly funnel-shaped depressions, emptying through fissures into subterranean streams, which feed rivers, often of navigable size, and whose waters are never frozen over, even in severe winters. Such valleys are called sink-holes.

The natural arch that admits one to the Mammoth Cave has a span of seventy feet, and from a ledge above it a cascade leaps fifty feet to the rocks below, where it disappears. A winding flight of stone steps leads the way down to a narrow pas-



NOTE 32, PAGE 542.

The Mammoth Cave in Edmonson County, Ky., by rail eighty-five miles south-southwest of Louisville, was discovered in 1809 by a hunter named Hutchins, while in pursuit of a wounded bear. Its mouth is in a forest ravine, 194 feet above Green River, and 600

sage, through which the air rushes with violence, outward in summer and inward in winter. The temperature of the cave is uniformly 54° Fahrenheit throughout the year, and the atmosphere is both chemically and optically of singular purity. While the lower levels are moist from the large pools that have secret connection with Green River, the



upper galleries are extremely dry. These conditions led, at one time, to the erection of thirteen cottages, at a point about a mile under ground, for the use of invalids, especially consumptives. The experiment ended in failure, and only two cottages now remain.

The main cave, from forty to 300 feet wide, and from thirty-five to 125 feet high, has several vast rooms, *e. g.*, the Rotunda, where are the ruins of the old saltpetre works; the Star Chamber, where the protrusion of white crystals through a coating of the black oxide of manganese, creates an optical illusion of great beauty; the Chief City, where an area of two acres is covered by a vault 125 feet high, and the floor is strewn with rocky fragments, among which are found numerous half-burnt torches made of canes, and other signs of prehistoric occupancy. Two skeletons were exhumed near the Rotunda, but no other bones have been found. The so-called Mammoth Cave "mummies" (*i. e.*, bodies kept by being inhumed in nitrous earth), with accompanying utensils, ornaments, braided sandals, and other relics were found in Short and Salt Caves near by, and removed to Mammoth Cave for exhibition. The main cave, which abruptly ends four miles from the entrance, is joined by winding passages, with spacious galleries on different levels, and although the diameter of the area of the whole cavern is less than ten miles, the combined length of all accessible avenues is supposed to be about 150 miles.\*

The chief points of interest are ranged along two lines of exploration, beside which there are certain side excursions. The "short route" requires about four hours, and the "long route" nine. Audubon's Avenue, the one nearest the entrance, is seldom visited except by the bats that hang from the walls in clusters like swarms of bees. The Gothic Avenue contains numerous large stalactites and stalagmites, and an interesting place called the Chapel, and ends in a small double dome and cascade. Among the most surprising features of cave scenery are the vertical shafts that pierce through all levels, from the uppermost galleries, or even from the sink-holes, down to the lowest floor. These are styled pits or domes according to the position occupied by the observer. A crevice behind a block of stone, forty feet long by twenty wide, called the Giant's Coffin, admits the explorer to a place where six pits, varying in depth from 65 to 220 feet, exist in an area of 600 yards. This includes Gorin's Dome, which is viewed from a point midway in its side, and is by many regarded as the finest room in the cavern. Others admire more the Mammoth Dome, at the termination of Spark's Avenue, where a cataract falls from a height of 250 feet amid walls wonderfully draped with stalactitic tapestry. The Egyptian Temple, which is a continuation of the Mammoth Dome, contains six massive columns, two of them quite perfect, and eighty feet high and twenty-five feet in diameter. The combined length of these contiguous chambers is 400 feet. By a crevice above, they are connected with an arm of Audubon's Avenue. Lucy's Dome, about 300 feet high, is supposed to be the loftiest of all these vertical shafts. A pit, called the "Maelstrom," in Croghan's Hall, is the spot most remote from the mouth of the cave. A son of Prentice, the poet, permitted himself to be lowered 190 feet by a rope to the bottom in 1859. There are some fine stalactites near this pit, and others in the Fairy Grotto and in Pensico Avenue, but considering the magnitude of Mammoth Cave, its poverty of stalactitic

ornamentation is remarkable. The wealth of crystals is, however, surprising. These are of endless variety and fantastic beauty. Beside the sparkling vault of the Star Chamber (300 feet long and 8 feet high), there are halls canopied by fleecy cloud or studded with mimic snowballs, and others displaying various grotesque resemblances on the wall and ceiling.

Cleveland's Cabinet and Marion's Avenue, each a mile long, are adorned by myriads of gypsum rosettes and curiously twisted crystals called "oulopholites." These cave flowers are unfolded by pressure as if a sheaf were forced through a tight binding, and the crystal fibres curl outward from the center of the group. Thus spotless arches of fifty feet span are embellished by floral clusters and garlands, hiding nearly every foot of grey limestone. The botryoidal formations, hanging by thousands in Mary's Vineyard, resemble mimic clusters of grapes, as the oulopholites resemble roses. Again, there are chambers with drifts of snowy crystals of the sulphate of magnesia, the ceilings so thickly covered with their efflorescence that a loud concussion of the air will cause them to fall like the flakes of a snow storm.

Many small rooms and tortuous paths, where nothing of special interest can be found, are avoided as much as possible on the regular routes; but certain disagreeable experiences are inevitable. There is a peril also in the vicinity of the deep pits. The one known as the Bottomless Pit was for many years a barrier to all further exploration, but is now crossed by a wooden bridge. Long before the shaft had been cut as deep as now, the water flowed away by a channel gradually contracting to a serpentine way, so extremely narrow as to be called the Fat Man's Misery. The walls, only eighteen inches apart, change direction eight times in 105 yards, while the distance from the sandy path to the ledge overhead is but five feet. The rocky sides are finely marked with waves and ripples, as if running water had suddenly been petrified. This winding way conducts one to River Hall, beyond which lie the crystalline gardens that have been described. It used to be said that if this narrow passage were blocked up, escape would be impossible; but lately an intricate web of fissures, called the Corkscrew, has been discovered, by means of which a good climber, ascending only a few hundred feet, lands 1,000 yards from the mouth of the cave, and cuts off one or two miles.

The waters entering through numerous domes and pits, and falling, during the rainy season, in cascades of great volume, are finally collected at River Hall, where they form several extensive lakes or rivers, whose connection with Green River is known to be in two deep springs, appearing under arches on its margin. Whenever there is a freshet in Green River the streams in the cave are joined in a continuous body of water, the rise being sometimes sixty feet above the low water mark. The subsidence within is less rapid than the rise; and the streams are impassable for about seven months in each year. They are navigable from May to October, and furnish interesting features of cave scenery. The first approached is called the Dead Sea, embraced by cliffs sixty feet high and 100 feet long, above which a path has been made, whence a stairway conducts us down to the banks of the River Styx, a body of water forty feet wide and 400 feet long, crossed by a natural bridge. Lake Lethe comes next, a broad basin, enclosed by walls ninety feet high, below which a narrow path leads to a pontoon at the neck of the lake. A beach of the finest yellow sand extends for 500 yards to Echo River, the largest of all, being from twenty to 200 feet wide, ten to forty feet deep, and about three

\*The present manager, Mr. F. Klett, has undertaken the difficult task of a thorough survey, the results of which, so far as completed, are presented on the accompanying map. The portion beyond River Hall is supplemented by an older survey by Stephen, the guide.

quarters of a mile long. It is crossed by boats. The arched passage-way is very symmetrical, varying in height from ten to thirty-five feet, and famous for its musical reverberations,—not a distinct echo, but an harmonious prolongation of sound for from ten to thirty seconds after the original tone is produced. The long vault has a certain key-note of its own, which, when firmly struck, excites harmonies, including tones of incredible depth and sweetness.

The fauna of Mammoth Cave has been classed by Putman, Packard and Cope, who have catalogued twenty-eight species truly subterranean, besides those that may be considered as stragglers from the surface. They are distributed thus: Vertebrata, 4 species; insects, 11, arachnida, 6; myriapoda, 2; crustacea, 2; vermer, 3. Ehrenberg adds a list of 8 polygastric infusoria, 1 fossil infusorian, 5 phytolitharia, and several microscopic fungi. A bed of *Agaricus* was found by the writer near the River Styx; and upon this hint an attempt has been made to propagate edible fungi in this locality. The most interesting inhabitants of the Mammoth Cave

are the blind, wingless grasshoppers, with extremely long antennæ; blind, colorless crayfish (*cambarus pellucidus, telk*); and the blind fish (*amblyopsis spelæus*), colorless and viviparous, from one inch to six inches long. The *cambarus* and *amblyopsis* have wide distinction, being found in many other caves, and also in deep wells in Kentucky and Indiana. Fish not blind are occasionally caught, which are apparently identical with species existing in streams outside. The true subterranean fauna may be regarded as chiefly of pleistocene origin; yet certain forms are possibly remnants of tertiary life. The strongly marked divergence of these animals from those found outside, convinced the elder Agassiz that they were especially created for the limits in which they dwell. But the opinion now held is that they are modified from allied species existing in the sunlight, and that their peculiarities may all be accounted for on principles of evolution, the process being accelerated (or retarded) by their migration from the outer world to a realm of absolute silence and perpetual darkness.—*Rev. H. C. Hovey, in the Encyclopedia Britannica.*



## APPENDIX B.

## UNITED STATES ARMY.

*Alphabetical List of General and Staff Officers from Kentucky, Appointed and Commissioned by the President.\**

- Anderson, Robert, Brig.-Gen., May 15, 1861; Bvt. Maj.-Gen., Feb. 9, 1865.  
 Adams, Geo. M., Capt. and Com. Sub., Aug. 17, 1861; resigned Dec. 23, 1862.  
 Alexander, Jas. B., Capt. and Com. Sub., Sept. 23, 1861; since vacated.  
 Allen, Chas. J. F., Maj. and Paymaster, July 16, 1862; honorably mustered out Nov. 15, 1865.  
 Ambrose, M. J. W., Hospital Chap., Sept. 23, 1863; expired by constitutional limitation.  
 Adams, Geo. M., Maj. and Paymaster, May 28, 1864; resigned May 19, 1865.  
 Artsman, Gus., Capt. and Ass't Q. M., Sept. 13, 1864.  
 Boyle, Jeremiah T., Brig.-Gen., Nov. 9, 1861; resigned Jan. 26, 1864.  
 Bradford, J. T., Maj. and Surg., Apr. 4, 1862; discharged Feb. 19, 1863.  
 Burbridge, Stephen G., Brig.-Gen., June 9, 1862; brevetted Maj.-Gen. July 4, 1864; resigned Dec. 1, 1865.  
 Buford, Louis M., Maj. and Aid-de-Camp, Mar. 11, 1863; resigned Dec. 17, 1864.  
 Boyd, Joseph F., Capt. and Ass't Q. M., Mar. 4, 1863; brevetted Brig.-Gen.; honorably mustered out March 13, 1866.  
 Bramlette, Thomas E., Brig.-Gen., Apr. 24, 1863; declined accepting.  
 Badger, Norman, Hospital Chap., June 30, 1864; honorably mustered out Sept. 23, 1865.  
 Butler, John S., Capt. and Ass't Adj.-Gen., Dec. 5, 1863; honorably mustered out June 14, 1865.  
 Brooks, D. A., Capt. and Com. Sub. May 18, 1864; declined accepting.  
 Bruch, Samuel, Capt. and Ass't Q. M., Aug. 8, 1862; died March 31, 1865, at Memphis, Tenn.  
 Boone, J. Rowan, Bvt. Col., Mar. 13, 1865; was Lieut.-Col. Twenty-eighth Kentucky Veteran Infantry.  
 Crittenden, Thomas L., Maj.-Gen., July 17, 1862; was Brig.-Gen. from Sept. 27, 1861, to July 17, 1862; resigned Dec. 13, 1864.  
 Clay, Henry, Capt. and Ass't Adj.-Gen., Oct. 15, 1861; died June 5, 1862, at Louisville, Ky.  
 Clay, Cassius M., Maj.-Gen., Apr. 11, 1862; resigned Mar. 11, 1863.  
 Cloak, Burkitt, Maj. and Surg., June 9, 1862; brevetted Lieut.-Col.; honorably mustered out Nov. 22, 1865.  
 Curtis, Albert A., Capt. and Ass't Q. M., Nov. 26, 1862; resigned Apr. 21, 1864.  
 Cramer, Michael J., Hospital Chap., June 30, 1864; honorably mustered out June 29, 1865.  
 Croxton, John T., Brig.-Gen., July 30, 1864; brevetted Maj.-Gen.; resigned Dec. 26, 1865.  
 Clark, James T., Capt. and Ass't Q. M., Dec. 2, 1863; honorably mustered out Mar. 13, 1866.  
 Campbell, John B., Capt. and Ass't Q. M., May 7, 1864; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out June 20, 1866.  
 Chevalier, Arthur H., Capt. and Com. Sub., May 18, 1864; honorably mustered out Feb. 2, 1866.  
 Cook, Milton J., Capt. and Com. Sub., Feb. 21, 1865; honorably mustered out June 15, 1865.  
 Dobyns, Geo. H., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., Feb. 29, 1864; honorably mustered out Jan. 8, 1866.  
 Dunlap, H. C., Bvt. Brig.-Gen., Mar. 13, 1865; was Col. Third Kentucky Infantry.  
 Edwards, Z. C., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., Sept. 18, 1861.  
 Ernest, Wm. D., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., Nov. 26, 1862; dismissed March 25, 1865.  
 Fry, John, Capt. and Com. Sub., Oct. 31, 1861; brevetted Maj. Mar. 13, 1865; honorably mustered out Feb. 2, 1866.  
 Fry, Speed S., Brig.-Gen., Mar. 21, 1862; honorably mustered out Aug. 24, 1865.  
 Fullerton, Wm. G., Maj. and Paymaster, Nov. 26, 1862; resigned April 1, 1865.  
 Goldsmith, M., Maj. and Surg., Oct. 30, 1861; brevetted Lieut.-Col.; honorably mustered out Jan. 18, 1866.  
 Garrard, Theophilus T., Brig.-Gen., Nov. 29, 1862; honorably mustered out Apr. 4, 1864.  
 Goodloe, Wm. C., Capt. and Asst. Adj.-Gen., June 1, 1863; resigned Jan. 31, 1864.  
 Gordon, Wm. A., Asst. Surg., Nov. 25, 1864; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out Nov. 22, 1865.  
 Huber, J. F., Capt. and Com. Sub., Oct. 25, 1861; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out Oct. 12, 1865.  
 Hatchitt, James G., Maj. and Surg., Apr. 4, 1862; brevetted Lieut.-Col.; honorably mustered out Dec. 8, 1865.  
 Hopkins, Orlando J., Capt. and Com. Sub., July 17, 1862; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out May 31, 1866.  
 Hall, Gustavus A., Military Storekeeper, July 21, 1862.  
 Hobson, Edward H., Brig.-Gen., Nov. 29, 1862; honorably mustered out Aug. 24, 1865.  
 Hoffman, Joel E., Capt. and Asst. Adj.-Gen., July 21, 1863; resigned May 19, 1864.  
 Hayes, Job. J., Capt. and Com. Sub., Sept. 4, 1863; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out July 15, 1865.  
 Hawthorn, Leroy R., Capt. and Com. Sub., Apr. 7, 1864; honorably mustered out Jan. 27, 1866.  
 Henry, Thos. H., Asst. Surg., June 30, 1864.  
 Hunter, Hiram A., Hospital Chaplain, Sept. 28, 1864; honorably mustered out Oct. 12, 1865.  
 Holloway, Geo. A., Capt. and Asst. Adj.-Gen., ———; resigned Dec. 27, 1864.  
 Hollingsworth, C. P., Bvt. Capt., March 13, 1865.  
 Holloway, William, Maj. and Paymaster, Feb. 19, 1863; honorably mustered out Nov. 15, 1865.  
 Jones, Stephen E., Capt. and Aide-de-Camp, July 9, 1862; resigned Mar. 13, 1865.  
 Jackson, James S., Brig.-Gen., July 16, 1862; killed Oct. 8, 1862, at battle of Perryville, Ky.  
 Johnson, J. H., Capt. and Com. Sub., Oct. 22, 1862; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out Dec. 8, 1865.

\*From the report of the Adjutant-General of Kentucky, from 1861-65.

- Johnson, Richard W., Brig.-Gen., Oct. 11, 1861; brevetted Maj.-Gen. Dec. 16, 1864; honorably mustered out Jan. 15, 1866.
- Keenon, John G., Maj. and Surg., Oct. 9, 1861; died Aug. 12, 1864, at Memphis, Tenn.
- Keefe, H. G., Asst. Surg., June 30, 1864; brevetted Maj. Mar. 13, 1865; honorably mustered out Jan. 27, 1866.
- Kniffin, G. C., Capt. and Com. Sub., Aug. 20, 1861; Lieut.-Col. and Chief C. S. Twenty-first Army Corps, Jan. 20, 1861; honorably mustered out July 19, 1865.
- Letcher, Saml. M., Bvt. Col., July 25, 1865; was Major of Twelfth Kentucky Infantry.
- Long, Eli, Brig.-Gen., Aug. 18, 1864; brevetted Maj.-Gen. Mar. 13, 1865; honorably mustered out Jan. 15, 1866.
- Mackenzie, J. M., Capt. and Com. Sub., Oct. 31, 1864; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out Aug. 31, 1865.
- McMillan, Thos., Asst. Surg., Aug. 19, 1862; brevetted Maj. Mar. 13, 1865.
- McDowell, H. C., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., Nov. 19, 1861; resigned Aug. 27, 1862.
- McDowell, Wm. P., Maj. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., Mar. 11, 1863; resigned Dec. 9, 1863.
- McKenzie, Alex., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., Jan. 27, 1865; honorably mustered out Aug. 15, 1865.
- Murray, Eli H., Bvt. Brig.-Gen., Mar. 25, 1865; was Col. Third Kentucky Veteran Cavalry.
- Monroe, Geo. W., Bvt. Brig.-Gen., Mar. 13, 1865; was Col. Seventh Kentucky Veteran Infantry.
- Milward, H. K., Bvt. Col., Mar. 13, 1865; was Lieut.-Col. Eighteenth Kentucky Veteran Infantry.
- Nelson, Wm., Maj.-Gen., July 7, 1862; was Brig.-Gen. from Sept. 16, 1861; died Sept. 29, 1862, at Louisville, Ky.
- Neal, Wm. L., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., May 18, 1864; honorably mustered out July 28, 1865.
- Nelson, Abial W., Asst. Surgeon, Dec. 13, 1864.
- Oldershaw, Percival P., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., Aug. 26, 1862; resigned Nov. 6, 1863.
- Platt, Benjamin M., Maj. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., May 16, 1862; honorably mustered out Nov. 22, 1865.
- Peay, J. Speed, Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., July 15, 1862; resigned May 2, 1863.
- Paul, Augustus C., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., June 1, 1863; appointed Second Lieut. Twelfth U. S. Infantry, May 11, 1866.
- Purnell, Thomas P., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., May 8, 1863; honorably mustered out March 20, 1866.
- Rousseau, Lovell H., Maj.-Gen., Oct. 8, 1862; was Brig.-Gen. from Oct. 1, 1861; resigned Nov. 30, 1865.
- Speed, Philip, Maj. and Paymaster, Sept. 11, 1861; resigned Dec. 23, 1862.
- Starling, Lyne, Maj. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., Aug. 13, 1862; was Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen. from Oct. 10, 1861; resigned Jan. 20, 1864.
- Sinton, T. R., Capt. and Com. Sub., Sept. 23, 1861; resigned Oct. 10, 1862.
- Spillman, G. F., Capt. and Com. Sub., May 12, 1862; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out July 19, 1865.
- Smith, Green Clay, Brig.-Gen., June 11, 1862; resigned Dec. 1, 1863.
- Semple, Alexander C., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., Sept. 29, 1862; resigned March 18, 1864.
- Shaekleford, James M., Brig.-Gen., Jan. 2, 1863; resigned Jan. 18, 1864.
- Speed, John, Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., March 11, 1863; vacated by appointment as additional Paymaster March 22, 1865.
- Smith, Rodney, Maj. and Paymaster, Feb. 23, 1864.
- Sanders, Wm. P., Brig.-Gen., Oct. 18, 1863; died Nov. 19, 1863, of wounds received in action at Knoxville, Tenn.
- Starks, Wm. M., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., May 18, 1864; canceled.
- Speed, John, Maj. and Paymaster, March 22, 1865; resigned May 19, 1865.
- Speer, Alexander M., Asst. Surgeon, Feb. 19, 1863; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out Oct. 7, 1865.
- Stout, Alexander M., Bvt. Brig.-Gen., March 13, 1865; was Col. Seventeenth Kentucky Infantry.
- Terrell, Wm. G., Maj. and Paymaster, Aug. 31, 1861; brevetted Lieut.-Col.; honorably mustered out Dec. 1, 1865.
- Thustin, L. T., Maj. and Paymaster, Sept. 11, 1861; brevetted Lieut.-Col.; honorably mustered out April 30, 1866.
- Terrell, C. M., Maj. and Paymaster, June 30, 1862.
- Terry, Josiah M., Capt. and Com. Sub., Nov. 26, 1862.
- Tevis, Joshua, Capt. and Com. Sub., Nov. 26, 1862; canceled.
- Tarboll, Doctor, Capt. and Com. Sub., Nov. 26, 1862; honorably mustered out July 27, 1865.
- Threlkeld, Wm., Maj. and Surgeon, July 9, 1863; was Asst. Surg. from April 23, 1863; brevetted Lieut.-Col.; honorably mustered out Aug. 25, 1865.
- Talbott, Wm. K., Hospital Chaplain, April 22, 1863; honorably mustered out July 15, 1865.
- Tureman, James F., Maj. and Paymaster, April 21, 1864; died Oct. 28, 1864, at Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Thorp, James C., Asst. Surg., Nov. 25, 1864; resigned April 17, 1865.
- Ward, Wm. T., Brig.-Gen., Sept. 18, 1861; brevetted Maj.-Gen. Feb. 24, 1865; honorably mustered out Aug. 24, 1865.
- Williams, J. D., Capt. and Com. Sub., Sept. 18, 1861; honorably mustered out Jan. 3, 1866.
- Waggener, Robert J., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., Oct. 8, 1861; killed in action May 28, 1864, near Dallas, Ga.
- Webster, George P., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., May 12, 1862.
- Wolfley, Wm. J., Maj. and Surgeon, May 18, 1864; was Asst. Surgeon from April 16, 1862; brevetted Lieut.-Col. June 1, 1865; honorably mustered out July 18, 1865.
- Webster, R. C., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., Sept. 30, 1861.
- Whitaker, Walter C., Brig.-Gen., June 25, 1863; brevetted Maj.-Gen. March 13, 1865; honorably mustered out Aug. 24, 1865.
- Williams, B. D., Capt. and A. D. C., March 11, 1863; honorably mustered out Nov. 11, 1865.
- Wright, John A., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., May 18, 1864; honorably mustered out Feb. 21, 1866.
- Woodson, Wm. C., Maj. and Paymaster, May 28, 1864; honorably mustered out Nov. 15, 1865.
- Watkins, Louis D., Brig.-Gen., Sept. 25, 1865; was Bvt. Brig.-Gen. from June 24, 1864; honorably mustered out April 30, 1866.
- Wolcott, Francis E., Maj. and Judge Advocate, Dec. 17, 1864; for the Army of the Ohio.
- Wood, Thomas J., Maj.-Gen., Jan. 27, 1865; was Brig.-Gen. from Oct. 11, 1861; appointed Bvt. Brig.-Gen., U. S. A., March 13, 1865.
- Young, Berry S., Maj. and Paymaster, April 21, 1864; resigned Feb. 24, 1865.



## INFANTRY—FIRST REGIMENT.

James V. Guthrie, colonel; resigned Dec. 21, 1861.  
David A. Enyart, colonel; lieutenant-colonel, from muster-in to January 22, 1862.

Bart G. Leiper, lieutenant-colonel; major from muster-in to Jan. 22, 1862.

Frank P. Cahill, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Nov. 6, 1862; resigned Aug. 17, 1863.

Alva R. Hadlock, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Sept. 1, 1863.

James W. Mitchell, major; captain Company G; promoted major Sept. 1, 1863.

James W. Conine, adjutant; transferred to Company E, Sept. 1, 1861, as 1st lieutenant.

Courtland W. King, adjutant; promoted adjutant from sergeant major Sept. 1, 1861.

John A. Wright, adjutant; appointed from civil life Jan. 22, 1862.

Franklin W. Fee, regimental quartermaster.

Samuel G. Menzies, surgeon.

William L. White, assistant surgeon; resigned Jan. 22, 1862.

John Dickerson, assistant surgeon; promoted from hospital steward Jan. 22, 1862.

## COMPANY A.

Joseph T. Wheeler, captain; Samuel L. Christie, captain; Charles F. Groves, captain; John Jackson, 1st lieutenant; Legrand LaBoiteaux, 1st lieutenant; Theodore Harrol, 2d lieutenant; Byron R. Underhill, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Alva R. Hadlock, captain; John B. Wagener, captain; Thomas K. Fraser, 1st lieutenant; David Hammond, 1st lieutenant; George W. Henson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Ralph Hunt, captain; Frank W. Fee, 1st lieutenant; John A. Snediker, 1st lieutenant; John F. Lamme, 2d lieutenant; John B. Guthrie, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

David Y. Johns, captain; Samuel Barr, Jr., captain; David J. Jones, captain; Patrick J. Brown, 1st lieutenant; James Farran, 2d lieutenant; John D. Kautz, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

was detached as Artillery early in 1861.

## COMPANY F.

Jesse J. Stepleton, captain; David M. Dryden, captain; Thomas Cox, Jr., captain; Albert H. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Joseph B. Sockwell, 1st lieutenant; James G. Lawrence, 2d lieutenant; Joseph M. Leiper, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

James W. Mitchell, captain; Edward S. Atkinson, captain; John W. Gorin, 1st lieutenant; Joseph M. Leiper, 1st lieutenant; George Hunter, 1st lieutenant; John C. Hyland, 1st lieutenant; Gilbert Ely, 2d lieutenant; James C. Cozine, 2d lieutenant; Samuel M. Starling, 2d lieutenant; H. W. Benton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Frank Cahill, captain; James T. Williamson, captain; John F. Lamme, captain; Samuel L. Christie, 1st lieutenant; C. F. W. Tahrenhorst, 1st lieutenant; William H. Lyons, 2d lieutenant; Louis H. Hocke, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Thomas Cox, Jr., captain; Andrew J. Hagan,

captain; Courtland W. King, 1st lieutenant; William R. McChesney, 1st lieutenant; William James McKee, 1st lieutenant; Leonidas L. Tittle, 2d lieutenant; James Farran, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

John Becker, captain; Jacob Theis, 1st lieutenant; Samuel B. Lowenstein, 1st lieutenant; George Homung, 1st lieutenant; Frederick Wolf, 2d lieutenant; Alexander Tilley, 2d lieutenant.

This regiment was organized at Camp Clay, Ohio, in June, 1861, under Col. James V. Guthrie, and was mustered into the United States service on the 4th day of June, 1861, by Maj. S. Burbank, 1st United States Infantry. After organization it was ordered to the Department of West Virginia, where it performed much valuable service in the early engagements of the war.

## INFANTRY—SECOND REGIMENT.

William E. Woodruff, colonel; taken prisoner at battle of Scury Creek, Va., July 17, 1861.

Thomas D. Sedgewick, colonel; promoted from major to colonel, Jan. 25, 1862.

George W. Neff, lieutenant-colonel; taken prisoner July 17, 1861, at battle of Scury Creek, Va.

Warner Spencer, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Jan. 25, 1862.

John R. Hurd, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Jan. 13, 1863.

Oliver L. Baldwin, major; promoted to colonel Fifth Kentucky Cavalry Jan. 1, 1864.

Fernando Cook, major; promoted from captain, Company E, to major March 9, 1864.

Henry Wimedell, adjutant; assigned to Company A as 1st lieutenant Jan. 1, 1864.

Thomas N. Davis, adjutant; appointed adjutant Jan. 1, 1864.

Gilbert H. Clemens, regimental quartermaster; appointed regimental quartermaster June 12, 1861.

Joseph M. Blundell, regimental quartermaster; appointed regimental quartermaster Sept. 16, 1861.

James W. Poe, regimental quartermaster; appointed regimental quartermaster April 13, 1863.

John F. White, surgeon; resigned Jan. 20, 1862.

David J. Griffiths, surgeon; appointed surgeon Feb. 6, 1862.

Stephen P. Bonner, ass't surgeon; resigned Feb. 12, 1862.

Lawrence Russell, ass't surgeon; resigned May 7, 1862.

James E. Cox, ass't surgeon; resigned Dec. 6, 1863.

William L. Reed, ass't surgeon; promoted from hospital steward to ass't surgeon Dec. 12, 1862.

Frederick Rectanus, ass't surgeon; appointed ass't surgeon March 2, 1864.

## COMPANY A.

Alfred J. M. Browne, captain; Henry B. Martin, captain; Joseph M. Blundell, 1st lieutenant; Thomas N. Davis, 1st lieutenant; Henry Wimedell, 1st lieutenant; George Taylor, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Thomas D. Sedgewick, captain; George Austin, captain; Oliver L. Baldwin, captain; Seth W. Tuley, captain; Archibald McLellan, 1st lieutenant; William Brannin, 1st lieutenant; William P. Bell, 1st lieutenant; George R. McFadden, 1st lieutenant; Gideon V. Vandyke, 2d lieutenant; Sidmund Huber, 2d lieutenant; Orlando C. Bryant, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

John H. Spellmeyer, captain; Anthony Lauman, captain; Francis Miller, 1st lieutenant; William

Pettibone, 1st lieutenant; James E. Stewart, 2d lieutenant; William Miller, 2d lieutenant; John H. Albers, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Warner Speneer, captain; Joseph W. Miller, captain; Lemach Duvall, captain; William B. Folger, 1st lieutenant; Calvin W. Brown, 1st lieutenant; Daniel W. Finch, 2d lieutenant; John Milton Blair, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Flamen Ball, captain; George W. Dasher, captain; Ferdinand Cook, captain; Charles W. Karr, captain; Frederick E. Roelofson, 1st lieutenant; Seth W. Tuley, 1st lieutenant; Edward B. Kirman, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

John R. Hurd, captain; Jacob H. Smith, captain; J. M. Blair, captain; Jesse C. Hurd, 1st lieutenant; Cyrenus J. Coe, 1st lieutenant; James A. Miller, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

James M. Bodine, captain; John D. Parkhurst, captain; David McK. Ong, 1st lieutenant; Joseph C. Bonteeon, 1st lieutenant; Hiram D. Bodine, 1st lieutenant; William Bell, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

James E. Stacy, captain; John H. Archdeacon, captain; William H. Taylor, 1st lieutenant; George W. Dasher, 1st lieutenant; John D. Parkhurst, 1st lieutenant; William R. McChesney, 2d lieutenant; Delos Alden, 2d lieutenant; Thomas J. Elliott, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Joseph Whittlesey, captain; Henry Gross, captain; Jesse C. Hurd, captain; Atherton Thayer, 1st lieutenant; George Potter, 1st lieutenant; Herman Alms, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

John F. Wisniewski, captain; Louis Steubing, captain; George Beinert, 1st lieutenant; Theodore Leiser, 1st lieutenant; Herman Horst, 2d lieutenant; Oscar Mitchel, 2d lieutenant.

The Second Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Infantry was organized at Camp Clay, Ohio, under Col. William E. Woodruff, and was mustered into the United States service on the 13th day of June, 1861, by Maj. Burbank, United States mustering officer.

## INFANTRY—THIRD REGIMENT.

Thomas E. Bramlette, colonel; resigned July 13, 1862, at Decherd, Tenn.

William T. Scott, colonel; promoted colonel July 13, 1862.

Samuel McKee, colonel; promoted colonel Dec. 7, 1862.

William H. Spencer, colonel, promoted colonel Dec. 7, 1862.

Henry C. Dunlap, colonel; promoted from captain, Company A.

Daniel R. Collier, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Dec. 7, 1862.

William A. Bullitt, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel April 19, 1863.

Charles H. Buford, major; resigned May 2d, 1862. John Brennan, major; wounded at Kenesaw, Ga., June 27, 1864.

Garvin D. Hunt, adjutant; died Nov. 30, 1863, of wounds received at Mission Ridge.

Henry Porter, adjutant; promoted from 1st lieutenant, Company C, April 5, 1864.

Benj. F. Wayne, regimental quartermaster; resigned May 1, 1862.

Thomas M. Selby, Jr., regimental quartermaster; resigned Sept. 15, 1862.

Richard J. West, regimental quartermaster; promoted from private 5th Kentucky Infantry.

Hector Owens, surgeon; resigned Jan. 22, 1863. Joseph Foreman, surgeon; resigned Sept. 9, 1863.

John B. Burns, surgeon.

James G. Turk, asst. surgeon; resigned Aug. 5, 1862.

Samuel K. Rhorer, asst. surgeon; promoted from hospital steward.

James R. Scott, asst. surgeon.

Richard H. Gray, chaplain; resigned April 13, 1862, at Shiloh, Tenn.

Jacob Cooper, chaplain; resigned Sept. 30, 1863, at Nashville, Tenn.

## COMPANY A.

Samuel McKee, captain; Henry C. Dunlap, captain; Benjamin F. Powell, captain; Wm. T. Epperson, 1st lieutenant; Alban D. Bradshaw, 1st lieutenant; Joseph Russell, 1st lieutenant; Abram P. Brown, 2d lieutenant; Norman R. Christie, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Augustine Dunn, captain; Daniel R. Collier, captain; William J. Hogan, captain; William H. Barnett, captain; Uriah T. Merritt, 1st lieutenant; Peter Haldeman, 1st lieutenant; Morton Scott, 2d lieutenant; Samuel Newton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

D. H. Denton, captain; Lucien H. Ralston, captain; John L. Logan, captain; Henry Porter, 1st lieutenant; Sidney F. Collins, 1st lieutenant; Tyrey Turpin, 2d lieutenant; Monroe Floyd, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. Barnett, 2d lieutenant; John W. Warren, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

John C. Bolin, captain; John L. Gilmore, captain; Reuben B. Dunbar, 1st lieutenant; Mathew Cullen, 1st lieutenant; Wm. H. Barnett, 1st lieutenant; Christopher C. Gossett, 2d lieutenant; Robert Gilmore, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

James A. Rosseau, captain; Austin M. Burbank, captain; James M. Bristow, captain; George R. Preece, 1st lieutenant; William B. Skaggs, 1st lieutenant; Christopher T. Grinstead, 1st lieutenant; McHaley Yates, 1st lieutenant; James D. Salmons, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Harbert King, captain; John Brennan, captain; Joseph J. Carson, captain; James M. Gooch, captain; Albert F. Hoaraine, 1st lieutenant; Daniel Severence, 1st lieutenant; Samuel D. Powel, 1st lieutenant; James H. Bridgewater, 2d lieutenant; Nathaniel D. Wilmot, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Isham Bolin, captain; Wm. T. Jackman, captain; John W. Tuttle, captain; Benjamin J. Bolin, 1st lieutenant; James L. Hardin, 1st lieutenant; John Akers, 1st lieutenant; John C. Bolin, 2d lieutenant; James T. Bramlette, 2d lieutenant; Barnett C. Young, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Henry S. Taylor, captain; William H. Hudson, captain; John W. Tuttle, 1st lieutenant; James M. Bristow, 1st lieutenant; Harrison B. Carter, 1st lieutenant; William L. Bramlette, 2d lieutenant.



## COMPANY I.

Milton Frazer, captain; John S. S. Maret, captain; Norman R. Christie, captain; John L. Gilmore, 1st lieutenant; Joseph J. Carson, 1st lieutenant; William D. Murrain, 1st lieutenant; George W. Roberts, 2d lieutenant; Solon D. Moore, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

James T. W. Barnett, captain; John Roberts, captain; George W. Roberts, captain; Wm. R. Buford, 1st lieutenant; George McClure, 1st lieutenant; John H. Black, 2d lieutenant; Robert L. Traey, 2d lieutenant; Spencer B. Hughes, 2d lieutenant.

The Third Regiment, Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, was organized at Camp Dick Robinson, under Col. Thomas E. Bramlette, and mustered into the United States service on the 8th day of October, 1861, by Gen. George H. Thomas. The regiment was one of the first to respond to the call of the government for troops to guard munitions of war to the Unionists of east Tennessee.

## INFANTRY—FOURTH REGIMENT.

Speed S. Fry, colonel; promoted to brigadier-general March 21, 1862.

John T. Croxton, colonel; promoted brigadier-general Aug. 16, 1864.

Robert M. Kelly, colonel; promoted colonel Aug. 25, 1864.

P. Burgess Hunt, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel March 23, 1862.

Josephus H. Tompkins, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Aug. 25, 1864.

Joshua W. Jacobs, major; promoted major June 7, 1865.

William Goodloe, adjutant; resigned Nov. 6, 1862.

Charles V. Ray, adjutant; transferred as 1st lieutenant to Company H, Sept. 29, 1864.

Charles T. Schable, adjutant; promoted adjutant Sept. 29, 1864.

Michael B. Hope, regimental quartermaster; transferred to Company B, Aug. 16, 1863.

Minor C. Humston, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster Aug. 15, 1863.

James R. White, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster Dec. 19, 1864.

Stephen L. Burdett, surgeon.

Mathew H. Young, surgeon; promoted surgeon Oct. 24, 1864.

Harrison Phillips, asst. surgeon.

John W. Jacobs, chaplain; died at Lebanon, Ky., Jan. 20, 1862.

John R. Eades, chaplain; resigned June 4, 1863.

## COMPANY A.

Wellington Harlan, captain; William W. Sanders, captain; Joshua W. Jacobs, captain; James H. Linney, 1st lieutenant; Charles T. Schable, 1st lieutenant; Sidney M. Wiehl, 2d lieutenant; Thomas P. Young, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Peter J. Hiatt, captain; James A. Vaughan, captain; Emory R. Harrington, captain; Lewis C. Lancaster, captain; Mason C. Miller, 1st lieutenant; G. D. Hunt, 1st lieutenant; Michael B. Hope, 1st lieutenant; James M. Hall, 2d lieutenant; Henry B. Stanwood, 2d lieutenant; James M. Duke, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

John L. Williams, captain; Luther Jenkins, captain; Robert T. Williams, 1st lieutenant; Granville C. West, 1st lieutenant; George F. Rowland, 1st lieutenant; John W. Lewis, 2d lieutenant; Edward M. Anderson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

James J. Hudnall, captain; Jno. A. Roberts, captain; Nicholas M. Kelley, 1st lieutenant; Charles V. Ray, 1st lieutenant; Geo. H. Patten, 1st lieutenant; Charles T. Swope, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Geo. M. Jackson, captain; Nathaniel L. Turner, captain; James A. Moores, captain; Isaac N. Jacobs, 1st lieutenant; Archibald Moores, 1st lieutenant; James A. Moores, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

W. F. Hoch, captain; Josephus H. Tompkins, captain; Robert F. Long, captain; Merrill Hicks, 1st lieutenant; John M. Burton, 2d lieutenant; John T. Merrimee, 2d lieutenant; Luther Jenkins, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Richard L. Myers, captain; James H. West, captain; Robt. D. Cook, 1st lieutenant; Allen S. Whetstone, 1st lieutenant; Lindsey C. Duncan, 1st lieutenant; William F. Hoch, 2d lieutenant; James C. Broughton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Sylvester Rockwell, captain; Milton Graham, captain; Mathew H. Jenkins, captain; Henry P. Merrill, captain; Henry Teney, 1st lieutenant; Robert F. Long, 1st lieutenant; Charles V. Ray, 1st lieutenant; Francis M. Hardin, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

James B. Brewer, captain; Wm. B. Riggs, captain; Charles T. Swope, captain; Sidney B. Jones, 1st lieutenant; James McDermott, 1st lieutenant; Elliott Kelley, 1st lieutenant; Samuel A. Spencer, 2d lieutenant; Harvey W. Seerest, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Robt. M. Kelly, captain; James M. Givens, captain; Alfred S. Stewart, captain; Burwell S. Tucker, 1st lieutenant; Samuel S. Rich, 1st lieutenant; Robt. F. Long, 2d lieutenant; Charles T. Schable, 2d lieutenant.

The Fourth Regiment of Kentucky Volunteer Infantry was organized at Camp Dick Robinson, Ky., under Col. Speed S. Fry, mustered into the United States service on October 9, 1861, by Brig. Gen. George H. Thomas, United States mustering officer.

## INFANTRY—FIFTH REGIMENT.

Lovell H. Rousseau, colonel; promoted to brigadier-general Oct. 5, 1861.

Harvey M. Buckley, colonel; promoted colonel Oct. 5, 1861.

William W. Berry, colonel; promoted colonel Feb. 9, 1863.

John L. Treanor, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Feb. 23, 1863.

Charles L. Thomasson, major; killed at battle of Chickamauga Sept. 19, 1863.

Henry C. Dunlap, adjutant; resigned to accept commission as captain in 3d Kentucky Infantry.

Edward W. Johnstone, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Dec. 22, 1862.

Thomas C. Pomroy, regimental quartermaster; resigned June 17, 1862.

John M. Moore, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster Sept. 10, 1862.

John Matthews, surgeon; resigned Feb. 1, 1862.

Enos S. Swain, surgeon; promoted from assistant surgeon to surgeon Oct. 1, 1862.

William E. Gilpin, assistant surgeon; resigned Nov. 25, 1861.

Samuel J. F. Miller, assistant surgeon; promoted to assistant surgeon May 1, 1862.  
James H. Bristow, Chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

William Mangan, captain; Thomas Foreman, captain; James F. Cullen, captain; John M. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Henry Cassen, 1st lieutenant; John Finley, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Lafayette P. Lovett, captain; John P. Hurley, 1st lieutenant; Horatio C. McCorkhill, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. McManen, 2d lieutenant; David Jones, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Asaph H. Speed, captain; Christopher Leonard, captain; Richard Jones, 1st lieutenant; John Leaf, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

John L. Treanor, captain; William W. Rowland, captain; Theodore F. Cummings, 1st lieutenant; Joseph E. Miller, 1st lieutenant; John Baker, 1st lieutenant; Milton W. Curry, 2d lieutenant; James H. Baty, 2d lieutenant; John Ryan, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

August Schweitzer, captain; Stephen Lindenfelter, captain; Jno. C. Scheible, 1st lieutenant; Adolph Rentlinger, 2d lieutenant; Frank Dessell, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. H. Ayars, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

John E. Vansant, captain; John Lueas, captain; William H. Powell, 1st lieutenant; William Batman, 1st lieutenant; John Martz, 2d lieutenant; Terrance F. Burns, 2d lieutenant; Thomas M. Hite, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

John M. Huston, captain; Joseph E. Miller, captain; Wm. H. Powell, captain; David Q. Rousseau, 1st lieutenant; John W. Huston, 1st lieutenant; Charles Anderson, 1st lieutenant; Theodore E. Elliott, 2d lieutenant; David Thomas, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Charles L. Thomasson, captain; Norman B. Moninger, captain; George A. Albert, 1st lieutenant; Edmund B. Randolph, 2d lieutenant; Edward W. Johnson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Alexander B. Ferguson, captain; Upton Wilson, captain; William H. H. Ayars, captain; Charles J. Cook, 1st lieutenant; A. Sidney Smith, 1st lieutenant; Wilson J. Green, 2d lieutenant; Henry R. Willett, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

John D. Brent, captain; John P. Hurley, captain; Michael Zoller, captain; Geo. W. Richardson, 1st lieutenant; John D. Sheppard, 1st lieutenant; Morgan Piper, 1st lieutenant; George W. Wyatt, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifth Kentucky Infantry was organized in the summer of 1861 under Lovell H. Rousseau, as colonel, and was mustered into the United States service on the 9th day of September, 1861, at Camp Joe Holt, Ind., by W. H. Sidell, major Fifteenth United States Infantry, and mustering officer.

At the alarm of an invasion of Kentucky by Buckner, this gallant command was thrown out in defense of Louisville by General, then Col. Rousseau, and held them in check until re-enforcements arrived from Ohio and Indiana, and forever refuted the idea of a State standing in a neutral position when the integrity or unity of the nation was assailed.

## INFANTRY—SIXTH REGIMENT.

Walter C. Whitaker, colonel; promoted brigadier-general June 30, 1863.

George T. Shaekelford, colonel; promoted to colonel July 27, 1863; wounded at battle of Chickamauga.

George T. Cotton, lieutenant-colonel; killed at battle of Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.

Richard C. Dawkins, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant colonel May 23, 1864.

William N. Hailman, major; appointed Dec. 10, 1861; honorably discharged March 14, 1862.

Alfred Martin, major; promoted major March 28, 1862.

Richard T. Whitaker, major; appointed major March 12, 1863; resigned May 11, 1864.

Ferdinand Evans, adjutant; promoted; resigned Nov. 15, 1862.

William H. Middleton, adjutant; appointed from civil life; died of disease March 1, 1863.

William Jones, adjutant; promoted to captain Company A May 22, 1864.

Lewis M. Perry, adjutant; promoted adjutant June 7, 1864.

Michael Billings, quartermaster; appointed Dec. 10, 1861; resigned March 10, 1862.

Harvey R. Wolfe, quartermaster; appointed from private Company H, March 28, 1862.

Joseph S. Drane, surgeon; appointed Dec. 12, 1861.

Abner B. Coons, asst. surgeon; appointed Dec. 10, 1861; died of disease March 4, 1862.

Edmund S. Long, asst. surgeon; appointed May 15, 1862, from civil life.

James J. Johnston, chaplain; appointed from civil life Aug. 15, 1862; resigned Sept. 24, 1863.

## COMPANY A.

Alfred Martin, captain; John McGraw, captain; William Jones, captain; Richard Roekingham, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Bates, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Richard Lee, captain; Richard C. Dawkins, captain; Joseph H. Dawkins, captain; Lundsford D. Carrington, 1st lieutenant; Martin L. Boner, 1st lieutenant; John L. Lee, 2d lieutenant; Thomas Eubanks, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Joseph J. Hauphoff, captain; Charles S. Todd, captain; Henry C. Schmidt, captain; German Dettweiler, 1st lieutenant; Thomas R. Danks, 1st lieutenant; Gustavus Bohn, 2d lieutenant; Frederiek V. Loekman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Elisha Hedden, captain; Bluford N. Sampson, 1st lieutenant; Harrison Choate, 1st lieutenant; James W. Briseoe, 1st lieutenant; James H. Howard, 2d lieutenant; James H. McCampbell, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Bernhard Hund, captain; William Frank, captain; John Sensbaeh, 1st lieutenant; Lorenzo Ammon, 1st lieutenant; Anton Huud, 2d lieutenant; Valentine Melcher, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

William S. Long, captain; Robert H. Armstrong, captain; John P. Masou, 1st lieutenant; William B. Dunlap, 2d lieutenant; Charles Clark, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Peter Emge, captain; Peter Marker, captain; Gottfried Rentschler, captain; George Marker, 1st lieutenant; Henry Canning, 2d lieutenant; Nicholas Sehr, 2d lieutenant.



## COMPANY H.

Isaac N. Johnston, captain; John L. Chilton, 1st lieutenant; Harrison Roberts, 2d lieutenant; Richard T. Whitaker, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

August Stein, captain; Friedrich Nierhoff, captain; Deitrich Hesselbein, captain; William Frank, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Henry C. McLeod, captain; Daniel W. Owens, captain; Thomas W. Robertson, 1st lieutenant; Thomas C. Campbell, 2d lieutenant; William W. Furr, 2d lieutenant.

The Sixth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Camp Sigel, Jefferson County, Ky., in December, 1861, under Col. Walter C. Whitaker, and was mustered into the United States service on the 24th December, 1861, by Maj. W. H. Sidell, United States Mustering Officer

## INFANTRY—SEVENTH REGIMENT.

T. T. Garrard, colonel; promoted to brigadier-general Nov. 24, 1862.

Reuben May, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel 8th Kentucky Infantry May 12, 1863.

J. W. Ridgell, lieutenant-colonel; resigned Jan. 23, 1863.

John Lucas, lieutenant-colonel; appointed lieutenant-colonel Apr. 23, 1863; resigned Jan. 30, 1864.

T. J. Daniel, lieutenant-colonel; appointed lieutenant-colonel May 9, 1864; resigned Sept. 24, 1864.

I. N. Cardwell, major; resigned Feb. 15, 1863.

H. W. Adams, major; promoted to major Feb. 16, 1863; resigned Aug. 5, 1863.

E. B. Treadway, major; promoted major Jan. 1, 1864; resigned Sept. 24, 1864.

Henry Brennan, adjutant; promoted to captain in 20th Infantry Nov. 1, 1862.

J. C. Culton, adjutant; promoted adjutant July 4, 1864.

J. C. Horton, quartermaster; resigned March 27, 1862.

W. W. Watkins, quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster March 27 1862.

W. H. Jackson, quartermaster; promoted from quartermaster sergeant Jan. 1, 1863.

William Berry, surgeon; resigned Apr. 30, 1864.

A. B. Conant, surgeon; promoted surgeon from assistant surgeon May 10, 1864.

Henry Tammage, assistant surgeon; resigned Apr. 13, 1862.

C. L. C. Herndon, assistant surgeon; promoted assistant surgeon May 10, 1864.

T. S. Paul, chaplain; appointed chaplain Aug. 15, 1863.

## COMPANY A.

Elisha B. Treadway, captain; James M. Beatty, captain; William J. Smallwood, 1st lieutenant; George W. Daniel, 1st lieutenant; Jesse H. Cole, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Daniel, 2d lieutenant; Thomas J. Greer, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

John Lucas, captain; Daniel G. Williams, captain; Larkin A. Byron, 1st lieutenant; Henderson Eversole, 1st lieutenant; James W. Smith, 2d lieutenant; Benjamin L. Allen, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

James H. McNeill, captain; Levi Pennington, captain; David Stillings, captain; Alex. H. Stephens, captain; Melville Phelps, 1st lieutenant; William R. Robinson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

A. H. Clark, captain; Thomas H. Wilson, captain; Henry J. Clark, captain; Andrew Hurd, 1st lieutenant; Hampton Flanery, 1st lieutenant; James N. Culton, 1st lieutenant; G. Isaacs, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

E. W. Murphy, captain; Beverly P. White, captain; John T. Bates, 1st lieutenant; John B. Stivers, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

William Sears, captain; Larkin A. Byron, captain; William J. Eaton, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Buchanan, 1st lieutenant; George W. Harman, 1st lieutenant; Simeon J. Brummitt, 1st lieutenant; John Q. Early, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Granville L. Maret, captain; Martin V. Sutton, 1st lieutenant; Samuel Sutton, 2d lieutenant; Mathias C. Roach, 2d lieutenant; John W. Burch, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

George M. Adams, captain; Adam Reeder, captain; Joseph H. Davis, 1st lieutenant; Stephen T. S. Cook, 1st lieutenant; James H. Tinsley, 2d lieutenant; Lawson Reeder, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

William A. Dozier, captain; Peter Hinkle, captain; Gale S. Dows, captain; Stephen Dows, 1st lieutenant; Isaac Deane, 2d lieutenant; Joseph Frisbee, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Philos Stratton, captain; Thomas P. Caldwell, captain; S. H. Thompson, 1st lieutenant; Joseph F. Baugh, 1st lieutenant; Elhanon M. Botkin, 2d lieutenant; Jesse C. Speak, 2d lieutenant.

The Seventh Kentucky Infantry was organized at Camp Dick Robinson, Ky., under Col. T. T. Garrard, and mustered into the United States service on the 22d day of September, 1861, by Brig. Gen. George H. Thomas. As soon as organized it was ordered to Wild Cat, Ky., to repel the invasion of Gen. Zollicoffer, and participated in an engagement with the enemy at that point, which was the first general engagement fought on Kentucky soil. In this battle the Seventh won distinction for the gallant manner in which it repelled the repeated attacks of the enemy.

## INFANTRY—EIGHTH REGIMENT

Sidney M. Barnes, colonel; resigned Jan. 11, 1864. Reuben May, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to colonel 7th Kentucky Infantry May 8, 1863.

James D. Mayhew, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from captain, Company A, May 8, 1863.

Green B. Broadbush, major; resigned April 26, 1863.

John S. Clark, major; promoted from adjutant April 27, 1863.

Thomas E. Park, adjutant; promoted from sergeant-major April 28, 1863.

Joseph H. Gardner, quartermaster; resigned Nov. 20, 1861.

Thompson Burnham, Jr., quartermaster; resigned March 15, 1863.

James M. Kindred, quartermaster; promoted from quartermaster-sergeant May 28, 1863.

John R. Pirtle, surgeon; resigned Dec. 23, 1862.

John Mills, surgeon; promoted from assistant surgeon Dec. 24, 1862.

William Robinson, assistant surgeon; dismissed Aug. 4, 1863.

C. H. Morton, assistant surgeon; resigned Dec. 2, 1863.

Timothy S. Paul, chaplain.  
James W. Kindred, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

James D. Mayhew, captain; Wm. H. Catching, captain; Jacob P. Phipps, 1st lieutenant; James A. McCullah, 2d lieutenant; John S. Tye, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Ansil D. Powell, captain; Jordan Neal, 1st lieutenant; Joseph Blackwell, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

John Wilson, captain; W. W. Park, 1st lieutenant; C. M. Park, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Robert B. Jamison, captain; John P. Gum, captain; Heury C. Thomas, captain; Wm. G. Smallwood, captain; Thomas H. Carson, 1st lieutenant; James W. Stewart, 1st lieutenant; Bowles H. Sale, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Murrell, 2d lieutenant; Joseph McGuire, 2d lieutenant; John S. Tye, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Robert B. Hickman, captain; Coleman D. Benton, captain; Perry A. Nickell, 1st lieutenant; George W. Jacobs, 1st lieutenant; John M. Puckett, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

John B. Banton, captain; Barton S. Dixon, captain; Christopher C. Jackson, 1st lieutenant; James Harkleroad, 1st lieutenant; Nimrod C. Jones, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Landon C. Minter, captain; Chas. L. Burleigh, captain; Newton J. Hughes, 1st lieutenant; W. Scott Spencer, 2d lieutenant; Caleb S. Hughes, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Rhodes Winburn, captain; Thos. J. Wright, captain; Wade B. Cox, 1st lieutenant; James R. Williams, 1st lieutenant; Geo. W. Lewis, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

William McDaniel, captain; Brown Martin, captain; Wiley J. Crook, 1st lieutenant; Nathan Elliott, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Amis, 2d lieutenant; Jesse McDaniel, 2d lieutenant; George C. Watsou, 2d lieutenant.

NOTE.—Company K was consolidated with Company D, by order of the War Department.

The Eighth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Estill Springs, Ky., under Col. S. M. Barnes, and was mustered into the United States service on the 15th day of January, 1862, at Lebanon, Ky., by Capt. C. C. Gilbert, First United States Infantry. This regiment was raised chiefly in the mountain counties of Kentucky, and was composed of men who were distinguished for their unflinching bravery and patriotism.

## INFANTRY—NINTH REGIMENT.

Benjamin C. Grider, colonel; resigned Feb. 3, 1863.

George H. Cram, colonel; promoted to colonel March 10, 1863.

Allen J. Roark, lieutenant-colonel; died Apr. 17, 1862, at Nashville, Tenn.

John H. Grider, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel March 18, 1863.

Chesley D. Bailey, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant colonel May 18, 1863.

William J. Henson, major; resigned Apr. 17, 1862.

William Starling, major; promoted major from captain, Company C, May 18, 1863.

John H. Shepherd, adjutant; wounded and captured at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.

Benjamin S. Coffey, regimental quartermaster; resigned June 9, 1862.

Francis M. Cummings, regimental quartermaster; resigned Feb. 17, 1863.

Frank White, regimental quartermaster; appointed from 59th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, March 2, 1863.

James R. Duncan, surgeon; resigned Jan. 11, 1862.

Thomas R. W. Jeffray, surgeon.

John A. Lindsay, assistant surgeon.

John Chamberlain, assistant surgeon; resigned April 16, 1863.

James C. Rush, chaplain; resigned Nov. 7, 1862.

## COMPANY A.

John R. Wheat, captain; Henry F. Leggitt, captain; Francis M. Stone, 1st lieutenant; John W. Lucas, 1st lieutenant; Rufus Somerby, 1st lieutenant; William H. Pitkin, 1st lieutenant; R. R. W. Gillenwaters, 1st lieutenant; Dr. H. Roark, 2d lieutenant; Andrew J. Pipkin, 2d lieutenant; William T. Barton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

William T. Bryan, captain; Silas Clark, captain; Warner Underwood, 1st lieutenant; Benjamin M. Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Turner Hestand, 1st lieutenant; Wm. M. Woodcock, 1st lieutenant; Anderson Smith, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Gilbert M. Mulligan, captain; William Starling, captain; Theodore F. Heeter, captain; Jesse Howell, 1st lieutenant; Charles R. Tate, 1st lieutenant; Ancil B. Mayhew, 1st lieutenant; Toliver Moore, 2d lieutenant; David W. Pope, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Lafayette Harling, captain; Wiley A. Whitley, 1st lieutenant; Algernon S. Leggitt, 1st lieutenant; James Goad, 1st lieutenant; William H. Morrow, 1st lieutenant; William M. Gregory, 2d lieutenant; Pleasant Chitwood, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Archibald S. Chenoweth, captain; Toliver Moore, captain; Moses L. Norvell, 1st lieutenant; Isaac N. Chenoweth, 1st lieutenant; John P. Grinstead, 1st lieutenant; Jasper N. Butram, 1st lieutenant; Samuel C. Stout, 2d lieutenant; Daniel J. Stout, 2d lieutenant; David Witty, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Henry C. Martin, captain; John M. Vetter, captain; Riley A. Read, captain; Robert T. Patton, 1st lieutenant; William Moore, 2d lieutenant; Fred. F. Carpenter, 2d lieutenant; Emery H. Read, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Isaac Dickerson, captain; Demetrius B. Coyle, captain; Jas. M. Simmons, captain; Henry W. Mayes, 1st lieutenant; Henry W. Jenkins, 1st lieutenant; Thos. W. Batdorf, 1st lieutenant; Charles A. McCue, 2d lieutenant; Elijah A. Purecell, 2d lieutenant; Chas. J. Coyle, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

George H. Cram, captain; Samuel A. Lodge, captain; Wellington J. Cram, captain; John P. Grinstead, captain; John W. Combs, 1st lieutenant; Chesley D. Bailey, 1st lieutenant; Smith Pipkins, 1st lieutenant; William O. Boyle, 1st lieutenant; William D. Page, 2d lieutenant; Turner Bartley, 2d lieutenant.



## COMPANY I.

Jonathan W. Roark, captain; Chesley D. Bailey, captain; John H. Wheat, captain; James Rhody, 1st lieutenant; Demitt C. Downing, 1st lieutenant; John B. Austin, 2d lieutenant; Henry H. Townsend, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Wm. F. Austin, captain; Rufus Somerby, captain; Boyle O. Rodas, captain; Demetrius B. Coyle, 1st lieutenant; George Faulkner, 1st lieutenant; James Lane, 2d lieutenant; James M. Simmons, 2d lieutenant; Maj. B. McDuffee, 2d lieutenant.

The Ninth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Columbia, Ky., under Col. Benjamin C. Grider, and was mustered into the United States service at Camp Boyle, Adair Co., Ky., on the 26th day of Nov., 1861, by Maj. W. H. Sidell, Fifteenth United States Infantry, mustering officer.

## INFANTRY—TENTH REGIMENT.

John M. Harlan, colonel; resigned March 6, 1863.

William H. Hays, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel to colonel, March 11, 1863.

Gabriel C. Wharton, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel March 11, 1863.

Henry G. Davidson, major; promoted from captain, Company A, to major March 11, 1863.

William J. Lisle, adjutant; was adjutant to March 11, 1863.

Austin P. McGuire, adjutant; promoted to 1st lieutenant and adjutant March 11, 1863.

Samuel Matlock, quartermaster; on detached service March 6, 1863, to Nov. 21, 1864.

William Atkisson, surgeon; died April 14, 1863.

James G. Hatchitt, surgeon; promoted brigade surgeon June 26, 1862.

Jabez Perkins, surgeon; Nov. 18, 1863, commissioned as surgeon United States Volunteers.

Charles H. Stocking, surgeon; promoted from assistant surgeon to surgeon April 4, 1864.

Thomas M. Knott, asst. surgeon; died April 5, 1862.

Charles Hardesty, asst. surgeon; appointed assistant surgeon April 5, 1862.

Richard C. Nash, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

Henry G. Davidson, captain; William J. Lisle, captain; Charles W. McKay, captain; James Reynolds, 1st lieutenant; Henry H. Warren, 1st lieutenant; John Estes, 2d lieutenant; Austin P. McGuire, 2d lieutenant; Richard Grace, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

John T. Milburn, captain; Robert S. Short, 1st lieutenant; William F. O'Bryan, 1st lieutenant; James M. Davenport, 2d lieutenant; John T. McCauley, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Edward Hilpp, captain; William L. Musson, 1st lieutenant; James E. Sallee, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

George W. Riley, captain; William Hupp, 1st lieutenant; James J. Mills, 1st lieutenant; Stephen N. Dorsey, 2d lieutenant; Edward Y. Penick, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Seth P. Bevill, captain; Andrew Thompson, captain; Clem. Funk, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Franklin S. Hill, captain; Charles W. McKay, 1st lieutenant; Benjamin R. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Joseph T. Adcock, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

William R. Hunter, captain; James M. Davenport, captain; James M. Fiddler, 1st lieutenant; Charles E. Spalding, 1st lieutenant; Edward O. Blemford, 1st lieutenant; Edward C. Ferrill, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Buford R. Pendleton, captain; William T. Shively, captain; Henry W. Barry, 1st lieutenant; Henry C. Dunn, 1st lieutenant; William F. Beglow, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Israel B. Webster, captain; William E. Kelley, 1st lieutenant; John H. Myers, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

William Tweddle, captain; Henry Waller, captain; John H. Denton, captain; James R. Watts, 1st lieutenant.

The Tenth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Infantry was organized at Lebanon, Ky., under Col. John M. Harlan, and mustered into the United States service Nov. 21, 1861, by Maj. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

## INFANTRY—ELEVENTH REGIMENT

Pierce B. Hawkins, colonel.

S. P. Love, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel to colonel June 26, 1863.

Erasmus L. Mottley, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel June 26, 1863.

Woodford M. Houchin, major; promoted from captain, Company E, to major Feb. 1, 1864.

Eugene F. Kinnaird, major.

John T. Kinnaird, adjutant.

J. H. Reno, quartermaster.

Vincent S. Hay, quartermaster.

Joseph Kerby, quartermaster; promoted from private Company G.

John F. Kimbley, surgeon.

James T. Higgins, assistant surgeon; promoted from hospital steward.

Samuel Simpson, assistant surgeon.

Porter H. Calvert, chaplain; promoted from private, Company K, to chaplain Sept. 25, 1863.

Lewis P. Arnold, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

Eugene F. Kinnaird, captain; James M. Elms, captain; John G. Daniels, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Cherry, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Edward R. Weir, captain; William F. Ward, captain; James W. Patteson, 1st lieutenant; Hudson Brown, 2d lieutenant; Templeton P. Martin, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

John B. Tyler, captain; Curren G. Neel, captain; John B. Graves, captain; James M. Tyler, 1st lieutenant; William B. Neel, 1st lieutenant; Jesse C. Atkinson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Newman M. Peay, captain; Charles W. Hanway, captain; John J. Washer, captain; Daniel M. Stahl, captain; George Fortner, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Woodford M. Houchin, captain; Noah Morris, captain; Seldon R. Sanders, 1st lieutenant; Francis Houchin, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Joseph S. Willis, captain; David Poole, captain; oyd Mercer, 1st lieutenant; James R. Wise, 1st lieutenant; Thomas M. Bobbett, 1st lieutenant; William J. Long, 1st lieutenant; Preston P. Doughty, 2d lieutenant; Columbus Neel, 2d lieutenant; Fred G. Price, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Elijah C. Phelps, captain; Oliver P. Johnson, captain; William R. Willis, captain; William Smith, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Isaac R. Skcto, captain; Jesse K. Freeman, captain; Addison Turner, 1st lieutenant; Joseph D. Coutz, 1st lieutenant; Jesse S. Hill, 2d lieutenant; John C. Ham, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Joseph Fox, captain; James R. Wise, captain; Jonathan Simmons, captain; Thomas Bobbett, 1st lieutenant; David Pool, 1st lieutenant; Robert T. Kennedy, 1st lieutenant; William H. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Boyd Mercer, 1st lieutenant; Preston P. Doughty, 2d lieutenant; William J. Long, 2d lieutenant; Columbus Neel, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Martin Jefferson Roark, captain; Columbus H. Martin, captain; Wash. C. Shannon, captain; James L. Roark, 1st lieutenant; Green B. Eades, 2d lieutenant.

The Eleventh Kentucky Infantry was organized on December, 1861, at Calhoon, Ky., under Col. P. B. Hawkins, and was mustered into the United States service by Maj. W. H. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

## INFANTRY—TWELFTH REGIMENT.

William A. Hoskins, colonel.

Laurence H. Rosseau, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from captain of Company C to lieutenant-colonel August 11, 1862; commissioned colonel April 21, 1864, but never mustered as such; transferred to 12th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Montgomery Howard, lieutenant-colonel.

William M. Worsham, major.

Joseph M. Owens, major; promoted from captain, Company B, July 15, 1862.

John M. Hail, adjutant.

James F. McKee, adjutant.

Ephraim F. Hay, adjutant.

G. K. Noland, regimental quartermaster.

Snowden P. Worsham, regimental quartermaster; transferred to the 12th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Edward Richardson, surgeon.

Wm. H. Mullins, surgeon; promoted from assistant surgeon June 6, 1862; transferred to 12th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Americus V. Winfrey, assistant surgeon.

W. Morgan Pollitt, assistant surgeon; promoted from hospital steward of the 16th Kentucky Infantry April 9, 1862.

Lewis Parker, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

Cornelius C. Ham, captain; Ephraim F. Hays, 1st lieutenant; John W. Lewis, 1st lieutenant; Tho. Speed, 1st lieutenant; Saml. F. Tomlinson, 2d lieutenant; L. C. Waddle, 2d lieutenant; Nathaniel B. Dobbs, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Joseph M. Owens, captain; John Travis, captain; Wm. R. Smith, 1st lieutenant; John W. Vanderpool, 2d lieutenant; Jasper H. Johnson, 2d lieutenant; James T. W. Barnett, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Laurence H. Rosseau, captain; Wm. J. Henson, captain; Wm. C. Crozier, captain; Israel C. Winfrey, 1st lieutenant; Robert H. Mullins, 1st lieutenant; Moses Higgenbottom, 2d lieutenant; Jno. R. McClure, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Martin Van Buren Duvall, captain; John H. Brown, captain; Reuben Hurt, 1st lieutenant; Joseph Hurt, 1st lieutenant; Lewis W. Duvall, 2d lieutenant; James Duvall, 2d lieutenant; Thomas Davison, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Andrew J. Veatch, captain; Geo. W. Hill, captain; Alzy C. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Granville C. Brassfield, 1st lieutenant; Milton A. Sivey, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Wm. A. Collier, captain; William Williams, captain; Green C. Freeman, 1st lieutenant; Benj. Martin, 2d lieutenant; Wm. C. Crozier, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Wm. P. Payne, captain; Samuel M. Letcher, captain; Wm. W. Bradley, 1st lieutenant; Fountain J. Wolford, 1st lieutenant; Lewis Irvine, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Elisha Simpson, captain; James L. Burch, captain; Peter J. Hiatt, captain; Jno. L. Warden, captain; E. G. Jacobs, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Ballow, 2d lieutenant; Snowden P. Worsham, 2d lieutenant; Chas. Orman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

John Johnson, captain; John R. McClure, captain; Nathan Jacobs, 1st lieutenant; Snowden P. Worsham, 1st lieutenant; Jno. B. Francis, 1st lieutenant; David Gray, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Joseph Ballow, captain; Thomas J. Mercer, 1st lieutenant; Watson Ballow, 1st lieutenant; Francis R. Winfrey, 1st lieutenant; Edward Dolen, 2d lieutenant.

The Twelfth Kentucky Infantry was organized in October, 1861, at Camp Clio, Pulaski County, Ky., under Col. W. A. Hoskins, and was mustered into the United States service on the 30th of January, 1862, by Capt. J. M. Kellogg, mustering officer.

## INFANTRY—THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

Edward H. Hobson, colonel.

William E. Hobson, colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Feb. 15, 1863, to colonel March 13, 1863.

John B. Carlisle, lieutenant-colonel.

Benjamin P. Estes, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel May 15, 1863.

John P. Duncan, major; promoted to major March 25, 1863.

Wm. W. Woodruff, adjutant.

John S. Butler, adjutant; promoted to captain and asst. adjutant-general Dec. 5, 1863.

George W. Flowers, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Aug. 15, 1864.

Wm. B. Craddock, regimental quartermaster.

Gann M. Smith, regimental quartermaster; promoted to regimental quartermaster March 12, 1862.

Charles D. Moore, surgeon.

Isaac G. Ingram, asst. surgeon.

Edward S. Cooper, asst. surgeon.

Flavv J. Taylor, asst. surgeon; promoted to asst. surgeon Jan. 10, 1863.



Isaac W. Emmerson, chaplain.  
Wm. C. Johnston, chaplain.  
John R. Barbee, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

David T. Towles, captain; George W. Thompson, captain; Newbury G. Forbis, 1st lieutenant; Berry M. Webb, 2d lieutenant; William L. Despaign, 2d lieutenant; Abraham Chapline, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Thos. T. Alexander, captain; Harrison Q. Hughes, captain; Oliver B. Patterson, captain; Nathan G. Butler, 1st lieutenant; William J. Atkins, 1st lieutenant; James R. Hindman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Rodophil E. Jeter, captain; Benjamin V. Banks, captain; Christopher C. Christie, 1st lieutenant; Samuel H. Murrell, 2d lieutenant; Charles M. Sallee, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Benjamin P. Estes, captain; William W. Woodruff, captain; William P. Oldham, 1st lieutenant; John R. Price, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. Hall, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Thomas O. Moore, captain; James W. Woodward, captain; Samuel Bottom, captain; Nathaniel F. Twyman, captain; Edward P. Allen, 1st lieutenant; Elisha B. Gardner, 1st lieutenant; Richard Henderson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

John P. Duncan, captain; Champness D. Butler, captain; John H. Hazard, captain; Robert H. Turner, 1st lieutenant; Luther Morris, 1st lieutenant; Holland Jones, 2d lieutenant; Samuel A. Jones, 2d lieutenant; William T. Martin, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Isaac R. H. Caldwell, captain; Samuel W. Moore, captain; Elija F. Tueker, captain; Isaac T. Hizer, 1st lieutenant; Samuel J. Cabbell, 1st lieutenant; Jacob D. Bradford, 1st lieutenant; Thomas A. Low, 2d lieutenant; Tueker W. Sullivan, 2d lieutenant; William H. Stearman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Edward W. Graham, captain; Wallace Vietor, captain; James R. Hindman, captain; Elijah J. Graham, 1st lieutenant; George W. Flowers, 1st lieutenant; Jesse Despaign, 1st lieutenant; James H. Hagan, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Charles Stewart, captain; Giles A. Gallup, captain; William H. Stratton, captain; James M. Bradley, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Peter S. Rush, captain; Patrick G. Fisher, captain; Albert N. Jett, captain; Wm. L. Lee, 1st lieutenant; Joel S. Veluzat, 1st lieutenant; Charles McCracken, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirteenth Kentucky Infantry was organized in December, 1861, at Camp Hobson, Kentucky, under Col. Edward H. Hobson, and was mustered in December 30, 1861, by Capt. S. M. Kellogg, United States mustering officer.

## INFANTRY—FOURTEENTH REGIMENT.

Laban T. Moore, colonel.  
John C. Coehran, colonel.  
George W. Gallup, colonel; promoted to colonel Jan. 13, 1863.  
Joseph R. Brown, lieutenant-colonel.

Orlando Brown, Jr., lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Jan. 13, 1863.

Rhys M. Thomas, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Sept. 29, 1864.

Wm. B. Burke, major.

Drury J. Burehett, major; promoted to major Sept. 29, 1864.

John F. Babbitt, adjutant.

Edward J. Roberts, adjutant; promoted from sergeant-major March 1, 1862.

James D. Foster, regimental quartermaster; promoted to regimental quartermaster June 3, 1862.

S. J. Yates, surgeon.

Akin C. Miller, surgeon.

Strother J. Yates, surgeon

Franklin M. Meacham, assistant surgeon

Samuel D. Richards, assistant surgeon.

Benj. A. Stubbins, assistant surgeon.

Cyrus L. Mobley, assistant surgeon; promoted from hospital steward Dec. 15, 1862.

A. J. McMillan, chaplain.

Robert B. Herron, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

James C. Whitten, captain; Rhys M. Thomas, captain; William C. Brown, 1st lieutenant; Henry B. Brodess, 1st lieutenant; John M. Lowthere, 2d lieutenant; George W. Hopkins, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Walter O. Woods, captain; James H. Davidson, captain; George W. Green, captain; Chilton A. Osburn, 1st lieutenant; James W. Chafin, 1st lieutenant; Ralph W. Wolbrook, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

David A. Mims, captain; Oliver M. Frasher, captain; William Killgore, 1st lieutenant; David H. McGhee, 1st lieutenant; Geo. B. Patton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Thomas McKinster, captain; Charles A. Wood, captain; John C. Henderson, 1st lieutenant; Henry A. Borders, 1st lieutenant; Russell T. Thompson, 1st lieutenant; Samuel T. Moore, 2d lieutenant; Bluford F. Hale, 2d lieutenant; John S. Thompson, 2d lieutenant; Henry H. Hill, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Arehibald Means, captain; Dwight A. Leffingwell, captain; William Price, 1st lieutenant; James T. Womaek, 1st lieutenant; Jacob M. Poage, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Solomon Davis, captain; David L. Worthington, captain; John Coehran, Jr., captain; Patriek O. Hawes, captain; Henry G. Gardner, captain; Dwight A. Leffingwell, 1st lieutenant; Thomas H. Stewart, 1st lieutenant; James H. Sperry, 1st lieutenant; John Murphy, 2d lieutenant; Henry H. Gallup, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

John C. Collins, captain; Oliver D. Botner, captain; Daniel H. Brown, 1st lieutenant; George H. Roberts, 2d lieutenant; Lawrence P. Davenport, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Isaac Hollingsworth, captain; John F. Babbitt, captain; Wm. H. Bartram, Captain; Geo. R. B. Chapman, 1st lieutenant; Geo. F. Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Francis M. Burgess, 2d lieutenant; James H. Carey, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

John Powers, captain; Wiley C. Patrick, captain; John M. Atkinson, captain; Henry G. Gardner, 1st lieutenant; Mason H. Power, 1st lieutenant.

ant; Richard M. Elam, 2d lieutenant; Andrew B. Fitch, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

John M. Smith, captain; Drury J. Burchett, captain; Tho. D. Marcum, captain; Andrew J. Fox, 1st lieutenant; James W. Shannon, 2d lieutenant.

The Fourteenth Kentucky Infantry was organized in October, 1861, at Louisa, Ky., under Col. Laban T. Moore, and mustered into the United States service December 10, 1861, by Lt. C. B. Throckmorton, Fourth United States Artillery, mustering officer.

## INFANTRY—FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

Curran Pope, colonel; died Nov. 5, 1862, of wounds received at battle of Chaplin Hills Oct. 8, 1862.

James B. Forman, colonel; killed at battle of Stone River, Tenn., Dec. 31, 1862.

Marion C. Taylor, colonel; promoted from captain, Company A, to colonel Jan. 1, 1863.

George P. Jouett, lieutenant-colonel; killed at battle of Chaplin Hills Oct. 8, 1862.

Joseph R. Snider, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from captain, Company B, Oct. 9, 1862.

Noah Cartwright, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel July 13, 1863.

William G. Halpin, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Jan. 26, 1864.

William P. Campbell, major; killed in battle of Chaplin Hills, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.

Henry F. Kalfus major; promoted major Oct. 9, 1862.

James S. Allen, major; promoted to major March 1, 1864.

Ahimaaz H. Chambers, major; promoted to major April 11, 1864.

William P. McDowell, adjutant; major in adjutant-general's department.

David N. Sharp, adjutant; promoted to adjutant April 15, 1863.

John W. Clarke, regimental quartermaster; resigned Feb. 10, 1863.

Woodford Hall, regimental quartermaster; promoted to 1st lieutenant and quartermaster March 15, 1863.

Luther P. Weatherby, surgeon; resigned July 16, 1862.

Richard F. Logan, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon July 16, 1862.

Edward H. Dunn, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon Nov. 28, 1862.

Eli D. Whitaker, asst. surgeon.

Ezra Woodruff, asst. surgeon.

Jeremiah J. Talbott, chaplain; resigned Nov. 18, 1863.

William C. Atmore, chaplain, resigned Aug. 7, 1862.

Samuel T. Poinier, chaplain; resigned April 5, 1863.

## COMPANY A.

Marion C. Taylor, captain; John S. Churchill, captain; James A. T. McGrath, 1st lieutenant; Coleman S. Daniel, 1st lieutenant; Henry M. Lyle, 1st lieutenant; Joseph W. Lyle, 1st lieutenant; Francis A. Winlock, 2d lieutenant; Joseph L. Atherton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Joseph R. Snider, captain; Wm. H. Harrison, captain; Abraham Rothchild, captain; Benjamin H. Howser, 1st lieutenant; James W. Gray, 1st lieutenant; Richard Foster, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

William T. McClure, captain; James B. Forman, captain; Ahimaaz H. Chambers, captain; Henry Wilson, captain; L. Frank Todd, 1st lieutenant; Ezekiel S. Forman, 1st lieutenant; Joseph L. McClure, 2d lieutenant; Robert H. Roberts, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Henry F. Kalfus, captain; John B. McDowell, captain; John L. Foster, captain; John V. Thompson, 1st lieutenant; William H. Brooks, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Noah Cartwright, captain; Charles L. Easum, captain; John B. Wood, 1st lieutenant; Richard F. Shafar, 1st lieutenant; Harrison Hikes, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Aaron S. Bayne, captain; John C. Carroll, captain; William V. Wolfe, 1st lieutenant; Judson Bayne, 1st lieutenant; James P. Carroll, 1st lieutenant; William H. Booker, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

John Spalding, captain; John B. Wood, captain; John D. Lenahan, 1st lieutenant, Frank D. Gerrety, 1st lieutenant; John Gormly, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Joshua P. Prather, captain; Richard H. M. Crupper, captain; Joseph L. Atherton, captain; William H. Thomas, 1st lieutenant; Jefferson Dickerson, 1st lieutenant; Edward Clemmons, 1st lieutenant; Edward S. Runnell, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

George T. Limberg, captain; James S. Allen, captain; E. Irvine McDowell, captain; Joseph Weyman, 1st lieutenant; John H. Crockett, 1st lieutenant; Frederick D. Walker, 2d lieutenant; Louis Constans, 2d lieutenant; William Giesman, 2d lieutenant; John M. McGrath, 2d lieutenant; Henry Koch, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

William G. Halpin, captain; Daniel O'Leary, captain; George Wilson, 1st lieutenant; Nelson C. Boyd, 1st lieutenant; Peter Kaps, 1st lieutenant.

The Fifteenth Kentucky Infantry was organized in the fall of 1861, at Camp Pope, near New Haven, Ky., under Col. Curran Pope, and was mustered into the United States service on the 14th day of December, 1861, at Camp Pope, by Capt. C. C. Gilbert, United States mustering officer.

## INFANTRY—SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

Charles A. Marshall, colonel; resigned May 1, 1862.

James W. Craddock, colonel; died June 2, 1863.

James W. Gault, colonel; promoted to colonel June 3, 1863.

Joseph Doniphan, lieutenant-colonel; resigned March 13, 1862.

Joseph B. Harris, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel March 15, 1862.

Tho. E. Burns, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel June 3, 1863.

Jno. S. White, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from 1st lieutenant, Company A.

James P. Harbeson, major; promoted from captain, Company H, to major, July 20, 1862.

Ralph Robinson Maltby, adjutant; resigned July 29, 1862.

Joseph Dudley, adjutant; promoted to adjutant July 29, 1862.



Chas. A. Love, adjutant; promoted to adjutant July 14, 1864.

Samuel B. Patterson, quartermaster; dismissed March 25, 1863.

Wiley T. Poynter, quartermaster.

James A. Andrews, quartermaster; promoted from quartermaster sergeant.

Simon M. Cartmell, surgeon.

Frederick M. Taylor, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon to surgeon Dec. 4, 1864.

William C. R. Harrison, asst. surgeon; resigned Jan. 9, 1862.

Lewis J. Jones, asst. surgeon; transferred to 16th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

John S. Bayless, chaplain; transferred to 16th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

#### COMPANY A.

James W. Gault, captain; Jno. S. White, captain; Samuel D. Pumpelly, captain; Geo. M. DeGarmo, 1st lieutenant; Marcus A. D. L. Allen, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY B.

Job F. Lewman, captain; Luther F. Warder, captain; Jno. W. Knight, captain; John S. Hamner, captain; Oliver B. Doyle, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY C.

Jacob Miller, captain; John W. Wallace, 1st lieutenant; Joseph C. Hiser, 1st lieutenant; James Lawrie, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY D.

Thomas N. Wiley, captain; Theodore C. Bratton, captain; Henry C. Weaver, 1st lieutenant; Richard C. Nugent, 2d lieutenant; James B. Shane, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY E.

Abraham Murphy, captain; Joseph B. Morris, 1st lieutenant; Tho. C. Dickey, 1st lieutenant; Nathaniel S. Wood, 2d lieutenant; Martin V. Markley, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY F.

Embassy F. King, captain; Tho. E. Burns, captain; Nathaniel S. Wood, captain; Henry L. Gillis, 1st lieutenant; Wm. E. Ellis, 1st lieutenant; Leonidas A. King, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY G.

Thomas A. Curran, captain; David L. Wells, captain; Jno. E. Wells, captain; Thos. H. Manning, 1st lieutenant; John T. Gault, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Galbraith, 2d lieutenant; Chas. A. Love, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY H.

James P. Harbeson, captain; Henry D. Palmer, captain; Geo. H. Taylor, captain; Thomas E. Burns, 1st lieutenant; Tho. J. Wood, 1st lieutenant.

#### COMPANY I.

Carr B. White, captain; Morris C. Hutchins, captain; Thaddeus P. Bullock, 1st lieutenant; Otho W. Estell, 1st lieutenant; Salathiel Brown, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY K.

James A. Lee, Jr., captain; John M. Freeman, 1st lieutenant; Lewis M. Clarke, 2d lieutenant; John C. Sanders, 2d lieutenant.

The Sixteenth Kentucky Infantry was organized in December, 1861, at Camp Lee, near Maysville, Ky., under Col. Charles A. Marshall, and was mustered into the United States service on the 27th day of January, 1862, by Lieut. George H. Burns, United States mustering officer.

#### INFANTRY—SEVENTEENTH REGIMENT.

James M. Shackelford, colonel; resigned March

23, 1862, as colonel 25th Kentucky Volunteer Infantry.

John H. McHenry, Jr., colonel; organized 17th Regiment.

Alexander M. Stout, colonel; promoted colonel Jan. 27, 1863; was wounded severely at Shiloh.

Benj. H. Bristow, lieutenant-colonel; resigned April 15, 1862, as lieutenant-colonel 25th Kentucky Volunteers.

Robert Vaughan, lieutenant-colonel; wounded Sept. 20, 1863, at Chickamauga, Ga.

William B. Wall, major; resigned April 15, 1862, as major 25th Kentucky Volunteers.

Isaac Calhoon, major; promoted major Dec. 31, 1861.

David M. Claggett, major; was captain Company C, 25th Kentucky Volunteers, to April 13, 1862.

John P. Ritter, adjutant; resigned April 16, 1863, as adjutant 25th Kentucky Volunteer Infantry.

Edmund L. Starling, adjutant; resigned April 16, 1862, as adjutant 17th Kentucky Volunteer Infantry.

George W. Gist, adjutant; promoted captain Company D, April 23, 1863.

John M. Williams, adjutant; promoted adjutant June 15, 1863; died Aug. 9, 1863.

George Deering, adjutant; promoted adjutant Oct. 14, 1863.

Benjamin T. Perkins, regimental quartermaster; resigned April 16, 1862.

Richeson W. Allen, regimental quartermaster; resigned July 3, 1862.

John T. Jackson, regimental quartermaster; resigned March 11, 1863.

Richard C. Gill, regimental quartermaster.

Burkett Cloak, surgeon; resigned April 16, 1862, as surgeon 25th Kentucky Volunteer Infantry.

Warren J. Burgess, surgeon.

Addison P. Shackelford, asst. surgeon; resigned March 4, 1862, as asst. surgeon 25th Kentucky Volunteers.

Albert D. Cosby, asst. surgeon; resigned Dec. 13, 1862.

George W. Warmoth, asst. surgeon; resigned April 16, 1862, as asst. surgeon 25th Kentucky Volunteers.

Stuart Hubbard, asst. surgeon.

Jno. W. Compton, asst. surgeon; resigned March 24, 1863.

George W. Kinsoloing, chaplain; resigned April 3, 1862.

#### COMPANY A.

Preston Morton, captain; William Keith, captain; Samuel K. Cox, captain; Thomas R. Brown, 1st lieutenant; John D. Millman, 1st lieutenant; Isaac Ferry, 1st lieutenant; Wm. J. White, 1st lieutenant; James B. Harrison, 2d lieutenant; John W. Howard, 2d lieutenant; John H. Frost, 2d lieutenant; Wm. J. Littell, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY B.

William H. Davison, captain; William W. Briggs, captain; Isaac Ferry, captain; Barney M. Harwood, 1st lieutenant; Avery Byers, 2d lieutenant; Alexander B. Sandefur, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY C.

Isaac Calhoon, captain; Robert L. Beckham, captain; David Duncan, captain; Finis H. Little, 1st lieutenant; William J. Lendrum, 1st lieutenant; Linus Fuller, 1st lieutenant; Marcus D. Bandy, 2d lieutenant; Barney M. Harwood, 2d lieutenant; Robert J. Allen, 2d lieutenant; Curtis A. Brasher, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY D.

James Hudson, captain; David M. Claggett, captain; Elisha B. Edwards, captain; Frank H.

Bristow, captain; George W. Gist, captain; Jesse W. Griffin, 1st lieutenant; Richard F. Taylor, 1st lieutenant; Edward S. Campbell, 1st lieutenant; Robert M. Davis, 1st lieutenant; Aaron S. Hicks, 1st lieutenant; Walter Evans, 2d lieutenant; Seymour H. Perkins, 2d lieutenant; Jno. D. Millman, 2d lieutenant; Isaac Perry, 2d lieutenant; James M. Rogers, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Wesley Garey, captain; Thomas W. Campbell, captain; James W. Anthony, captain; Wm. J. Lendrum, captain; John H. Frost, captain; Perry Campbell, 1st lieutenant; Albert R. Shackelford, 1st lieutenant; George L. Sullivan, 1st lieutenant; Wm. S. Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Samuel K. Cox, 1st lieutenant; Boanerges V. Tyler, 1st lieutenant; Richard L. Peyton, 2d lieutenant; Benjamin T. Hobbs, 2d lieutenant; James M. Wilson, 2d lieutenant; Charles Bratcher, 2d lieutenant; Campbell H. Johnson, 2d lieutenant; Michael Mulvey, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Henry S. Barnett, captain; Ion Nall, captain; William T. King, 1st lieutenant; Jefferson H. Jennings, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Alverson, 1st lieutenant; John G. Ferguson, 2d lieutenant; Oscar D. Kress, 2d lieutenant; Thomas D. Davis, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Benjamin T. Underwood, captain; Hugh C. Cooper, captain; Thomas J. Kirby, captain; John V. Boyd, captain; Samuel T. Fruit, captain; William Ashby, 1st lieutenant; Rich. W. Williams, 1st lieutenant; John H. Frost, 1st lieutenant; Alexander B. Sandefur, 1st lieutenant; Thomas B. Boyd, 2d lieutenant; Isaac Connett, 2d lieutenant; Albert E. Brown, 2d lieutenant; David Cartright, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. Meglemery, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

George A. Little, captain; Robt. M. Davis, captain; Richard F. Taylor, 1st lieutenant; William S. Dillahay, 1st lieutenant; Henry M. West, 1st lieutenant; Garton C. Pruett, 2d lieutenant; H. Clay Marlow, 2d lieutenant; George C. Merritt, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Robert Vaughan, captain; Thomas R. Brown, captain; Silas Heston, 1st lieutenant; H. Clay Marlow, 1st lieutenant; Jefferson H. Jennings, 2d lieutenant; Boanerges V. Tyler, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

James H. Holloway, captain; Putnam B. Triple, captain; Robert C. Sturgis, captain; George C. Merritt, captain; Newton M. Miller, 1st lieutenant; Pius Clarke, 1st lieutenant; Samuel Mitchell, 1st lieutenant; Samuel W. Pruett, 1st lieutenant; John J. Holloway, 2d lieutenant; William A. Fitts, 2d lieutenant; Aaron S. Hicks, 2d lieutenant; Thomas J. Alverson, 2d lieutenant; Noah C. Dean, 2d lieutenant.

The Seventeenth Kentucky Infantry was organized in December, 1861, at Calhoon, Ky., under Col. John H. McHenry, Jr., and was mustered into the United States service on the 4th day of January, 1862, at Calhoon, Ky., by Capt. John E. Edwards, Third United States Artillery, mustering officer.

## INFANTRY—EIGHTEENTH REGIMENT.

William A. Warner, colonel; wounded at Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30, 1862.

John J. Landrum, lieutenant-colonel; wounded at Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30, 1862.

H. K. Milward, lieutenant-colonel; commissioned colonel Dec. 19, 1863, but never mustered.

Fred'k G. Bracht, major; resigned Jan. 14, 1863. Abram G. Wileman, major; killed by guerrillas Oct. 5, 1863, in Pendleton County, Ky.

John W. Robbins, major; commissioned lieutenant-colonel Dec. 19, 1863, but never mustered.

John J. Hall, major; promoted from 2d lieutenant, Company H, to 1st lieutenant, August 2, 1862; to captain August 30, 1862; to major November 10, 1864; transferred to 18th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Alvin B. Clark, adjutant; promoted adjutant Jan. 15, 1863.

John W. Hamilton, adjutant; transferred to 18th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

James T. Clark, regimental quartermaster; promoted to captain and assistant quartermaster Dec. 15, 1863.

John Moss, regimental quartermaster; transferred to field and staff as regimental quartermaster Dec. 25, 1863.

Joseph Fithian, surgeon; resigned March 30, 1865.

J. C. Elliott, ass't surgeon; surgeon of the 100th United States Colored Infantry.

Asa Drury, chaplain; resigned Oct. 4, 1863.

L. D. Parker, chaplain; transferred to 18th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

## COMPANY A.

Mathew Mullins, captain; John W. Robbins, captain; J. M. Wilson, captain; James T. Applegate, 1st lieutenant; H. F. Monroe, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Wm. C. Johnson, captain; Chas. S. Williams, captain; Jas. T. Chrisman, 1st lieutenant; Wm. McPherson, 1st lieutenant; Saml. J. Kuhn, 1st lieutenant; John W. Puthuff, 2d lieutenant; Junius B. Bracht, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Wm. R. Fisk, captain; Wm. C. Reeder, captain; Andrew B. Clark, 1st lieutenant; Hiram M. Bryson, 1st lieutenant; James D. Oldham, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Abram G. Wileman, captain; J. L. Dougherty, captain; William McPherson, captain; Henry F. Monroe, captain; Saml. S. Patterson, 1st lieutenant; James A. Simpson, 1st lieutenant; L. H. Sanders, 1st lieutenant; James H. Johns, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

David E. Pugsley, captain; James C. Bacon, captain; Henry P. Ritchey, captain; Weeden C. Sleet, 1st lieutenant; Silas Howe, 1st lieutenant; Elijah Regan, 1st lieutenant; John C. Richards, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Wm. H. Littlejohn, captain; Jas. F. Miller, captain; John M. Poston, captain; Augustus G. Hatry, 1st lieutenant; John R. Miller, 1st lieutenant; John W. Washburn, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Hiram W. Egelston, captain; Benj. T. Riggs, captain; David Boys, 1st lieutenant; Kemp G. Carter, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Wm. M. Oden, captain; Orrin M. Lewis, captain; John J. Hall, captain; Jos. C. Pritchard, captain; John W. Grose, 1st lieutenant; Alfred S. Lewis, 1st lieutenant; James E. Bell, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Sam'l G. Rogers, captain; John W. Grose, captain; Joseph M. Shaw, captain; James Dunlap, 1st lieutenant; Wm. M. Dayton, 1st lieutenant; David H. Goyen, 1st lieutenant; Thos. Clements, 2d lieutenant.



## COMPANY K.

Wm. W. Culbertson, captain; John B. Heltemus, captain; John Moss, 1st lieutenant; A. B. Clark, 1st lieutenant; Junius B. Bracht, 1st lieutenant; Wm. A. Ridenour, 2d lieutenant.

The Eighteenth Kentucky Infantry was recruited during the winter of 1861-62, and was mustered into the United States service on the 8th day of February, 1862. During its organization, and until August 20, 1862, the command was on duty guarding the Covington & Lexington R. R., with its headquarters at Falmouth, Ky., until April 16, 1862, and then at Lexington, Ky. On the 16th day of June, 1862, a detachment of the regiment, under command of Lieut.-Col. Landram, participated in the defense of Cynthiana, Ky., against Gen. John H. Morgan, where it sustained a loss of two killed.

## INFANTRY—NINETEENTH REGIMENT.

William J. Landrum, colonel.

John Cowan, lieutenant-colonel.

John R. Duncan, major; resigned Feb. 14, 1863.

Morgan V. Evans, major; killed in battle of Vicksburg, Miss., May 22, 1863.

Josiah J. Mann, major; promoted from captain, Co. F, to major May 23, 1863.

Richard L. Cochran, adjutant; resigned Feb. 14, 1863.

George C. Rue, adjutant; promoted to adjutant April 2, 1863.

George H. McKinney, regimental quartermaster.

James B. Sparks, surgeon; resigned Jan. 21, 1863.

William K. Sadler, surgeon; killed Dec. 2, 1864, at Baton Rouge, La.

Pleasant W. Logan, asst. surgeon; resigned July 15, 1862.

James F. Peyton, asst. surgeon; promoted to assistant surgeon Nov. 20, 1862.

Anthony H. Semlire, asst. surgeon; resigned June 30, 1864.

William N. Forbes, asst. surgeon; resigned July 19, 1864.

James Matthews, chaplain; resigned Aug. 25, 1864.

## COMPANY A.

William B. Kelly, captain; William H. Cundiff, captain; Ansel L. Wood, 1st lieutenant; Reid Leslie McMurry, 1st lieutenant; Vincent L. Lester, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Aaron Blakeman, captain; John J. Goodnight, captain; Henry L. Whitehouse, captain; Abraham Whitenack, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

James O. Norris, captain; William H. Bolar, captain; John Landrum, 1st lieutenant; Elihu H. Moles, 2d lieutenant; George W. Graham, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Alexander E. Adams, captain; Henry C. Hogg, captain; Edwin F. Hogg, 1st lieutenant; Elijah C. Baker, 1st lieutenant; John D. Mitchell, 2d lieutenant; Zachariah Morgan, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Hanibal Downey, captain; John Barnett, captain; Willis O. Egerton, 1st lieutenant; John Walls, 1st lieutenant; Charles H. Talbot, 1st lieutenant; Luther Hale, 2d lieutenant; Squire Pinkston, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Josiah J. Mann, captain; Harbert K. Forbis, captain; George Rose, 1st lieutenant; William D. James, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Merideth G. Richardson, captain; Joshua W. Hansford, captain; Lincoln A. Hamblin, captain; Thomas A. Warren, 1st lieutenant; Thomas H. Cundiff, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Morgan V. Evans, captain; Alexander Logan, captain; Thomas A. Elkin, 1st lieutenant; Stephen W. Hedger, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Henry Hicks, captain; William T. Cummins, captain; William G. Bowen, 1st lieutenant; George H. Vandevere, 1st lieutenant; Harrison S. Poulter, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

William F. McKinny, captain; Isaac Singleton, 1st lieutenant; James F. Peyton, 1st lieutenant; Eberle Wilson, 1st lieutenant; George C. Rue, 2d lieutenant; James J. McKinney, 2d lieutenant.

The Nineteenth Kentucky Infantry was recruited and organized at Harrodsburg, Ky., in the fall of 1861 by Col. William J. Landrum and Lieut.-Col. John Cowan, and was mustered into the United States service on the 2d day of January, 1862, by Capt. H. C. Bankhead, United States mustering officer. From Harrodsburg the regiment marched to Somerset, Ky., in January, 1862, and was engaged for some time in destroying the intrenchments of Gen. Zollicoffer, and collecting property captured at the battle of Mill Spring.

## INFANTRY—TWENTIETH REGIMENT.

Sanders D. Bruce, colonel; resigned June 24, 1864. Charles S. Hanson, lieutenant-colonel; transferred to 37th Kentucky Mounted Infantry as colonel Dec. 31, 1863.

Thomas B. Waller, lieutenant-colonel; commissioned colonel Oct. 5, 1864, but never mustered as such.

Benjamin F. Buckner, major; resigned April 17, 1863.

Frank E. Wolcott, major, commissioned lieutenant-colonel October 14, 1864, but never mustered as such.

John Brennan, adjutant; transferred to 3d Kentucky Infantry as Captain Company F, Sept. 29, 1862.

James A. McCampbell, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Sept. 29, 1862.

James W. Swing, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Oct. 13, 1864.

Alonzo Jackson, quartermaster; died Jan. 15, 1863, at Claysville, Ky.

Abner Crane, quartermaster; promoted to quartermaster Oct. 10, 1863.

John C. Welch, surgeon.

W. H. Curran, assistant surgeon; resigned Aug. 2, 1862.

Prior N. Norton, assistant surgeon; promoted from hospital steward to assistant surgeon Aug. 2, 1862.

Daniel W. Axline, chaplain; resigned Nov. 6, 1862.

## COMPANY A.

James W. Craddock, captain; Henry S. Parrish, captain; Daniel T. Buckner, captain; Benjamin M. Chiles, 1st lieutenant; William A. Attersall, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Abram G. Smith, captain; Adam W. Trebein, captain; Lawson Gray, 1st lieutenant; John Glenn, 1st lieutenant; Leonidas Denny, 1st lieutenant; Joseph N. Reid, 1st lieutenant; James R. B. Cole, 1st lieutenant; William N. Rice, 2d lieutenant; Elijah Yates, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Clinton J. True, captain; Francis E. Wolcott, captain; Lucius A. Bachus, captain; Benjamin R. Waller, 1st lieutenant; Cassander Hall, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Theodore B. Rushing, captain; James C. Morris, captain; Wm. C. Musselman, captain; Samuel Corum, 1st lieutenant; Hugh M. Hiatt, 1st lieutenant; John W. Hale, 1st lieutenant; James R. B. Cole, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Robert F. Haynes, captain; Franklin Gipson, captain; Henry C. Brennan, captain; Walter M. Asher, 1st lieutenant; James C. Guess, 1st lieutenant; Saunders A. Crowell, 2d lieutenant; Robert B. McNary, 2d lieutenant; James D. Young, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

William B. Dunn, captain; William C. Musselman, 1st lieutenant; John C. Northcutt, 1st lieutenant; James C. Morris, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Thomas B. Waller, captain; John P. Gapen, captain; Thomas J. Gregory, 1st lieutenant; Francis C. Sternberg, 1st lieutenant; Benjamin R. Waller, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Thomas M. Duvall, captain; John Glenn, captain; John R. Flemming, 1st lieutenant; Frauklin S. Loyd, 1st lieutenant; Orlean B. Herring, 2d lieutenant; Wickliffe Cooper, 2d lieutenant; Bartholomew J. Scott, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Cornelius McLeod, captain; Henry Kimbrough, 1st lieutenant; Henry C. Oots, 1st lieutenant; Winder Kinney, 1st lieutenant; Robert Becket, 2d lieutenant; Joseph M. Wilson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Andrew McCampbell, captain; Charles R. West, captain; George W. Baker, 1st lieutenant; Benj. F. Thornbrough, 1st lieutenant; Allen A. Burton, 1st lieutenant; S. Thompson Corn, 2d lieutenant; Jas. A. McCampbell, 2d lieutenant; Samuel M. Anderson, 2d lieutenant.

The Twentieth Kentucky Infantry was organized in the fall and winter of 1861, by Col. Sanders D. Bruce, and was mustered into the United States service on the 6th day of January, 1862, at Smithland, Ky., by Lieut.-Col. Chetlain, United States mustering officer. Soon after organization, it was ordered to Louisville, Ky., and from there to Bardstown, Ky., where it was assigned to a brigade commanded by Col. Bruce and marched to Nashville, Tenn.

## INFANTRY—TWENTY-FIRST REGIMENT.

Ethelbert L. Dudley, colonel; died February 20, 1862.

Saml. W. Price, colonel; transferred to 21st Kentucky Veteran Infantry; wounded at Kenesaw Mountain.

Basil A. Wheat, lieutenant-colonel; resigned October 26, 1862.

James C. Evans, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel October 27, 1862.

Wm. W. Dowden, major; wounded at Stone River, January 1, 1863; resigned April 19, 1863.

Jesse E. Hoskins, major; promoted from captain, Company G, to major April 20, 1863.

M. Scott Dudley, adjutant; resigned May 16, 1863.

Chas. F. Spillman, adjutant; promoted from private of Company E to adjutant June 14, 1863.

John T. Gunn, adjutant; promoted from 1st lieutenant Company E to adjutant Feb. 28, 1864.

Albert H. Bohannon, adjutant; promoted adjutant Nov. 21, 1864; transferred to 21st Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Samuel P. Taylor, regimental quartermaster; resigned Nov. 14, 1862.

Thomas Hles, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster March 1, 1863.

Claiborne J. Walton, surgeon.

Jas. O. Wheat, asst. surgeon; resigned Feb. 12, 1862.

T. C. Fitzhugh, asst. surgeon; resigned Jan. 8, 1865.

Wm. L. Morrison, chaplain; resigned March 15, 1862.

Thos. M. Gunn, chaplain, never mustered.

M. H. B. Burkett, chaplain; acted as such from Sept. 4, 1863, until July 30, 1864.

## COMPANY A.

Wm. W. Dowden, captain; Wm. R. Milward, captain; Edward Knoble, 1st lieutenant; John D. Carpenter, 2d lieutenant; Wm. D. Vanpelt, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

James P. Sandidge, captain; Jonathan Williams, 1st lieutenant; John H. Hayes, 1st lieutenant; James L. Sublett, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Matt. M. Clay, captain; Sam'l R. Sharrard, captain; Edmund B. Davidson, captain; John B. Buckner, 1st lieutenant; Lucien W. Dunnington, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

David Russell, captain; Henry F. Temple, captain; George T. Stagg, 1st lieutenant; Nathaniel C. Brown, 1st lieutenant; Elijah Logan, 2d lieutenant; Wm. F. Ware, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Williamson Irvin, captain; James Dudley, captain; Dudley M. Craig, captain; William Bright, captain; John T. Gunn, 1st lieutenant; Charles F. Spillman, 1st lieutenant; Job S. Bailey, 1st lieutenant; Jackson W. Reynolds, 2d lieutenant; Hugh Lonney, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Zachariah S. Taylor, captain; John G. Evans, captain; Jasper F. Morton, captain; Robert L. Bullock, 1st lieutenant; William Spencer, 1st lieutenant; Thos. P. Dudley, Jr., 2d lieutenant; John H. Bevell, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Jesse E. Hoskins, captain; John D. Nash, captain; Sebastian Stone, 1st lieutenant; Hugh A. Hedger, 1st lieutenant; George Y. O'Neal, 1st lieutenant; Jeremiah R. Dean, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Wm. C. Edwards, captain; Jno. R. Jameson, captain; George W. Twyman, captain; William Prewitt, 1st lieutenant; Michael B. Gratz, 1st lieutenant; William Ritter, 1st lieutenant; Benj. Fansler, 1st lieutenant; Holman F. Hardy, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Newton M. Hutchens, captain; George T. Stagg, captain; Langston P. Bryant, 1st lieutenant; Thos. M. Gunn, 1st lieutenant; Wm. A. Bryant, 2d lieutenant; George S. Nunn, 2d lieutenant; Newton Searce, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Memory J. Thompson, captain; Thomas A. Conyer, 1st lieutenant; Daniel R. Gray, 1st lieutenant;



Joseph A. Fagg, 2d lieutenant; Herbert G. W. Bradley, 2d lieutenant.

The Twenty-first Kentucky Infantry was formed by the consolidation of the troops recruited by E. L. Dudley and B. A. Wheat, and was mustered into the United States service at Camp Ward, Ky., Dec. 30, 1861.

#### INFANTRY—TWENTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

Daniel W. Lindsey, colonel; resigned Oct. 14, 1863.

George W. Monroe, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel to colonel Oct. 15, 1863.

William J. Worthington, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Oct. 15, 1863.

Wesley Cook, major; resigned Oct. 20, 1862.

John Hughes, major; promoted to major Oct. 15, 1863.

Orlando Brown, Jr., adjutant; promoted to major 14th Ky. Vol. Inf. April 15, 1862.

Joseph W. Roberts, adjutant; promoted adjutant April 15, 1862.

Francis C. Robb, adjutant; promoted to adjutant June 21, 1863.

E. F. Dulin, quartermaster; resigned Jan. 10, 1862.

John Paul Jones, quartermaster; resigned June 5, 1862.

James F. Tureman, quartermaster; resigned March 24, 1863.

Shadrack L. Mitchell, quartermaster; promoted to quartermaster March 25, 1863.

James W. Barbee, quartermaster; promoted to quartermaster Dec. 14, 1863.

Benj. F. Stevenson, surgeon; resigned Feb. 16, 1864.

Henry Manfred, surgeon; promoted to surgeon Feb. 16, 1864.

William R. Davidson, assistant surgeon; transferred to 7th Ky. Vet. Vol. Inf.

Samuel S. Sumner, chaplain; resigned March 15, 1864.

#### COMPANY A.

John Hughes, captain; Arthur J. Harrington, 1st lieutenant; James W. Barbee, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY B.

William J. Worthington, captain; John L. Godman, captain; Henry E. Evans, 1st lieutenant; Daniel W. Steele, 1st lieutenant.

#### COMPANY C.

John F. Lacy, captain; Francis C. Robb, 1st lieutenant; Robert Montgomery, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY D.

James W. Scott, captain; James G. Milligan, captain; James W. Barbee, 1st lieutenant; John A. Gilbert, 2d lieutenant; James A. Watson, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY E.

Lewis P. Ellis, captain; Alexander Bruce, captain; David C. Thoroman, 1st lieutenant; Elijah Scott, 2d lieutenant; William B. Hegan, 2d lieutenant; Jabez Truett, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY F.

Daniel Garrard, Jr., captain; Williamson W. Bacon, captain; James Morton, 1st lieutenant; William H. Sneed, 2d lieutenant; Richard J. Frayne, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY G.

John Paul Jones, captain; William B. Hegan, captain; Evan D. Thomas, captain; Jacob Swigert, Jr., captain; Charles L. Nevius, 1st lieutenant; Harry B. Litteral, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY H.

Edwin Cook, captain; John T. Gathright, captain; Stephen Nethercutt, captain; Thomas P. Harper, 1st lieutenant; John Everman, Sr., 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY I.

Jordon Nethercutt, captain; Frank A. Estep, captain; William K. Gray, captain; Jeremiah Noland, 1st lieutenant; Charles G. Shanks, 1st lieutenant; William Nethercutt, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY K.

Louis Schweizer, captain; Charles Gutig, captain; Gustav Wehrle, 1st lieutenant.

The Twenty-second Kentucky Infantry was organized at Camp Swigert, Greenup County, Ky., on the 12th day of December, 1861, under D. W. Lindsey, as colonel; George W. Monroe, lieutenant-colonel; and Wesley Cook, major, by which officers the regiment was principally recruited.

#### INFANTRY—TWENTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

Marcellus Mundy, colonel; resigned Dec. 31, 1863.

John P. Jackson, lieutenant-colonel; resigned Nov. 24, 1862.

James C. Foy, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel April 18, 1863.

Geo. W. Northup, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel July 27, 1864.

Thomas H. Hamrick, major; resigned Feb. 26, 1863.

William Boden, major; promoted to major Aug. 8, 1864.

Wm. H. Mundy, adjutant; resigned Jan. 17, 1864.

Jephson P. Puke, adjutant; promoted adjutant from 1st lieutenant, Company K.

Wm. N. Air, regimental quartermaster; dismissed the service June 20, 1862.

Leroy R. Hawthorn, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster June 20, 1862.

Alvin Tarvin, regimental quartermaster; promoted to regimental quartermaster; July 28, 1864.

Arnold Strothotte, surgeon; resigned Nov. 28, 1862.

Alonzo M. Morrison, surgeon; promoted to surgeon Nov. 28, 1862.

Benj. F. Stevenson, asst. surgeon; promoted surgeon of 22d Kentucky Infantry Jan. 10, 1862.

Wm. L. Hashbrook, asst. surgeon; promoted to asst. surgeon Nov. 28, 1862.

Wm. H. Black, chaplain; transferred to 23d Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

#### COMPANY A.

James C. Foy, captain; William A. Seiter, captain; Asaph A. Quigley, captain; Joseph Greene, 1st lieutenant; Joseph C. Hoffman, 1st lieutenant; John B. Korman, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY B.

George W. Northup, captain; Thomas W. Hardiman, captain; Levi S. Peters, captain; Claudius Tift, 1st lieutenant; Henry G. Shiner, 1st lieutenant; William Hudson, 2d lieutenant; Robert Townsend, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY C.

William G. Holden, captain; William Hudson, captain; Ryland Willett, 1st lieutenant; John Squiers, 1st lieutenant; Eldridge G. Holden, 2d lieutenant; Asaph A. Quigley, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY D.

Henry Speier, captain; William Boden, captain; Charles Theis, 1st lieutenant; Reuben Hamer, 1st lieutenant; Thos. M. Barton, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. Spencer, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

William P. Egan, captain; John Barnes, captain; William A. Morgan, 1st lieutenant; Thomas S. Lukens, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Charles R. Cotton, captain; Benjamin A. Thompson, captain; Frank Jukes, captain; Alvin O. Pattee, 1st lieutenant; Patrick S. Reeves, 1st lieutenant; Jephson P. Duke, 2d lieutenant; Jacob S. Fox, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Thomas J. Williams, captain; Thomas W. Hardiman, 1st lieutenant; Martin T. Hennessy, 1st lieutenant; James Barker, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Lewis Voight, captain; Claudius Tift, captain; William A. Seiter, 1st lieutenant; Frank A. Black, 1st lieutenant; Henry G. Shiner, 2d lieutenant; Martin T. Hennessy, 2d lieutenant; William H. Whitney, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Augustus C. Paul, captain; Frank A. Black, captain; Henry G. Shiner, captain; Douglas Pritchard, 1st lieutenant; Green Clay Goodloe, 1st lieutenant; Alonzo W. Tarvin, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Joseph W. Cottingham, captain; Kavanaugh O. Bullock, captain; Ephraim P. Mavity, captain; Jephson P. Duke, 1st lieutenant; William H. Tyree, 2d lieutenant; Wm. A. Morgan, 2d lieutenant; John Atkinson, 2d lieutenant.

The Twenty-third Kentucky Infantry was organized in December, 1861, at Camp King, Ky., by Col. Marcellus Mundy, and was mustered into the United States service by Maj. Jno. R. Edie, 15th United States Infantry.

## INFANTRY—TWENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

Lewis B. Grigsby, colonel; resigned July 16, 1863.

John S. Hurt, colonel; promoted colonel July 17, 1863.

Lafayette North, lieutenant colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel October 24, 1863.

William H. Smith, major; resigned March 4, 1863.

James H. Turner, adjutant; resigned Aug. 30, 1862.

John A. Joyce, adjutant; discharged on account of wounds received in action June 27, 1864.

Cornelius E. Mastin, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Nov. 4, 1864.

David S. Trumbo, quartermaster.

James Sympson, surgeon.

William L. White, asst. surgeon; resigned March 27, 1862.

Marcus E. Poynter, asst. surgeon; resigned Jan. 1, 1863.

W. H. T. Moss, asst. surgeon.

Joseph Gardner, asst. surgeon; wounded in action Aug. 5, 1864.

## COMPANY A.

Hector H. Scoville, captain; Wiley Jones, 1st lieutenant; William B. Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Daniel O. Morin, 2d lieutenant; George W. Freeman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

James Carey, captain; Washington J. McIntire, 1st lieutenant; John Henry, 2d lieutenant; Daniel F. Winchester, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Green V. Hall, captain; Joseph L. Judy, 1st lieutenant; John Kinney, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J.

Bush, 1st lieutenant; Stephen G. Lewis, 1st lieutenant; James McChristy, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

George R. Barber, captain; Mathias T. S. Lee, 1st lieutenant; Lander Barber, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Lafayette North, captain; John M. Gill, 1st lieutenant; Wilkins Warren, 2d lieutenant; Jesse P. Nelson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

James A. Hawkins, captain; James Blue, captain; Thomas J. Bush, captain; John N. McIntire, captain; William H. Norris, 1st lieutenant; Thomas M. Likes, 1st lieutenant; Cornelius E. Martin, 1st lieutenant; Dillion White, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Peter T. Hedges, captain; John J. Sewell, 1st lieutenant; John C. Padgett, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Edmund Jones, captain; Robert G. Potter, captain; Reuben Langford, captain; James H. Wilson, 1st lieutenant; Richard L. Ewell, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Roy D. Davidson, captain; Fountain Goodpaster, captain; William G. Howard, 1st lieutenant; John A. Joyce, 1st lieutenant; Daniel Wilson, 2d lieutenant; Julius C. Miller, 2d lieutenant; Benjamin P. DeSilve, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

John J. Evans, captain; James M. Anderson, captain; James Caughlin, 1st lieutenant; T. D. Moss, 2d lieutenant; David G. Howell, 2d lieutenant.

The Twenty-fourth Kentucky Infantry was organized in the fall and winter of 1861 under Col. Lewis B. Grigsby, and was mustered into the United States service on the 31st of December, 1861, at Lexington, Ky., by Capt. Bankhead, United States mustering officer.

The Twenty-fifth Kentucky Infantry was consolidated with the Seventeenth Kentucky Infantry April 13, 1862.

## INFANTRY—TWENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT.

Stephen G. Burbridge, colonel; promoted brigadier-general June 12, 1862.

Cicero Maxwell, colonel; promoted to colonel June 12, 1862.

Thos. B. Fairleigh, colonel; promoted to colonel Jan. 3, 1865.

James F. Lauck, lieutenant-colonel; was lieutenant-colonel of 33d Kentucky Infantry.

John L. Davidson, major; killed in action at Shiloh, Tenn., April 10, 1862.

Jos. L. Frost, major; promoted from adjutant to major April 10, 1862.

Ignatius Mattingly, major; promoted from captain Company C to major June 12, 1862.

Cyrus J. Wilson, major; resigned May 14, 1864.

Francis M. Page, major; promoted from captain of Company E to Major Nov. 15, 1864.

A. J. Wells, adjutant; promoted to adjutant April 10, 1862.

James A. Dawson, adjutant; was adjutant of 33d Kentucky Infantry.

Richard Vance, adjutant; promoted adjutant Jan. 1, 1863.

John H. Morton, regimental quartermaster; discharged April 1, 1864, by reason of consolidation of 33d with 26th Kentucky Infantry.

Robert W. Compton, regimental quartermaster;



was regimental quartermaster of 33d Kentucky Infantry.

Densil P. Walling, regimental quartermaster; was adjutant of 33d Kentucky Infantry from May 4, 1863, to consolidation.

Jonathan Baily, surgeon; resigned April 10, 1862.

James M. Baily, surgeon; promoted from ass't surgeon to surgeon April 10, 1862.

L. Bennett, ass't surgeon; promoted to surgeon of 8th Kentucky Cavalry June 10, 1863.

James Walshe, ass't surgeon; discharged April 1, 1864, by reason of consolidation.

E. O. Brown, ass't surgeon; honorably discharged May 10, 1865, per order of War Department.

W. H. Jett, ass't surgeon; was ass't surgeon of 33d Kentucky Infantry prior to consolidation.

Wm. M. Grubbs, chaplain.

#### COMPANY A.

John W. Belt, captain; Rowland E. Hackett, captain; Wm. W. Ranney, 1st lieutenant; Stephen Woodward, 1st lieutenant; Tho. B. Bayne, 1st lieutenant; Richard Shockley, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY B.

Gabriel Netter, captain; D. H. Butler, captain; Robert Earnest, captain; Woodford M. Taylor, captain; Abram B. Stanley, captain; John T. Higdon, 1st lieutenant; James M. Holland, 1st lieutenant; Francis M. Gillstrap, 1st lieutenant; Jeremiah O'Brien, 2d lieutenant; Richard Vance, 2d lieutenant; John C. West, 2d lieutenant; Seth Rupard, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY C.

Ignatius Mattingly, captain; Heury Smallhouse, captain; James W. Overstreet, captain; Joseph Fisher, 1st lieutenant; John A. Hendrix, 2d lieutenant; Wm. T. Hansford, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY D.

Albert N. Keigwin, captain; Fred Guy, captain; James McConnell, 1st lieutenant; Joseph B. Harris, 1st lieutenant; Andrew J. Wells, 2d lieutenant; Thos. J. Mershon, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY E.

Francis M. Page, captain; Wm. C. Burgher, 1st lieutenant; Jeremiah Redfearn, 1st lieutenant; Henry C. Morgan, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY F.

Michael T. Hall, captain; Wm. M. Claypool, 1st lieutenant; David W. Thomas, 1st lieutenant; Samuel H. Haden, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY G.

Thos. B. Fairleigh, captain; James H. Ashcraft, captain; Samuel D. Brown, 1st lieutenant; George T. Elder, 2d lieutenant; Reuben C. Powell, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY H.

Lafayette S. Beck, captain; Thomas G. Laird, 1st lieutenant; Thomas M. Sherrall, 2d lieutenant; Pleasant P. Collier, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY I.

Wm. Knight, Jr., captain; James M. Adams, captain; John M. Wilkins, 1st lieutenant; Densil P. Walling, 2d lieutenant; Wm. K. Walters, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY K.

Cyrus J. Wilson, captain; Wm. F. Gorin, captain; Jacob M. Sallee, 1st lieutenant; William L. Macey, 2d lieutenant.

The Twenty-sixth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Calhoun, Ky., under Col. S. G. Burbridge, in the fall of 1861, and mustered into the United

States service March, 1862, at Nashville, Tenn., by H. C. Bankhead, captain 5th United States Infantry mustering officer.

#### INFANTRY—TWENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Charles D. Pennebaker, colonel; resigned April 10, 1864.

John H. Ward, lieutenant-colonel; commissioned colonel April 14, 1864, but never mustered as such.

James Carlile, major; died Feb. 25, 1862.

Samuel J. Coyne, major; promoted major April 15, 1862.

Alexander Magruder, major; promoted from adjutant to major Feb. 6, 1863.

Daniel B. Waggener, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Jan. 21, 1863; resigned May 1, 1863.

James B. Speed, adjutant.

Thomas R. McBeath, quartermaster; promoted to regimental quartermaster Jan. 21, 1862.

Robert L. Heston, surgeon.

Thomas Sanders, asst. surgeon; resigned March 29, 1863.

Robert Dinwiddie, asst. surgeon.

Robert G. Gardner, chaplain.

#### COMPANY A.

Anderson Gray, captain; William W. Brady, captain; Thomas R. McBeath, 1st lieutenant; Bcnj. W. Cleaver, 1st lieutenant; Robert V. Sands, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY B.

Lucian K. Cox, captain; Thomas S. Hiner, captain; Ananson M. Pulliam, captain; Aaron Norton, 1st lieutenant; Obediah Bassham, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY C.

Andrew J. Bailey, captain; John W. McWharter, 1st lieutenant; James W. Dcfevers, 1st lieutenant; Edmund R. Goode, 2d lieutenant; James A. Figggett, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY D.

Samuel J. Coyne, captain; George Hammers, captain; Peterson Roff, 1st lieutenant; John W. S. Smith, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY E.

John R. Robinson, captain; John R. Fisher, captain; Thomas T. Fisher, captain; Benjamin A. Rice, 1st lieutenant; Robert D. Willian, 1st lieutenant; Daniel B. Waggener, 2d lieutenant; Alexander Shiveley, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY F.

Henry B. Grant, captain; John H. Adams, 1st lieutenant; Riley Wilson, 1st lieutenant; Daniel B. Goode, 1st lieutenant; John W. Taylor, 1st lieutenant.

#### COMPANY G.

Harvey W. Sutton, captain; James Giffin, captain; William Wilson, 1st lieutenant; Henry H. Didway, 1st lieutenant.

#### COMPANY H.

Albert B. Ragsdale, captain; Beckwith Bealmear, captain; John W. Jennings, 1st lieutenant; George W. Williams, 2d lieutenant; Basil B. Summers, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY I.

William H. Hervey, captain; Benjamin F. Pumphrey, captain; E. W. Frank, captain; Samuel H. Haynes, 1st lieutenant; William B. White, 2d lieutenant; Joseph S. Higdon, 2d lieutenant.

Company K never organized.

The Twenty-seventh Kentucky Infantry organized at Grayson Springs, Ky., under Col. C.

D. Pennebaker, was mustered into the United States service (627 strong) on the 21st of March, 1862, by Major W. H. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

#### INFANTRY—TWENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT.

William P. Boone, colonel; resigned June 28, 1864.

J. Rowan Boone, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Dec. 18, 1863.

Absalom Y. Johnson, major; commissioned lieutenant-colonel, to take rank from Nov. 6, 1861.

John Gault, Jr., major; resigned March 30, 1864.

George W. Barth, major; promoted from captain, Company C, to major March 30, 1864.

Edward Wukler, adjutant; was 1st lieutenant Company B; promoted adjutant Dec. 18, 1863.

Theodore B. Hays, regimental quartermaster; promoted to captain Company C, April 30, 1864.

Albert M. Healy, regimental quartermaster; transferred to field and staff as regimental quartermaster.

Alfred W. Hynes, surgeon; resigned October 28, 1864.

James A. Post, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon to surgeon Dec. 22, 1864.

Joseph Habermehl, asst. surgeon; resigned Nov. 23, 1862.

William V. Marquis, asst. surgeon; resigned September 17, 1864.

Charles H. Stocking, asst. surgeon; transferred to 28th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Hiram A. Hunter, chaplain; resigned March 1, 1864.

#### COMPANY A.

William E. Benson, captain; Paul Byerly, captain; John W. Hogue, 1st lieutenant; Martin Enright, 1st lieutenant; John A. Weatherford, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY B.

Jas. H. White, captain; Thos. J. Randolph, captain; Jno. W. Tydings, 1st lieutenant; Edward Winkler, 1st lieutenant; Wm. T. Applegate, 2d lieutenant; Nathan B. Skiuer, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY C.

Geo. W. Barth, captain; Theodore B. Hays, captain; Robert W. Catlin, 1st lieutenant; Joseph F. Hawley, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY D.

Henry J. O'Neill, captain; John Martin, captain; Henry Monohan, 1st lieutenant; Patrick O'Malia, 1st lieutenant; Anthony Hartman, 2d lieutenant; James B. True, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY E.

Franklin M. Hughes, captain; George W. Conaway, captain; Wm. C. Irvine, captain; Andrew B. Norwood, captain; Granville J. Sinkhorn, 1st lieutenant; Joseph H. Davis, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY F.

James R. Noble, captain; Wm. C. McDowell, captain; Wm. G. Shane, 1st lieutenant; Henry Hooker, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY G.

John W. Wilson, captain; Frederick Brooks, captain; James E. Loyal, captain; Albert M. Healy, 1st lieutenant.

#### COMPANY H.

John W. Tydings, captain; Robert Cairns, captain; Daniel C. Collins, captain; Nathaniel Wolfe, Jr., 1st lieutenant; William R. Cox, 1st lieutenant.

#### COMPANY I.

Geo. W. Conoway, captain; John Schmidt, captain; Charles Obst, 1st lieutenant; Frederick Buck-

ner, 1st lieutenant; Anthony P. Hefner, 1st lieutenant; Wm. T. Morrow, 1st lieutenant; William Troxler, 2d lieutenant; Isaac Everett, Jr., 2d lieutenant.

Company K never organized.

The Twenty-eighth Kentucky Infantry was organized in the fall of 1861 at New Haven, Ky., under Col. Wm. P. Boone, and was mustered into the United States service October 8, 1861, at New Haven, Ky., by Capt. C. C. Gilbert, 1st United States Infantry, mustering officer.

#### INFANTRY—THIRTIETH REGIMENT.

Francis N. Alexander, colonel; promoted colonel 30th Kentucky Infantry, April 19, 1864.

Wm. B. Craddock, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel March 31, 1864.

Thomas Mahoney, major; wounded in action at Cynthia, Ky., June 10, 1864.

Thomas J. Hardin, adjutant; detailed as A. A. Ins. Gen. of 4th Brig., 1st Div. Mil. Dep't of Ky., April 28, 1864.

George T. Finnell, regimental quartermaster; detailed as brigade quartermaster of 2d Brig., 1st Div., Mil. Dep't of Ky., November 5, 1864.

Wm. H. Gardner, surgeon; captured at Saltville, Va., October 3, 1864.

Columbus A. Cox, asst. surgeon.

#### COMPANY A.

Milton P. Hodges, captain; Wm. B. Craddock, 1st lieutenant; Ambrose L. King, 1st lieutenant; Berrie C. Craddock, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY B.

Robert J. Dyas, captain; John T. Ford, 1st lieutenant; James Ranton, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY C.

Fleming Bates, captain; Joseph Miller, 1st lieutenant; Jenkins J. Vickery, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY D.

James S. Burk, captain; Gains L. Burk, 1st lieutenant; William Burk, 1st lieutenant; William H. Gregory, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY E.

William P. Bacon, captain; George W. Young, 1st lieutenant; Jesse A. Suter, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY F.

John B. Brownlee, captain; John W. S. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Andrew H. Brownlee, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY G.

Wiley Searcy, captain; James L. Curtsinger, 1st lieutenant; James S. Searcy, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY H.

Leander J. Stephenson, captain; John W. S. Brooks, 1st lieutenant; Ephraim B. Guffey, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY I.

Gains L. Burk, captain; Calvin Bell, 1st lieutenant; James Phipps, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY K.

Richard Reynolds, captain; Nathan Buchanan, 1st lieutenant; George A. Muse, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirtieth Kentucky Mounted Infantry was organized under the 20,000 call, and was mustered into the United States service for one year. Companies A, B, E and F were mustered in at Frankfort, Ky., February 19, 1864, and Company G March 29, 1864, by Capt. Charles H. Fletcher, 1st United States Infantry.



## INFANTRY—THIRTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

Thos. Z. Morrow, lieutenant-colonel.  
 John A. Morrison, major.  
 Wm. J. Hume, adjutant.  
 R. H. Kinney, adjutant.  
 J. C. Sayers, regimental quartermaster.  
 Wm. Woodcock, regimental quartermaster.  
 John Carnes, regimental quartermaster.  
 John J. Matthews, surgeon.  
 Wm. F. Scott, surgeon.  
 Benj. F. Davidson, assistant surgeon.

## COMPANY A.

Robert J. Dyas, captain; Isaac N. Slade, 1st lieutenant; George W. Drinkard, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Ben. T. Nix, captain; John W. Zinn, 1st lieutenant; Thomas E. Rhodes, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Harrison M. Hurt, captain; Rolly W. Chapman, 1st lieutenant; William D. Lowe, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Parish G. Buster, captain; Benjamin D. Owens, 1st lieutenant; Wm. M. Northrup, 1st lieutenant; James L. Francis, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

William B. White, captain; Cyrenius W. Smith, 1st lieutenant; William Patrick, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Bourne G. Tate, captain; Speed S. Farris, 1st lieutenant; Thomas S. Hamilton, 1st lieutenant; John M. Neal, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Alexander C. Surber, captain; Nelson S. Gooch, 1st lieutenant; James M. Nunnally, 2d lieutenant; Edwin Sadler, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Robert B. Taylor, captain; Wm. K. Gray, 1st lieutenant; Thos. J. Hutchinson, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirty-second Kentucky Infantry was organized from various detachments, and mustered into service with Thos. Z. Morrow, colonel, on the 15th day of April, 1863, at Camp Burnside, Ky.

## INFANTRY—THIRTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

Henry Dent, colonel; was lieutenant-colonel from Sept. 23, 1861, to Oct. 2, 1862; then colonel.

Selby Harney, colonel; was major from March 10, 1862, to February 6, 1863; then lieutenant-colonel to June 2, 1863; then colonel.

William Y. Dillard, colonel; was major to June 2, 1863; then lieutenant-colonel to Dec. 24, 1863; then colonel.

Lewis H. Ferrell, lieutenant-colonel; was captain of Company D to Oct. 2, 1863; then lieutenant-colonel.

Milton T. Callahan, major; was captain of Company I to June 2, 1863; then major.

Joseph B. Watkins, major; was captain of Company F to January 4, 1865; then major.

Charles A. Gruber, adjutant; promoted to captain of Company A Feb. 7, 1863.

Edward G. Parmele, adjutant; dismissed April 4, 1865.

David A. Harvey, regimental quartermaster; resigned Oct. 23, 1863.

Christopher B. Tharp, regimental quartermaster; was private to Nov., 1863; then regimental quartermaster sergeant to Dec. 1, 1863; then regimental quartermaster.

George W. Ronald, surgeon; resigned April 12, 1863.

Henry Tammadge, surgeon; was assistant surgeon from Nov. 12, 1862, to April 13, 1863; then surgeon.

Hugh Ryan, assistant surgeon; commissioned surgeon April 13, 1863, but declined accepting.

Joseph Foreman, assistant surgeon.

## COMPANY A.

William Y. Dillard, captain; Charles A. Gruber, captain; John C. Slater, 1st lieutenant; Jacob S. Pearce, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Francis M. Looney, captain; Rodolph H. Whitmer, captain; Thomas M. Alexander, 1st lieutenant; Joseph W. Adams, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

William H. Fagan, captain; Simeon S. Leatherman, captain; Jas. M. Leatherman, 1st lieutenant;

## COMPANY D.

Lewis H. Ferrell, captain; James P. Tapp, captain; Joel M. Coward, captain; Alfred V. D. Abbott, captain; George W. Coward, 1st lieutenant; Alfred M. Hoagland, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

John O. Daly, captain; Thomas H. Tindell, captain; Eugene O. Daly, captain; John B. Smith, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Jos. B. Watkins, captain; Wm. F. Stars, captain; John Wood, 1st lieutenant; Jas. W. Fowler, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Christopher C. Hare, captain; Henry Watson, 1st lieutenant; James R. Farmer, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Francis A. McHarry, captain; Henry Sutton, captain; Alpha R. Sharp, 1st lieutenant; Benjamin D. Strange, 1st lieutenant; John M. Williams, 2d lieutenant; John O. Beard, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Milton T. Callahan, captain; Joseph Pickering, captain; James M. Callahan, captain; R. M. Mosby, captain; John M. Richardson, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Eli P. Farmer, captain; James Boultinghouse, captain; William Duberry, captain; John Armstrong, 1st lieutenant; Foster A. Wheeler, 1st lieutenant.

The Thirty-fourth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Louisville, Ky., Sept. 26, 1861, under Lieut.-Col. Henry Dent, and was then designated as the "First Battalion Louisville Provost Guards." On the 2d of Oct., 1862, the Provost Guard ceased, and the organization of the 34th Kentucky Infantry commenced.

## INFANTRY—THIRTY-FIFTH REGIMENT.

Edmund A. Starling, colonel.

Edward R. Weir, Jr., lieutenant-colonel.

Frank H. Bristow, major.

Theodore W. Wing, adjutant.

Finnis H. Little, quartermaster.

Albert D. Cosby, surgeon.

William B. Stage, assistant surgeon.

Benjamin Letcher, assistant surgeon.

William O. Smith, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

Robert Brodie, captain; David C. Goad, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Y. Hampton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Hendrick D. Baker, captain; Ransom C. Haylip, 1st lieutenant; Alfred Harrell, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Volney Baker, captain; Wesley Cole, 1st lieutenant; John L. Bennett, 1st lieutenant; John H. Vertrees, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Charles W. D. Prange, captain; George W. Moseley, 1st lieutenant; James T. Goode, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Edward Campbell, captain; Thomas J. Trice, 1st lieutenant; Charles D. King, 1st lieutenant; Gyberius M. Anthony, 2d lieutenant; Charles F. Post, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Hutson Brown, captain; Edwin M. Randolph, 1st lieutenant; James H. Martin, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Hartford M. Meredith, captain; Golson Phelps, 1st lieutenant; James R. McGrew, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Avery Byers, captain; Anderson R. Byers, 1st lieutenant; John R. Reno, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

John Alsop, captain; William A. Roberts, 1st lieutenant; Robert L. Samuel, 1st lieutenant; Moses Long, 2d lieutenant; Samuel W. Tribble, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

William A. Sasseen, captain; Nathan H. Graves, 1st lieutenant; Richard F. Crawford, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirty-fifth Kentucky Mounted Infantry was organized September 26, 1863, at Owensboro, Ky., under Col. E. A. Starling, and was mustered into the United States service October 2, 1863, by Capt. Knight, United States mustering officer. This regiment was recruited under the most difficult circumstances, the State, at that time being overrun with guerrillas, making it exceedingly hazardous for officers to recruit and retain their men in camp. From Owensboro it marched to Henderson, on the 10th of October; and from thence to Hopkinsville, Ky. During the latter part of the year 1863 it was constantly on the march, guarding the country between the Green and Cumberland Rivers, which was infested with many predatory bands of guerrillas. The arduous duties performed by this regiment, during its early existence, did not afford much time for drill; still, through the indefatigable exertions of its officers, it arrived at a point of excellence in drill and discipline which was the admiration of all who were connected with the regiment and the division to which it was attached.

During the month of August, 1864, this regiment, with others, under command of Gen. E. H. Hobson, marched from Elizabethtown in pursuit of the rebel Gen. Adam Johnson, who held possession of the country between the Green and Cumberland Rivers. After a long and tedious march, with various skirmishes, they succeeded in driving him out of Kentucky into Tennessee in the direction of Cadiz. It then returned, *via* Hopkinsville, to Lexington, and, on the 15th of September, moved in Gen. Burbridge's command in the first expedition on Saltville, Va. It returned to Lexington on the 5th of November, and from there was ordered to Louisville, Ky., where it was mustered out December 29, 1864. It participated in the battle of Saltville, Va., and in numerous skirmishes with guerrillas, in various portions of Kentucky.

## INFANTRY—THIRTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Charles S. Hanson, colonel.  
Benj. Spaulding, lieutenant-colonel.  
Samuel Martin, major.  
Caswell B. Watts, adjutant.  
William O. Watts, regimental quartermaster.  
James M. Mattingly, regimental quartermaster.  
James R. Duncan, surgeon.  
Richard W. Hazelwood, asst. surgeon.  
Ira Henderson, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

Isaac A. Chinowth, captain; Oscar H. M. Heusted, 1st lieutenant; William H. Low, 2d lieutenant; Alonzo H. Chism, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Jonathan W. Roark, captain; Anderson W. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Ira A. Holland, 2d lieutenant; James W. King, 1st sergeant.

## COMPANY C.

George P. Stone, captain; Charles A. McCue, 1st lieutenant; William J. Stone, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

James A. Middleton, captain; John W. Kerrick, 1st lieutenant; Charles McBeath, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Wilkins, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

William O. Watts, captain; Robert Purdy, 1st lieutenant; David A. Ray, 2d lieutenant; John R. Watts, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

James H. White, captain; James H. Spalding, 1st lieutenant; Wayne Furgason, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

James L. Strange, captain; Abraham A. Spears, 1st lieutenant; Joseph D. Borden, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Zacheus S. Stroube, captain; Beale Hale, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Youtsey, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

James W. Read, captain; Archibald C. Wade, 1st lieutenant; Thomas B. Youtsey, 1st lieutenant; Silas E. Duckworth, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Joseph J. Borrell, captain; Thomas M. Morris, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirty-seventh Kentucky Volunteer Infantry was organized under Col. Chas. S. Hanson, in the summer of 1863, and Companies A, B and C were mustered into the United States service at Glasgow, Ky., September 17, 1863. Companies D, E, F and G were mustered in October 24, 1863, at Glasgow, Ky. Capt. Stroube's Company, originally raised for the Fifty-first Kentucky Infantry, was mustered in September 4, 1863, at Covington, Ky., and consolidated with the Thirty-seventh, forming Company H. Companies I and K were mustered in at Glasgow, Ky., Dec. 21 and 22, 1863. Charles S. Hanson was mustered in as colonel Dec. 29, 1863, and commanded the regiment until the battle of Saltville, Va., on the 2d day of Oct., 1864, when he was severely wounded, and made prisoner of war. It was composed of the best material, and though a one-year regiment, bore as honorable a part in the war as many three years' regiments, and was engaged in the battles occurring in the locality in which it served, though the records of the regiment only show it to have been engaged in the battles of Glasgow, Ky.; Jackson County, Tenn.; Saltville, Va.; and Mt. Sterling,



Ky. The regiment was mustered out Dec. 29, 1864, at Louisville, Ky., the re-enlisted men being transferred to the Fifty-fifth Kentucky Infantry, and the Fourth Kentucky Mounted Infantry

#### INFANTRY—THIRTY-NINTH REGIMENT.

John Dils, Jr., colonel.  
David A. Mims, colonel.  
Stephen M. Ferguson, lieutenant-colonel.  
John B. Auxier, major.  
Martin Thornbury, major.  
Levi J. Hampton, adjutant.  
John F. Stewart, adjutant.  
Robert S. Huey, adjutant.  
Martin Fulkerson, quartermaster.  
Lindsey Layne, quartermaster.  
James H. Hereford, surgeon.  
Wm. E. Phillips, surgeon.  
James N. Draper, ass't surgeon.  
James H. Phillips, ass't surgeon.  
Marcus L. King, chaplain.

##### COMPANY A.

John B. Auxier, captain; David V. Auxier, captain; Henry R. Brown, captain; Isaac Goble, 1st lieutenant; Richard L. Burchett, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY B.

William Ford, captain; Jacob S. Eberman, captain; Ellington Kilgore, 1st lieutenant; John Breeding, 1st lieutenant; John F. Stewart, 2d lieutenant; Andrew J. Adkins, 2d lieutenant; John Harkens, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY C.

Thomas J. Sowards, captain; Andrew J. Sowards, 1st lieutenant; James W. Allison, 1st lieutenant; Jacob Helvey, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY D.

Martin Thornbury, captain; Isaac E. Gray, captain; Alfred C. Hailey, 1st lieutenant; Hughy Plymale, 1st lieutenant; Walter Thornbury, 2d lieutenant; William Waddington, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY E.

Lewis Sowards, captain; Alfred C. Hailey, captain; Dillard Parsons, 1st lieutenant; James M. Sowards, 1st lieutenant; William T. Berry, 1st lieutenant; Paris L. Reed, 2d lieutenant; Shadle R. Pauley, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY F.

Hezekiah Webb, captain; George J. Allen, 1st lieutenant; Augustus E. Kendrick, 1st lieutenant; Calvin Preston, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY G.

Allen P. Haws, captain; John B. Vanhoose, 1st lieutenant; James M. Rice, 1st lieutenant; Addison Miller, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY H.

William King, captain; Richard D. Coleman, 1st lieutenant; James M. Thornbury, 1st lieutenant; James H. Stump, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY I.

Joseph M. Kirk, captain; Benjamin A. Rodgers, captain; William Hagerman, 1st lieutenant; John D. Reinhart, 1st lieutenant; Charles Helton, 2d lieutenant; Simeon L. Payne, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY K.

Harrison Ford, captain; Nathaniel Collins, captain; Joseph D. Powers, 1st lieutenant, Samuel Keel, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirty-ninth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Peach Orchard, Ky., under Col. John Dils, and was mustered into the United States service

February 16, 1863, by Capt. W. B. Royall, United States mustering officer. This command was raised entirely in the Sandy Valley and the counties adjoining, and, being thoroughly acquainted with the country, was stationed in that section of the State for its protection against the frequent incursions of rebels from Virginia. In April, 1863, the regiment had a fight near Pikeville, Ky., and captured Col. French and his command, and in June engaged the enemy again at Pond Creek, some thirty miles from Pikeville. The regiment being divided, a portion of it proceeded with other troops to Gladeville, Va., and succeeded in capturing Col. Condil and his command, who were brought back as prisoners of war. Through the constant and vigilant service of this regiment, the eastern portion of Kentucky remained uninterrupted from any invasion of the rebels for many months.

The regiment participated in many battles and skirmishes, in which loss was sustained, among which the following are mentioned, viz.: Pond Creek, Pike Co., Ky., May 16, 1864; boat fight in Johnson County, December 4, 1862; Beaver Creek, Floyd County, June 27, 1863; Marrowbone, Pike County, September 22, 1863; Clark's Neck, Lawrence County, August 27, 1863; Paintsville, Johnson County, April 13, 1864; Half Mount, Magoffin County, April 14, 1864; Mount Sterling, Ky., June 9, 1864; Cynthiaana, Ky., June 12, 1864; Saltville, Va., October 2, 1864. It was mustered out September 15, 1865, at Louisville, Ky.

#### INFANTRY—FORTIETH REGIMENT.

Clinton J. Truc, colonel.  
Mathew Mullins, lieutenant-colonel.  
Thomas H. Mannen, major.  
Fred'k H. Bierbower, major.  
Edward C. Barlow, adjutant.  
James B. Truc, adjutant.  
A. L. Burke, quartermaster.  
John C. Ball, quartermaster.  
George W. Littlejohn, quartermaster.  
Joseph G. Roberts, surgeon.  
William B. Bland, surgeon.  
James H. Phillips, asst. surgeon.  
Oscar E. Holloway, asst. surgeon.  
James A. Snead, chaplain.

##### COMPANY A.

Frederick H. Bierbower, captain; Charles R. Curtis, captain; Charles Roberts, 1st lieutenant; Alex. W. Lawwill, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY B.

Simon Rice, captain; Edward C. Barlow, captain; John S. Reed, 1st lieutenant; Noah Johnson, 2d lieutenant; Raphael J. Tomlinson, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY C.

James B. Nipp, captain; Robert D. Adams, 1st lieutenant; Warren H. Devore, 1st lieutenant; Robert C. Snead, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY D.

John McGuire, captain; Elias P. Davis, captain; Middleton McGuire, 1st lieutenant; Alexander Johnson, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY E.

Harrison B. Literal, captain; George W. Littlejohn, 1st lieutenant; John Foster, 1st lieutenant; James Garvin, 2d lieutenant; John M. Tyree, 2d lieutenant.

##### COMPANY F.

James H. Johns, captain; William E. Arnold, 1st lieutenant; Zachariah H. Mullins, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Thomas R. Rorer, captain; Christ'er C. McGiney, 1st lieutenant; Isaac A. Whitaker, 2d lieutenant; Lloyd McGill, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Greenberry Reid, captain; Cornelius B. Pettet, 1st lieutenant; John W. Evans, 2d lieutenant; William S. Waugh, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Isaac Kelly, captain; Thomas H. Larimore, 1st lieutenant; Mark Wallace, 1st lieutenant; Marshal W. Stubblefield, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Stephen H. Young, captain; William Frisby, 1st lieutenant; Henry E. Evans; 1st lieutenant; James McGuire, 2d lieutenant; John W. Frazer, 2d lieutenant.

The Fortieth Kentucky Infantry was recruited under the 20,000 call, by Col. C. J. True, and was mustered in at Grayson, Carter Co., Ky., in September, 1863. Being raised for twelve months' service, and during a time when the State was overrun with guerillas, and all troops were ordered into active service immediately after, and sometimes before they were thoroughly organized, it had no time for drill and discipline. Being mounted, it was constantly employed in defending different portions of eastern Kentucky, and rendered good service. It was with Gen. Burbridge in his expedition against Saltville, Virginia, and participated in all the battles in Kentucky during the frequent raids of Morgan. It was mustered out at Catlettsburg, Ky., December 30, 1864.

## INFANTRY—FORTY-FIFTH REGIMENT.

John Mason Brown, colonel.  
Lewis M. Clark, lieutenant-colonel.  
Nathan A. Brown, major.  
John C. Henderson, major.  
James Seaton, adjutant.  
John C. Ball, quartermaster.  
Harman Conley, quartermaster.  
Samuel Maguire, surgeon.  
William E. Scobey, asst. surgeon.  
Joseph L. Rowland, asst. surgeon.  
Elisha Thacker, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

Joseph W. Cottingham, captain; Daniel Hendrickson, 1st lieutenant; Pleasant M. Stricklett, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Benjamin R. Haley, captain; William B. Shockley, captain; James H. Loh, 1st lieutenant; John W. Thornton, 1st lieutenant; William A. Haley, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

George W. Brown, captain; Frank Mott, captain; Edwin S. Turner, 1st lieutenant; David W. German, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

W. S. Adams, captain; J. J. Matncy, 1st lieutenant; William P. Cooper, 1st lieutenant; Calvin F. Vaughn, 2d lieutenant; George F. Ratliff, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Thomas Damron, captain; Daniel H. Walker, 1st lieutenant; Jasper Hatten, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Thomas Russell, captain; Richard Williamson, 1st lieutenant; Mordecai McClure, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

William B. Jones, captain; William B. Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Erastus M. Gates, 2d lieutenant; Coburn D. Outten, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Jackson J. Matney, captain; Calvin F. Vaughn, 1st lieutenant; Horace January, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

James H. O'Brien, captain; Robert H. Wilson, 1st lieutenant; Milton J. Smith, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Jacob L. Ross, captain; Edward W. Brown, 1st lieutenant; John Thompson, 2d lieutenant.

The Forty-fifth Regiment Kentucky Mounted Infantry Volunteers was at first designed as a battalion for local service on the Virginia front and in the eastern counties of Kentucky. The recruiting and organization of the command was intrusted to Maj. Lewis M. Clark, formerly lieutenant Sixteenth Kentucky Infantry, and captain Tenth Kentucky Cavalry. For some months in the summer of 1863 the recruits of four companies were employed as above indicated; but it was determined to increase the command to a regiment and muster it into the United States service. Although the requisite number of recruits were rapidly collected, and the regiment put on active duty in October, 1863, and the organization effected at Ashland, Ky., the formal muster-in of the two companies was unavoidably delayed until the beginning of the following January, when Col. John Mason Brown was assigned to the command, and Maj. L. M. Clark promoted to lieutenant-colonel. In May it rendezvoused at Lexington, Ky., and under the immediate command of Lieut.-Col. Clark (Col. Brown commanding brigade) was attached to Hobson's Cavalry Division, and marched to the Virginia line, near Pound Gap. It led the pursuit after Morgan in June, 1864, and was the leading regiment of an assaulting column at the battle of Mt. Sterling, 9th June, 1864. It participated in the battle of Cynthia June 12, 1864, in which Morgan's force was finally destroyed, having up to that engagement been continuously on duty for twenty-six days and nights, with no halt of as much as four hours.

During the months of July and August, 1864, a part of the regiment, under Lieut.-Col. Clark, was detailed by Gen. Burbridge to pursue guerillas and scattered Confederate troops in Owen, Trimble, and the adjacent counties of Kentucky. In October, 1864, the Forty-fifth Kentucky formed part of Burbridge's command in the unsuccessful attack on Saltville, Va., and covered the retreat thence. In November and December, 1864, it was in Stoneman's column, at the capture of Bristol, east Tennessee, Marion, Abingdon, and Saltville, Va., and participated in all the engagements of that campaign.

Besides a great number of skirmishes of greater or less note, the Forty-fifth Kentucky took part in the engagements of Mt. Sterling, Cynthia, Marion, Bristol, Laurel Gap, and Saltville. From its constant duty in most inclement weather the regiment suffered even more seriously than from the bullets of the enemy, and a large proportion of the men were mustered out much injured by frost-bites.

## INFANTRY—FORTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Andrew H. Clark, colonel.  
Alfred C. Wilson, lieutenant-colonel.  
Thos. H. Barnes, major.  
George A. Hanaford, adjutant.  
Peter D. Scholl, quartermaster.  
John M. Daniel, surgeon.  
Wilson H. Glass, assistant surgeon.  
Geo. Sumner, assistant surgeon.  
Mordecai J. W. Ambrose, chaplain.



## COMPANY A.

John Penington, captain; Godfrey Isaacs, 1st lieutenant; Andrew Isaacs, 2d lieutenant; Isaac S. Jones, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Jackson Roberts, captain; David V. Roberts, 1st lieutenant; Francis M. Herd, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

John C. Wilson, captain; Wm. J. Morris, 1st lieutenant; William Baker, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

David W. Clark, captain; Edward Clark, 1st lieutenant; Edward Chestnut, 1st lieutenant; Daniel G. Allen, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Henry J. Clark, captain; Hiram Metcalf, 1st lieutenant; Henry Smith, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Henry Skidmore, captain; Nathan Noe, 1st lieutenant; Acles Winn, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Thomas J. Engle, captain; Joseph Herd, captain; Robert M. Green, 1st lieutenant; Henry H. Gabbard, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Benj. F. Blankenship, captain; George W. Morgan, 1st lieutenant; Wm. G. Dixon, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Simon Cockrill, captain; James P. Smallwood, 1st lieutenant; Hiram Rogers, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

John McQueen, captain; John McCracken, 1st lieutenant; Charles H. Mosley, 2d lieutenant.

This regiment, raised under the call for 20,000 men, was recruited chiefly from the mountain counties of the State, and the greater portion of the men were mustered in at Irvine, Ky., October 5, 1863, and at Camp Nelson, Ky., December, 1863, and January, 1864. The officers of this regiment failed to furnish any data from which to make up a statement of its operations, marches, etc., which is to be regretted, as it was due to the gallant men of this command that their record should be as complete as possible. It did most excellent service in the central and eastern portions of the State. Company I, commanded by Capt. Cockrill, after being mounted, scouted the country thoroughly, sending terror to the hearts of guerrillas and all lawless bands.

## INFANTRY—FORTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Hartwell T. Burge, colonel.  
William W. Hester, lieutenant-colonel.  
William H. Hoyt, major.  
John W. Lockhead, adjutant.  
William Shuler, adjutant.  
James M. Courtney, quartermaster.  
William Randolph, surgeon.  
R. R. Bush, asst. surgeon.  
John D. Mott, asst. surgeon.  
John W. Ricks, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

Fountain P. Hawkins, captain; John M. Gregory, 1st lieutenant; Jasper N. Scott, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Hugh M. Hiatt, captain; William H. Rushing, 1st lieutenant; John T. Rushing, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

John J. Wright, captain; John F. Lay, 1st lieutenant; Willis S. McNeely, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Hiram J. Belt, captain; John Tyer, 1st lieutenant; Logan Belt, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Richard F. Minner, captain; William Hoyt, 1st lieutenant; William J. Small, 1st lieutenant; William J. Wilson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Charles E. VanPelt, captain; William B. Rogers, 1st lieutenant; Charles Adams, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

John W. Bush, captain; William B. Wallington, 1st lieutenant; John R. Sedberry, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

James M. Wilson, captain; George L. Lovier, 1st lieutenant; William S. Lovier, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Joseph Mitchell, captain; William Porter, captain; Turney G. Driskill, 1st lieutenant; Louis C. Chatham, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Samuel Jarrett, captain; Jeremiah S. Garner, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Lynch, 2d lieutenant.

The Forty-eighth Kentucky Volunteers was enlisted principally from the counties of Trigg, Lyon, Livingston, Crittenden, Union, Christian, Caldwell, Muhlenburgh, Breckinridge and Grayson, and was organized and mustered into service at Princeton, Ky., by Charles H. Fletcher, captain Thirtieth United States Infantry, on the 26th day of October, 1863, for the period of one year, with Hartwell T. Burge, of Louisville, as colonel.

This regiment was raised for especial service in Kentucky to serve as a mounted force to aid in preventing raids, and to clear the State of guerrillas. Immediately upon muster it was assigned to First Brigade, Second Division, Department of Kentucky, and remained on duty at Princeton until the 1st of December, 1863, when it was ordered and marched to Russellville, Ky. Here it was ordered in detail on December 5, viz.: Companies A, D, F and K to Bowling Green, with Col. Burge as post commandant; companies B, E, G and H remaining at Russellville, with Lieut.-Col. Hester as post commandant. It remained on duty at these stations until April 6, 1864, when, by direction of Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Burbridge, it was removed, with exception of one company, and distributed along the line of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, garrisoning that line from Cave City to Louisville, headquarters at Munfordsville, with Col. Burge as post commandant, and Lieut.-Col. Hester in command of regiment and supervision of the railway line guarded by his force.

## INFANTRY—FORTY-NINTH REGIMENT.

John G. Eve, colonel.  
Philos Stratton, lieutenant-colonel.  
James H. Davidson, major.  
James H. Tinsley, adjutant.  
George Smith, quartermaster.  
Walter M. Prentice, surgeon.  
Henry C. Miller, surgeon.  
William B. Swisher, ass't surgeon.  
Hugh W. Hogan, ass't surgeon.  
Ebenezer Ingram, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

Stephen Golden, captain; Hugh H. York, 1st lieutenant; Moses F. Ingram, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Francis Catron, captain; Henry L. Vinsant, 1st lieutenant; John P. Davis, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Wm. T. Bryant, captain; Marion Bryant, 1st lieutenant; John W. Siler, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

John M. Cook, captain; Wm. Carson, 1st lieutenant; Henry S. Branaman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

James G. Howard, captain; Benj. F. Howard, captain; James C. Howard, 1st lieutenant; John W. Forrester, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

John A. Ward, captain; Augustus B. Culton, 1st lieutenant; William G. Bingham, 1st lieutenant; Thomas S. Ward, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Lee Leforce, captain; Isaac J. Black, 1st lieutenant; John A. Hayden, 1st lieutenant; Francis Creekmore, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Isaac J. Black, captain; Jesse Mattingly, 1st lieutenant; Wm. B. Eve, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Isaac L. Hardgrove, captain; Joshua S. Taylor, 1st lieutenant; Hardin Simpson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

John Goodin, captain; Henry Blendowski, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Ingram, 2d lieutenant.

The Forty-ninth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Camp Nelson, Ky., under Col. John G. Eve. This regiment was originally recruited for the cavalry service, but prior to muster in, viz., on December 14, 1863, the various detachments were consolidated into ten companies, and the officers were duly commissioned from that date. All the companies and detachments were mustered into the United States service on the 19th day of September, 1863, except two, one of which was mustered in October 7, 1863, and the other November 3, 1863.

## INFANTRY—FIFTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

John H. Grider, colonel.  
Samuel F. Johnson, lieutenant-colonel.  
John B. Tyler, major.  
Wm. H. Murrell, adjutant.  
Wm. H. Johnson, quartermaster.  
James H. Lile, quartermaster.  
George W. Wyer, surgeon.  
Robert D. Hawthorn, asst. surgeon.  
Henry H. Alter, asst. surgeon.  
George Mitchell, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

Samuel J. Richards, captain; Wm. H. Walker, 1st lieutenant; Daniel Huntsman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

John D. Gilliam, captain; George D. Read, 1st lieutenant; James A. Carter, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Jno. M. Billingsley, captain; Tho. W. Mitchell, 1st lieutenant; Isaac T. Lee, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

George W. Hoy, captain; Wm. M. Beson, 1st lieutenant; Jno. W. Arnett, 2d lieutenant; William Jackson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Henry C. Watkins, captain; John W. Underhill, 1st lieutenant; James M. Atwood, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

John B. Tyler, captain; William P. King, captain; Jasper Forrest, 1st lieutenant; James A. Caldwell, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Edward Hartie, captain; Hugh L. Scott, 1st lieutenant; James H. Lile, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Francis Houchin, captain; S. W. Willis, 1st lieutenant; Daniel C. Parrish, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

James M. Childress, captain; Lewis P. Arnold, 1st lieutenant; Alexander Dockery, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Lewis Buckner, captain; Romulus N. Taylor, 1st lieutenant; Richard W. Hayes, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifty-second Kentucky Mounted Infantry was organized under the authority of an act of Congress, dated February 7, 1863, authorizing the governor to raise 20,000 troops for the better defense of Kentucky. Companies A, B, C and E were mustered in at Scottsville, Ky., October 16, 1863, and Company D on the 17th of October. Company F was mustered in November 12, 1863, and Company G December 21, 1863, at Franklin, Ky. Companies H, I and K were mustered in March 3, 1864, at Franklin, Ky.

This regiment was raised for twelve months' service, and, under provisions of the act, was to be employed within the limits of the State of Kentucky in repelling invasions, suppressing insurrection, and guarding and protecting the public property. For the purpose of enabling it to cope more readily with the guerrillas that infested the State, it was mounted and stationed in the lower and central portions of the State, and rendered efficient aid to the government in protecting its line of communication with the army at the front. In the many fights and skirmishes in which it engaged, the bearing of both officers and men sustained the gallant record so bravely won by all Kentucky troops during the Rebellion. It was mustered out at Bowling Green, Ky., in January and March, 1865.

## INFANTRY—FIFTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

Clinton J. True, colonel.  
W. C. Johnson, lieutenant-colonel.  
James G. Francis, major.  
Frank D. Tunis, adjutant.  
S. J. Housh, quartermaster.  
William B. Bland, surgeon.  
Henry C. Miller, asst. surgeon.  
James M. Montmollin, asst. surgeon.

## COMPANY A.

John A. Thompson, captain; James F. Thompson, 1st lieutenant; John Mullens, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Henry F. Falls, captain; John J. Creighton, 1st lieutenant; Wm. H. Robinson, 2d lieutenant; Ferdinand Burch, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Henry Hagerty, captain; Richard S. Robson, 1st lieutenant; Chas. T. Chambers, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Benj. T. Nix, captain; James T. Chrisman, 1st lieutenant; Alfred Bickers, 2d lieutenant.



## COMPANY E.

James G. Francis, captain; Albert C. Breith, captain; Jno. W. West, 1st lieutenant; Wm. H. Crout, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

J. H. Lennin, captain; Alfred T. Morin, 1st lieutenant; Adam Weaver, 1st lieutenant; J. Hazard Davis, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Robert H. Wilson, captain; Jesse J. Dennis, 1st lieutenant; Ed'n N. Vallandingham, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

James W. Read, captain; David Berry, 1st lieutenant; Joseph M. Hukel, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

James H. Carey, captain; John W. Thornton, 1st lieutenant; Henry C. Ball, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Samuel A. Crawford, captain; Riley Richards, 1st lieutenant; Charles W. Russell, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifty-third Kentucky Infantry was organized at Paris, Ky., in the winter of 1864 and spring of 1865, and the exigencies of the service demanding all the available forces about that time, this regiment was called on to perform arduous duty which retarded its speedy organization. Being mounted, it was constantly employed in scouting the counties in the central portion of the State and along the Kentucky Central Railroad. In the second expedition of Gen. Burbridge against Saltville, Va., this regiment suffered much from the excessive cold, and the long and fatiguing marches. It participated in many skirmishes and in the battles of Clinch River, Marion and Saltville, Va., in all of which it performed its duty to the entire satisfaction of the commanding general. It was mustered out at Louisville, Ky., September 15, 1865.

## INFANTRY—FIFTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

Harvey M. Buckley, colonel.  
John G. Rogers, lieutenant-colonel.  
John D. Russell, major.  
Edward Mitchell, adjutant.  
Thomas J. Owens, quartermaster.  
Lewis B. Brasher, quartermaster.  
Frederick C. Leber, surgeon.  
James H. McMahon, assistant surgeon.  
Thomas B. Hunt, assistant surgeon.

## COMPANY A.

Greenup Nickell, captain; George W. Herron, 1st lieutenant; Benj. C. Lockwood, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Robert H. Young, captain; Mastin Campbell, 1st lieutenant; Robert A. Hancock, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Dexter B. Gray, captain; James W. Stewart, 1st lieutenant; Robert W. Sanders, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

L. D. Brown, captain; W. T. Moore, 1st lieutenant; John Searcy, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

William Carroll, captain; George T. Buckley, captain; John W. Ridgway, 1st lieutenant; Posey Buckley, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Robert D. Barr, captain; John Moran, 1st lieutenant; Benj. F. Meadows, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Emzy W. Easley, captain; Nelson Parish, 1st lieutenant; Lewis W. Sewell, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

David E. Roberts, Jr., captain; Joseph G. Cooper, 1st lieutenant; Archibald L. Scudder, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Robert P. Crupper, captain; John N. Shane, 1st lieutenant; Dudley O. Bravard, 2d lieutenant.

Company I was never organized.

The Fifty-fourth Kentucky Mounted Infantry was organized at New Castle, Ky., in September 1864, under special authority from the War Department. The difficulties attending the recruiting and organization of this regiment were great, owing to the frequent raids by guerrillas, and the constant presence of predatory bands in the vicinity of its camp. It was mounted and performed duty in various portions of Kentucky, and by the energy displayed by its officers soon dispelled the guerrillas from the section of country in which it was stationed. On the second Saltville expedition the Fifty-fourth lost many men by exposure to the extreme cold weather. It participated in the battles of Clinch River, Marion and Saltville, Va., beside various skirmishes and minor engagements. It was mustered out at Louisville, Ky., September 1, 1865.

## INFANTRY—FIFTY-FIFTH REGIMENT.

Weden O'Neal, colonel.  
Tho. J. Williams, lieutenant-colonel.  
Silas Howe, major.  
John E. Calvert, adjutant.  
Robert C. Snead, adjutant.  
Geo. L. Huey, quartermaster.  
Benj. F. Slaughter, surgeon.  
E. R. Palmer, assistant surgeon.  
John R. Reasoner, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

James M. Riddell, captain; Wm. E. Arnold, captain; Wm. S. Butts, 1st lieutenant; Washington Craven, 1st lieutenant; George B. Clore, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

John C. Richards, captain; Gary Longfellow, 1st lieutenant; George W. Story, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

James P. Robinson, captain; Calvin Griffin, 1st lieutenant; Nehemiah Spradling, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

John E. Calvert, captain; Wm. H. Drinkard, 1st lieutenant; Dennis W. Haley, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Charles McBeath, captain; James H. White, 1st lieutenant; Geo. W. White, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Thos. W. Hardiman, captain; Thomas J. McHatton, 1st lieutenant; Cincinnatus Murphy, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Peter S. Jones, captain; George M. Harper, 1st lieutenant; John N. Buchanan, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

George Welker, captain; Gottlieb Jennerich, 1st lieutenant; John C. Bishop, 2d lieutenant; Robert C. Snead, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Alex. W. Lawwill, captain; James S. Hise, 1st lieutenant; Frank Blanchard, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Wm. E. Gillaspie, captain; Jonathan R. Ward, 1st lieutenant; Jacob P. Phipps, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifty-fifth Kentucky Infantry was raised under special authority from the War Department, and was organized at Covington, Ky., in November, 1864. It was mounted, and performed duty in the counties bordering on the Kentucky Central Railroad, until ordered on the Saltville expedition under Gen. Burbridge. On this expedition it performed good and efficient service, and was favorably mentioned by the commanding general, among other troops of his division, for gallant bearing in face of the enemy. After the return from Virginia the regiment was by detail posted in various counties to protect the citizens from the depredations of guerrillas, upon which duty it remained until mustered out at Louisville, Ky., September 19, 1865.

#### PATTERSON'S COMPANY OF MECHANICS AND ENGINEERS.

William F. Patterson, captain; Andrew Patterson, 2d lieutenant.

Patterson's company of Mechanics and Engineers was organized at Somerset, Ky., under Capt. W. F. Patterson, and mustered into the United States service by Charles S. Medary, lieutenant, United States mustering officer, and has marched as follows:

This company, as enlisted, was employed in the construction of defenses for Camp Hoskins, Ky., then under command of Col. Hoskins, up to the 2d of December, 1861, when Brig.-Gen. Shoenff assumed command, and continued the work of defense in the vicinity of Somerset, Ky., until the battle of Mill Springs, on the 19th of January, 1862. On the 16th of January this company, together with seven companies from the command, were employed in the repair of the road from Somerset to Stanford, Ky. On the 8th of February the seven companies were relieved, and the work continued by this company under orders of Gen. Thomas. On the 12th of April it was ordered to report to headquarters Seventh Division, Army of Ohio, Cumberland Ford, Ky., by Gen. George W. Morgan, where it arrived on the 20th, repairing roads on the way. From the 25th of April to May 1 engaged, with large detailed force added, in the repair of the road for supplies. From the 1st of May this company constructed roads and bridges forty miles for a flank movement upon Cumberland Gap, through Cumberland Mountains, which was accomplished successfully on the 18th of June. From this date a new detail was added of 230 men, and engaged in the construction of building roads, etc., up to the 18th of September, when all was destroyed by order of Gen. Morgan, together with nine siege guns. Marched with the advance of Morgan's division to the Ohio River, and accompanied it to Memphis, where, in December, it embarked with the division for an attack upon Vicksburg. From the 26th to the 1st of January, 1863, this company was constantly engaged, night and day, in preparing earthworks, and on the 28th was greatly exposed in an effort to throw a pontoon bridge across Chickasaw Bayou under a destructive fire from the enemy. Sergt. Welsh, in charge of the party, relinquished the effort only when the boats were so damaged as to be useless. On the 1st of January, 1863, embarked on transports for Arkansas Post, arriving on the 10th. After the battle and surrender the demolition of the fort and siege guns was assigned to this company, with a large detail from the command.

From this time until the date of its return to Kentucky, November 23, 1864, the company was constantly on duty, adding to the courage and discipline of true soldiers the skill and intelligence of competent engineers and mechanics.

#### CAVALRY—FIRST REGIMENT.

Frank Wolford, colonel; entered service at organization.

Silas Adams, colonel; promoted colonel June 16, 1864.

John W. Letcher, lieutenant-colonel; resigned Nov. 28, 1862.

Francis N. Helveti, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel June 16, 1864.

John A. Brents, major; resigned July 2, 1862.

William A. Coffee, major; resigned Oct., 1863.

William N. Owens, major; promoted major July 31, 1862.

Thomas Rowland, major; wounded at Dutton Hill, Ky.

Alverson T. Keen, major; promoted major July 16, 1864.

Fountain T. Fox, major; promoted to major, June 27, 1864.

George W. Drye, major; wounded at Rockford, Tenn., Nov. 14, 1862.

Francis M. Wolford, adjutant; promoted captain Company A Nov. 14.

William D. Carpenter, adjutant; wounded in siege of Knoxville, Tenn.

Matthew H. Blackford, regimental quartermaster.

Elijah Cox, regimental commissary subsistence; promoted regimental commissary subsistence June 3, 1863.

John A. Brady, surgeon; resigned Dec. 26, 1862. Hawkins Brown, surgeon; promoted surgeon Dec. 26, 1862.

James C. Riffe, assistant surgeon; resigned June 11, 1862.

Andrew A. Campbell, assistant surgeon.

Albert G. Huffman, assistant surgeon; resigned June 9, 1864.

Wm. H. Honnell, chaplain.

#### COMPANY A.

George W. Sweeney, captain; Silas G. Adams, captain; Francis M. Wolford, captain; James Humphrey, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Watson, 2d lieutenant; William Adams, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY B.

William Rains, captain; George W. Drye, captain; Samuel Belden, captain; Wm. B. Carter, 1st lieutenant; Stephen H. Coppage, 1st lieutenant; Vincent Peyton, 1st lieutenant; Stephen G. Averitt, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY C.

John A. Brents, captain; Jno. A. Morrison, captain; Wm. Perkins, captain; Dulany R. Carr, captain; James E. Chilton, 1st lieutenant; Wm. C. Roots, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY D.

George Coppage, captain; Samuel H. Boone, captain; Daniel A. Kelley, captain; Richard H. Vandyke, 1st lieutenant; Henry H. Thornton, 1st lieutenant; Warren Lamme, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY E.

Boston Dillion, captain; Franklin W. Dillion, captain; John Kimbrell, 1st lieutenant; William P. Ballard, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY F.

Jarrard W. Jenkins, captain; Robert C. Blain, captain; George C. Jenkins, 1st lieutenant; Oliver M. Dodson, 1st lieutenant; Wm. B. Kelley, 2d lieutenant; Richard E. Huffman, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY G.

Thornton K. Hackley, captain; Irvine Burton, captain; Wm. D. Carpenter, 1st lieutenant; Henry S. Robson, 2d lieutenant; Daniel Murphy, 2d lieutenant.



## COMPANY H.

F. N. Alexander, captain; James G. Dick, captain; Chas. W. Huffaker, 1st lieutenant; Samuel Duncan, 1st lieutenant; Wm. M. Hadley, 2d lieutenant; Abraham Grubb, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

John Smith, captain; Alexander Smith, captain; James L. Pankey, captain; James M. Mayes, 1st lieutenant; Buford Scott, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Graves, 1st lieutenant; Alexander Thompson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY J.

M. H. Owsley, captain; Jesse M. Carter, captain; Anderson T. Keen, captain; John T. McLain, captain, Alexander C. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Meredith Martin, 2d lieutenant; Sandusky Braton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Nelson B. Burris, captain; Thomas Rowland, captain; Philip Roberts, captain; Tilford N. Bruner, 1st lieutenant; Jno. F. N. Hill, 1st lieutenant; F. T. Fox, 1st lieutenant; A. J. Alexander, 1st lieutenant; Stephen Sully, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY L.

Wm. N. Owens, captain; John B. Fishback, captain; Joe D. Beatie, captain; Robert M. Griffin, 1st lieutenant; Matthew H. Blackford, 1st lieutenant; Benj. H. Milton, 2d lieutenant; Wm. A. Lockett, 2d lieutenant; Geo. K. Speed, 2d lieutenant; Granville J. Vaught, 2d lieutenant.

## CAVALRY—SECOND REGIMENT.

Buckner Board, colonel; resigned Dec. 25, 1862.  
Thomas P. Nicholas, colonel; promoted colonel Dec. 26, 1862.

Thos. B. Cochoran, lieutenant-colonel; resigned Nov. 24, 1862.

Elijah S. Watts, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Nov. 25, 1862.

W. H. Eifort, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel June 22, 1864; killed in action.

Owen Starr, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Oct. 18, 1864.

Henry E. Collins, major; promoted major Dec. 26, 1862; resigned June 2, 1864.

Jesse J. Craddock, major; promoted major Nov. 25, 1862; resigned Jan. 26, 1864.

Joseph T. Foreman, major; promoted to major May 1, 1865.

R. M. Gilmore, major; promoted major May 12, 1865.

Wm. H. Lower, major; promoted to major July 10, 1865.

John M. Hewitt, adjutant.

Geo. W. Griffith, adjutant; promoted captain Company A, April 30, 1864.

Garrard S. Morgan, adjutant.

Elias Thomasson, regimental quartermaster.

William G. Rogers, regimental quartermaster.

Edward B. Ayres, regimental commissary; resigned Dec. 29, 1864.

John F. Finley, surgeon.

David J. Griffith, assistant surgeon; resigned Feb. 6, 1862.

Robert Stewart, assistant surgeon; resigned June 18, 1863.

J. H. Layman, assistant surgeon.

George J. Reed, chaplain; resigned Oct. 17, 1862.

## COMPANY A.

Elijah S. Watts, captain; John D. Wickliffe, captain; George W. Griffith, captain; George A. Hosmer, 1st lieutenant; Edward B. Curran, 1st lieutenant; Robert E. Pogue, 2d lieutenant; William Bradley, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Henry E. Collins, captain; William Arthur, captain; William Higgins, 1st lieutenant; Thomas H. Soward, 1st lieutenant; Henry C. Carr, 2d lieutenant; Charles J. Norton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Henry G. Thomas, captain; Owen Starr, captain; James A. Warder, captain; William H. Lower, captain; Wm. H. Eifort, 1st lieutenant; Bird P. Brooks, 1st lieutenant; Lewis H. Little, 1st lieutenant; George A. Hosmer, 2d lieutenant; William G. Jenkins, 2d lieutenant; Edward B. Curran, 2d lieutenant; Wm. A. McCammon, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Jesse J. Craddock, captain; Charles D. Armstrong, captain; John E. Stillwell, 1st lieutenant; Bird P. Brooks, 2d lieutenant; John L. Bomar, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Oliver T. Booth, captain; Owen Starr, 1st lieutenant; Robt. E. Pogue, 1st lieutenant; John Calder, 1st lieutenant; Richard W. Davis, 2d lieutenant; Wm. C. Adams, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Edward J. Mitchell, captain; Charles A. Zachary, captain; James M. Patterson, 1st lieutenant; Wm. T. Jenkins, 1st lieutenant; Wm. Bradley, 1st lieutenant; Sylvanus C. Runyon, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Miller R. McCulloch, captain; Harvey S. Parke, captain; John Baker, captain; Cornelius Nall, 1st lieutenant; Sanford H. Thurman, 1st lieutenant; Granville J. Hastings, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Tho. C. Wiley, captain; Wm. H. Eifort, captain; Samuel Lyon, captain; Wm. T. Hoblitzell, 1st lieutenant; Augustus T. Gultz, 1st lieutenant; Geo. S. Coyle, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Augustus C. Van Dyke, captain; Wm. T. Hoblitzell, captain; Lovell H. Thrixton, captain; Osear O. Gregg, 1st lieutenant; George W. L. Batman, 1st lieutenant; John L. Bomar, 1st lieutenant; Chas. Corum, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. Lower, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

J. Griswold, 1st lieutenant; Stephen E. Jones, 1st lieutenant; Lovell H. Thrixton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY L.

Monroe Bateman, captain; Jos. T. Foreman, captain; Jas. A. Warder, 1st lieutenant; Thomas H. Soward, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY M.

Robert M. Gillmore, captain.

The Second Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Camp Joe Holt, under Col. Buckner Board, mustered into the United States service on the 9th day of September, 1861, by Maj. W. H. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

## CAVALRY—THIRD REGIMENT.

James S. Jackson, colonel; promoted brigadier-general of Volunteers Aug. 13, 1862.

Eli H. Murray, colonel; commissioned and entered service as major Nov. 26, 1861; promoted colonel Aug. 13, 1862.

Alvin C. Gillen, lieutenant-colonel; promoted colonel of — Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers.

James M. Holmes, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Aug. 13, 1862; resigned May 27 1863.

Robert H. King, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel May 27, 1863.

Green Clay, major; resigned Jan. 11, 1862.

W. S. D. Megowan, major; resigned Dec. 17, 1862.

Aaron C. Shacklett, major; promoted major Aug. 13, 1862.

Lewis H. Wolfley, major; promoted major Dec. 18, 1862.

Geo. F. White, major; promoted major April 13, 1863.

John W. Breathitt, major; promoted major May 27, 1863.

Zachary L. Taylor, adjutant; resigned April 16, 1862.

Jesse S. Gray, adjutant.

John Feland, regimental quartermaster.

A. J. Gillett, regimental quartermaster; promoted from 2d lieutenant Company G, June 20, 1862.

Jos. F. Anderson, regimental commissary; promoted from commissary sergeant March 8, 1864.

Wm. Singleton, surgeon; resigned June 16, 1862.

Robert M. Fairleigh, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon June 19, 1862.

Robert B. McNairy, asst. surgeon; promoted from hospital steward April 10, 1863.

Hartwell T. Burge, chaplain; resigned June 23, 1863.

John H. McRae, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

Jno. W. Breathitt, captain; Chas. L. White, captain; Thomas H. Ashford, 1st lieutenant; Milton J. Coleman, 1st lieutenant; N. C. Petree, 2d lieutenant; Alex. C. Lakin, 2d lieutenant; Edward Kelly, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

James M. Holmes, captain; Mathew H. Jouett, captain; John L. Waters, 1st lieutenant; Drury C. Mitcherson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Albert G. Bacon, captain; Robert H. King, captain; Lewis M. Buford, captain; John J. Roberts, 1st lieutenant; Edward H. Morin, 1st lieutenant; Charles Smock, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Arthur N. Davis, captain; Tho. J. Lovelace, captain; M. J. Davis, 1st lieutenant; Robert O. Gaines, 2d lieutenant; Calvin N. Jarrell, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Oliver N. Spencer, captain; Robert Bogle, captain; Percival P. Oldershaw, 1st lieutenant; David M. Oglesby, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Newton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Isaac Miller, captain; Elisha Baker, captain; W. H. Burghardt, 1st lieutenant; Leonard Pearler, 2d lieutenant; Wm. T. Buckner, 2d lieutenant; John C. Corey, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

J. Speed Peay, captain; Tho. C. Foreman, captain; L. L. Drown, captain; Edward W. Ward, captain; William Starling, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Coyle, 1st lieutenant; John Weist, 1st lieutenant; A. J. Gillett, 2d lieutenant; Garnett Duncan, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Lewis Wolfley, captain; James Beggs, captain; Frederick Overbury, 1st lieutenant; Edward H. Morin, 2d lieutenant; James T. Leavy, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

George F. Mercer, captain; John M. Thomas, captain; Lewis R. Dunn, 1st lieutenant; Peter S. Bruner, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Aaron C. Shacklett, captain; Francis H. Crosby, captain; Horace Scott, captain; Frank M. Jolly, 1st lieutenant; William Waters, 1st lieutenant; Samuel C. Chalfant, 2d lieutenant; Charles Blanford, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY L.

John P. Cummings, captain; W. W. Hester, 1st lieutenant; W. W. Weatherholt, 1st lieutenant; Wm. R. Gardner, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY M.

Geo. F. White, captain; A. G. Sloo, captain; Benjamin Johnson, 1st lieutenant.

The Third Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Calhoon, Ky., under Col. James S. Jackson; mustered into the United States service on the 13th day of December, 1861, by Maj. W. H. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

## CAVALRY—FOURTH REGIMENT.

Jesse Bayles, colonel; resigned April 14, 1863.

G. Glay Smith, colonel; promoted brigadier-general Volunteers, June 11, 1862.

Wickliffe Cooper, colonel; promoted colonel April 5, 1863.

Jacob Ruckstuhl, lieutenant-colonel; resigned May 8, 1863.

Llewellyn Gwynne, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major Aug. 10, 1863.

John F. Gunkel, major; resigned Feb. 3, 1863.

Sidney S. Lyon, major; promoted from captain, Company F, Aug. 13, 1863.

Moses C. Bayles, adjutant; mustered out April 14, 1862.

George K. Speed, adjutant; promoted captain Company G Nov. 7, 1863.

Chas. Kurfiss, regimental quartermaster; mustered out of service.

Chas. H. Swift, regimental quartermaster; transferred to Fourth Kentucky Veteran Cavalry.

Saml. L. Adams, surgeon; resigned Sept. 20, 1862.

Henry Mallory, surgeon; resigned July 10, 1863.

Chas. H. Butler, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon Oct. 1, 1863.

David P. Middleton, asst. surgeon; resigned April 10, 1862.

J. P. Bachman, asst. surgeon; transferred to Fourth Kentucky Veteran Cavalry.

Mathew N. Lasley, chaplain; resigned April 9, 1862.

## COMPANY A.

Levi Chilson, captain; William D. Hooker, captain; Joseph A. Cowell, captain; William J. Hunter, 1st lieutenant; James Barnes, 2d lieutenant; Basil N. Hobbs, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

John Kurfiss, captain; Adam Rogers, captain; Henry Tanner, 1st lieutenant; John Feitsch, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Charles L. Unthank, captain; Sylvester W. Raplee, captain; John M. Bacon, captain; James O'Donnell, 1st lieutenant; William J. Killmore, 1st lieutenant; William M. Nichols, 2d lieutenant; A. G. Rosengarten, 2d lieutenant; James Hines, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

George Welling, captain; William J. Barnett, captain; Frank N. Sheets, 1st lieutenant; John B.



Lee, 1st lieutenant; James A. Kemp, 2d lieutenant; John P. Brown, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Nelson B. Church, captain; Sidney Lyons, captain; Basil N. Hobbs, captain; Spencer Cooper, captain; John D. Bird, 1st lieutenant; Thomas P. Harnot, 1st lieutenant; Wm. G. Milton, 1st lieutenant; Abel R. Church, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Henry A. Schaeffer, captain; Leopold Preuss, captain; James O'Donnell, captain; Max Cohn, 1st lieutenant; Henry G. Waller, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Casper Blume, captain; John Sailer, captain; George K. Speed, captain; William Shriver, 1st lieutenant; William H. McKinney, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Hoffman, 2d lieutenant; Rodolph Curtis, 2d lieutenant; George Rothchild, 1st sergeant.

## COMPANY H.

Patrick W. McGowan, captain; John F. Weston, captain; Isaac Burch, 1st lieutenant; Lewis Ryan, 1st lieutenant; John Burke, 2d lieutenant.

The Fourth Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Louisville, Ky., under Col. Jesse Bayles, mustered into the United States service on the 24th day of Dec. 1861, by Capt. Bankhead, United States mustering officer.

## CAVALRY—FIFTH REGIMENT.

David R. Haggard, colonel; mustered out March 24, 1863, on account of disability.

Wm. P. Sanders, colonel; died of wounds received in action at Campbell's Station, Tenn., November 20, 1863.

Oliver L. Baldwin, colonel; promoted from major 2d Kentucky Infantry; resigned March 24, 1865.

Isaac Scott, lieutenant-colonel; resigned March 9, 1863.

William T. Hoblitzell, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from captain, Company I, 2d Kentucky Cavalry, March 10, 1863.

Michael H. Owsley, major; resigned Sept. 5, 1862.

Thomas C. Winfrey, major; promoted major December 4, 1861.

John Q. Owsley, major; promoted major; resigned Aug. 12, 1863.

Christopher T. Cheek, major; promoted from captain Company B.

James L. Wharton, major; promoted from captain Company A.

Hugh Mulholland, surgeon; resigned April 11, 1863.

William Forrester, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon April 12, 1863.

Marcellus Baugh, chaplain; resigned Dec. 22, 1862.

William B. Chrisler, chaplain; transferred to 3d Kentucky Cavalry January, 1865.

Jacob B. Mitchell, asst. surgeon; promoted surgeon 12th Tennessee Cavalry.

William T. Owsley, asst. surgeon; mustered out June, 1862.

John H. C. Sandridge, adjutant; killed in action March 10, 1865, at Monroe's Cross Roads, N. C.

William D. Mitchell, adjutant; detached from regiment before muster in.

John T. Farris, regimental quartermaster, promoted from sergeant 125th Illinois Infantry.

James H. McKee, regimental quartermaster; promoted from sergeant Company D.

Andrew T. Vincent, regimental quartermaster; promoted from private Company A.

Patrick M. Conly, regimental commissary; promoted from sergeant Company A.

George E. Willett, regimental commissary.

## COMPANY A.

Hal. Palmer, captain; James L. Wharton, captain; Thomas A. Elkin, captain; James V. Conrad, 1st lieutenant; James Funk, 2d lieutenant; Francis B. McAllister, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

James T. A. J. Duncan, captain; Christopher T. Cheek, captain; Andrew Offutt, captain; Jonathan S. Harlen, 1st lieutenant; Henry D. Gorham, 1st lieutenant; John Right, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

John Q. Owsley, captain; Samuel Martin, captain; John D. Smith, captain; Leonidas S. Sullivan, 1st lieutenant; Wily S. Holland, 1st lieutenant; Granville B. McGee, 2d lieutenant; George M. Vandever, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

William W. Bradshaw, captain; Robert Higginbottom, captain; Edwin Vincent, 1st lieutenant; Andrew J. Jones, 1st lieutenant; Edward Hughes, 2d lieutenant; Edward Davis, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

John A. P. Glore, captain; Robert Story, 1st lieutenant; Abijah C. Riddle, 2d lieutenant; Isaac S. Bow, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Daniel W. Claywell, captain; Joseph C. Hill, captain; James W. Lawless, captain; Christopher T. Cheek, 1st lieutenant; Robert Higginbottom, 1st lieutenant; John W. Baker, 1st lieutenant; William D. Baugh, 2d lieutenant; Rufus F. Thorn, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

John R. Poindexter, captain; John B. Riggs, captain; Elias C. Keen, 1st lieutenant; John Brown, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Michael B. Freeman, captain; Fleming Farris, captain; Richard B. Freeman, 1st lieutenant; John A. Burk, 1st lieutenant; Jas. W. Lawless, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

John L. Carter, captain; Asa C. Wells, captain; Doctor G. Shepherd, 1st lieutenant; Hiram Campbell, 2d lieutenant; William H. Bryan, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

John B. Page, captain; John W. Forrester, captain; James W. Strode, 1st lieutenant; Fleming Farris, 1st lieutenant; Andrew Offutt, 1st lieutenant; James W. Lawless, 1st lieutenant; Charles Gill, 1st lieutenant; Joseph G. Hardin, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifth Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Camp Sandidge, Gallatin, Tenn., under Col. David R. Haggard, and mustered into the service March 31, 1862, by Maj. W. H. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

## CAVALRY—SIXTH REGIMENT.

Dennis J. Halisy, colonel; killed in action near Newmarket, Ky., Dec. 31, 1862.

Lewis D. Watkins, colonel; promoted to brevet brigadier-general June 24, 1864.

Reuben Munday, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Dec. 11, 1861.

Wm. P. Roper, lieutenant-colonel; promoted major, then lieutenant-colonel.

Lewis A. Gratz, major.

Wm. H. Fidler, major; perished on steamer Sultana April 28, 1865, near Memphis, Tenn.

Walter F. Stafford, major; promoted major March 25, 1863.

Hugh B. Kelly, adjutant.

Jas. R. Meagher, adjutant; promoted from 1st lieutenant Company K.

Geo. W. McMillan, surgeon.

Wm. H. Newman, surgeon; honorably discharged May 1, 1863.

Levan J. Keeler, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon June 13, 1863.

John Drye, surgeon; promoted from captain Company G.

Chas. B. Chapman, asst. surgeon.

Milton C. Clark, chaplain; discharged on account of wounds received in action July 8, 1864.

Geo. Sambrock, regimental quartermaster.

Lec R. Yates, regimental commissary, resigned March 1, 1864.

## COMPANY A.

Edwin K. Stephens, captain; Walter F. Stafford, captain; David L. Cook, captain; Robert A. Kerr, 1st lieutenant; Jerome S. Hale, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

William P. Roper, captain; James H. Coffman, captain; Archie P. McLeod, 1st lieutenant; Samuel Kenbrough, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Chas. Milward, captain; Jas. C. Martin, captain; Scott H. Robinson, captain; Benj. F. Sheets, 1st lieutenant; James Robinson, 2d lieutenant; Wm. C. Hunter, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

John B. Buchanan, captain; Isaac Taylor, captain; Owen W. Ballew, 1st lieutenant; Andrew J. Henderson, 2d lieutenant; Allen K. Collins, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

James C. Dunham, 1st lieutenant; Stephen H. Shiplar, 1st lieutenant; Philip N. Heath, 1st lieutenant; Henry Tachua, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Perry G. Lanham, captain; Warren H. Mead, 1st lieutenant; Daniel Chatham, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

John Drye, captain; Levin M. Drye, captain; Henry S. Robson, 1st lieutenant; James J. Surber, 1st lieutenant; John T. Belden, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

George W. Craven, captain; G. J. Brothers, 1st lieutenant; William Murphy, 1st lieutenant; Isaac Graham, 2d lieutenant; Frank M. Vowels, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Edward Penn, captain; Samuel W. Crandell, 1st lieutenant; Elijah Bright, 1st lieutenant; Daniel M. Richmond, 2d lieutenant; James G. McAdams, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

James M. McCown, captain; James R. Meagher, 1st lieutenant; James D. Wilson, 1st lieutenant; James P. Conley, 1st sergeant.

## COMPANY L.

Otto Ernst, captain; Albert M. Green, captain; Edwin R. Phillips, captain; Christopher C. Bybee, 1st lieutenant; Lemuel W. Gee, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY M.

Robert H. Brentlinger, captain; George Williams, 1st lieutenant; George W. Richardson, 2d lieutenant.

ant; Samuel R. Hartman, 2d lieutenant; John Fowler, 2d lieutenant.

The First Battalion of the Sixth Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Camp Irvine, Jefferson Co., Ky., under Maj. Reuben Munday, and was mustered into the United States service December 23, 1861, by Maj. W. H. Sidell.

## CAVALRY—SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Leonidas Metcalfe, colonel; never mustered into United States service.

John K. Faulkner, colonel; was major till Feb. 9, 1863; then lieutenant-colonel April 2d, 1863.

Thomas T. Vimont, lieutenant-colonel; killed in a quarrel Jan. 16, 1864, at Dandridge, Tenn.

William W. Bradley, lieutenant-colonel; major to Sept. 17, 1864.

William O. Smith, major; resigned Feb. 5, 1863.

Robert Collier, major; was captain Company H to May 29, 1863; resigned Feb. 21, 1865.

Andrew S. Bloom, major.

Charles C. McNecley, major; was captain of Company B to March 11, 1865; not mustered as major.

William S. Sharp, surgeon; resigned May 8th, 1863.

Charles T. Spillman, surgeon; was asst. surgeon to May 9th, 1863.

Solomon S. Wolff, asst. surgeon; resigned Dec. 14, 1864.

Andrew J. Burnam, asst. surgeon.

John B. Campbell, adjutant; appointed captain and A. Q. M. April 30, 1864.

Felix G. McCrea, adjutant; was quartermaster-sergeant to Dec. 11, 1862; promoted to captain Company G Nov. 14, 1864.

Detmer P. Watson, adjutant; was sergeant-major to Nov. 14, 1864.

John W. Campbell, regimental quartermaster, resigned Feb. 3, 1863.

H. O. Newman, regimental quartermaster; resigned Sept. 22, 1864.

Arthur B. Masoner, regimental quartermaster; resigned May 25, 1865.

Joseph C. Masoner, regimental commissary; promoted from commissary sergeant Feb. 19, 1863.

M. J. W. Ambrose, chaplain; resigned Sept. 6, 1863.

Coleman W. York, chaplain; resigned Feb. 3, 1865.

## COMPANY A.

Barnabas T. Hayden, captain; Aaron Lee, 1st lieutenant; Sanford D. Vanpelt, 1st lieutenant; Samuel H. Royce, 2d lieutenant; William Ingram, 2d lieutenant; Henry H. Talbott, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Chas. C. McNeely, captain; Jesse H. Berry, captain; Jno. S. Stodghill, 1st lieutenant; Tho. M. Oden, 1st lieutenant; Wallace W. Gruelle, 1st lieutenant; Jno. T. Hopkins, 1st lieutenant; Geo. M. Sisson, 2d lieutenant; Jas. H. Oden, 2d lieutenant; Dennis Nichols, 1st lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Thomas T. Vimont, captain; James P. Ashley, captain; Augustus H. Trotter, 1st lieutenant; Thomas L. Scott, 1st lieutenant; John H. Sims, 2d lieutenant; Lewis B. Vimont, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

W. W. Bradley, captain; Jesse Bryant, captain; Andrew J. Jones, 1st lieutenant; James P. Roberson, 2d lieutenant; James H. Robey, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Benjamin F. Robbins, captain; William A. McGinety, captain; William Hamilton, 1st lieutenant.



Sidney M. Goshorn, 1st lieutenant; John P. McGinety, 1st lieutenant; Silas Gohagen, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Robert Scott, captain; Felix G. McCrea, captain; James W. Brewer, 1st lieutenant; Robert Chaney, 2d lieutenant; Richard Brewer, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Robert Collier, captain; Jephtha D. Thornton, captain; Edwin H. Walker, 1st lieutenant; William M. Kerby, 1st lieutenant; James L. Baird, 2d lieutenant; Thomas Dunn, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Elihu Price, captain; Seneea Goulding, captain; Mathew R. McDowell, 1st lieutenant; Charles G. Ogden, 1st lieutenant; Thomas E. Willett, 1st lieutenant; Alfred Mitchell, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY L.

John E. Burns, captain; Simeon Crane, captain; Curtis R. Beedle, 1st lieutenant; Wilkins Warren, 2d lieutenant; H. McCalla McGee, 2d lieutenant.

Company F, originally recruited by Capt. John E. Burns, was consolidated with Company M.

Company I, originally recruited by Capt. Jesse H. Berry, was consolidated with Company B.

This regiment was organized at Paris, Ky., in August, 1862, under Col. Leonidas Metcalfe, and was mustered into service by Maj. Sitgraves, United States mustering officer.

## CAVALRY—EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Benjamin H. Bristow, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel Apr. 1, 1863.

James H. Holloway, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major May 1, 1863.

Joseph M. Kennedy, major.

James W. Weatherford, major.

Samuel M. Starling, major; promoted from captain Company M June 1, 1863.

L. Bennett, surgeon.

R. W. Whittington, assistant surgeon.

George F. Penticost, chaplain.

Edward Campbell, quartermaster.

E. C. Spiceland, commissary; promoted from 2d lieutenant Company L June 9, 1863.

Joel E. Huffman, adjutant.

William A. Speed, sergeant major; appointed from Company H August 4, 1862.

Thomas E. White, quartermaster-sergeant; appointed August 15, 1862.

Henry D. Belden, commissary-sergeant.

John Black, steward; appointed from Company A.

Isaac B. Schoolfield, steward; appointed from Company M Dec. 8, 1862.

Cyrus W. Faulkland, saddler, appointed from Company E Sept. 13, 1862.

Paul A. Neff, bugler; appointed bugler Sept. 13, 1862.

George N. Masks, veterinary surgeon; appointed from Company E May 10, 1863.

James M. Shackelford (transferred), colonel; promoted brigadier-general Jan. 2, 1863.

Wm. S. Ross (transferred), surgeon; resigned May 21, 1863.

John Feland (transferred), quartermaster; resigned March 24, 1863.

John Belden (transferred), commissary; promoted captain Company M June 9, 1862.

James Lunathian (transferred), veterinary surgeon; discharged for disability Apr. 13, 1863.

## COMPANY A.

George W. McCullough, captain; Wm. H. Poindexter, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Hardy, 2d lieu-

tenant; James T. Donaldson, Jr., brevet 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Isaac Singleton, captain; Robert F. Yantis, 1st lieutenant; Archibald Carson, 2d lieutenant; James H. Richmond, sup. 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Charles M. Whipp, captain; John E. Sharp, 1st lieutenant; Daniel W. Coleman, 2d lieutenant; Royall B. Wilkinson, sup. 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Samuel F. Johnson, captain; Presley L. Morehead, 1st lieutenant; Clark E. Ritter, 2d lieutenant; Thomas B. Boyd, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

John A. Arthur, captain; John J. Hollaway, 1st lieutenant; James R. Morin, 1st lieutenant; David R. Lock, 2d lieutenant; George S. Fawcner, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

William F. Hunter, captain; James B. Carson, captain; James M. Combest, 1st lieutenant; John T. Richards, 2d lieutenant; Elijah A. Coppage, 2d lieutenant; Newton J. Smith, sup. 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

James M. Morrow, captain; Samuel M. Crandell, 1st lieutenant; Lewis Buckner, 2d lieutenant; Fielding W. Starling, 2d lieutenant; S. B. Reed, sup. 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Samuel Allen, captain; Peter P. Brown, 1st lieutenant; Mathew H. Owens, 2d lieutenant; Samuel N. Melton, 2d lieutenant; John Farmer, sup. 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

John Dever, captain; John F. Cunningham, 1st lieutenant; William Penn, 2d lieutenant; Felland P. Bland, sup. 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

James H. Hudspeth, captain; William A. Sassen, 1st lieutenant; Richard L. Boulware, 2d lieutenant; William D. Crain, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY L.

Elisha Owens, captain; Robert V. Gunter, captain; Samuel Talley, 1st lieutenant; Joseph S. Richards, 2d lieutenant; Edward C. Spiceland, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY M.

John D. Belden, captain; Daniel S. Parker, captain; John R. Curry, 1st lieutenant; Moses Kinnett, 1st lieutenant; Logan S. McWhorton, 2d lieutenant; Philip T. Hardwick, 2d lieutenant; George Dameron, 2d lieutenant; John B. Brown, sup. 2d lieutenant.

## CAVALRY—NINTH REGIMENT.

Richard T. Jacob, colonel.

John Boyle, lieutenant-colonel.

John T. Farris, major; resigned Nov. 10, 1862.

William C. Moreau, major.

George W. Rue, major.

James R. Page, major; resigned Feb. 14, 1863.

John C. Brant, major; promoted from 1st lieutenant Company B Feb. 15, 1863.

Uriah W. Oldham, adjutant; promoted to captain Company F Aug. 18, 1862.

Frank H. Pope, adjutant; resigned May 23, 1863.

Andrew J. Hyter, adjutant; promoted from sergeant-major June 4, 1863.

Charles A. Clarke, regimental quartermaster; resigned Aug. 17, 1862.

W. Rector Gist, regimental quartermaster; promoted from sup. 2d lieutenant Company K Aug. 18, 1862.

Edwin J. Clark, regimental commissary, resigned.

William A. Craig, regimental commissary; promoted from sup. 2d lieutenant Company L.

William Bailey, surgeon.

William H. Botts, assistant surgeon.

B. F. Hungerford, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

Ben. M. Harney, captain; Thos. P. Shanks, 1st lieutenant; Frank H. Pope, 1st lieutenant; Alfred C. Morris, 2d lieutenant; C. Harrison Somerville, brevet 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Milton P. Hodges, captain; William A. Smyth, captain; Charles S. Brent, 1st lieutenant; John C. Brent, 1st lieutenant; Green. M. C. Self, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Thomas J. Hardin, captain; Theodric J. Macey, 1st lieutenant; Edward S. Stewart, 2d lieutenant; John C. Jackson, 2d lieutenant; W. Ashton Craig, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

John L. Neal, captain; Thomas M. Dear, 1st lieutenant; Moses A. Dear, 1st lieutenant; John W. Jenkins, 2d lieutenant; Gideon J. Stivers, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Henry J. Sheets, captain; James R. Page, captain; Thomas Mahoney, 1st lieutenant; Thomas M. Page, 2d lieutenant; Richard H. Parrant, brevet 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Uriah W. Oldham, captain; John G. Gillispie, 1st lieutenant; Samuel D. McMeekin, 1st lieutenant; Jackson Armstrong, 2d lieutenant; Lilburn A. Black, 2d lieutenant; Edwin J. Clark, brevet 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

John D. Gore, captain; Charles W. Quiggins, 1st lieutenant; Dennis W. Gore, 2d lieutenant; Frank Hewitt, brevet 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Joseph N. Luckett, captain; Samuel Porter, 1st lieutenant; S. B. Colgrave, 2d lieutenant; John A. Mobley, 2d lieutenant; Francis Steadman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Harvey J. Burns, captain; Cincinnatus Hendren, 1st lieutenant; Turner W. Bottom, 1st lieutenant; John W. Edwards, 2d lieutenant; John D. Hale, brevet 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

William Edwards, captain; James P. Sharp, 1st lieutenant; William Craig, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY L.

William M. Searcy, captain; Benjamin L. Boston, captain; Charles K. Elder, 1st lieutenant; Wiley Searcy, 2d lieutenant; W. Rector Gist, brevet 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY M.

William G. Connor, captain; Wm. W. Edwards, 1st lieutenant; H. C. Rodenbaugh, 1st lieutenant; Samuel E. Bratton, 2d lieutenant.

This regiment was organized at Eminence, under Col. Richard T. Jacob, and mustered into the United States service on the 22d day of August, 1862, by Maj. L. Sitgraves, United States mustering officer.

## CAVALRY—TENTH REGIMENT.

Joshua Tevis, colonel; resigned Nov. 17, 1862.  
Charles J. Walker, colonel; resigned Sept. 1, 1863.

R. R. Maltby, lieutenant-colonel; commissioned Aug. 22, 1863.

James L. Foley, major; commissioned Sept. 9, 1862.

William A. Doniphan, major; resigned March 17, 1863.

John Mason Brown, major; commissioned Oct. 27, 1862.

James M. Taylor, major; promoted to major March 18, 1863.

Ridgely Wilson, adjutant; resigned June 28, 1863.

John N. Wallingford, adjutant; promoted adjutant June 29, 1863.

George G. Fetter, quartermaster.

John F. Moore, commissary; commissioned Aug. 15, 1862.

Washington Fithian, surgeon; commissioned Aug. 12, 1862.

J. F. Fleming, surgeon; commissioned Sept. 20, 1862.

Samuel Maguire, asst. surgeon.

James P. Hendrick, chaplain; commissioned Sept. 5, 1862.

## COMPANY A.

Newton S. Dudley, captain; Robert G. Ringo, captain; James M. Taylor, captain; Charles H. Burns, 1st lieutenant; Thomas A. Jones, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Charles S. Rogers, captain; Henry W. Caldwell, 1st lieutenant; Burton W. Darnall, 2nd lieutenant; George A. Trumbo, sup. 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

William E. Rice, captain; Andrew T. Wood, 1st lieutenant; William T. Berry, 2d lieutenant; Jno. N. Wallingford, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Jno. G. Rogers, captain; George H. Wheeler, 1st lieutenant; Wm. B. Shockley, 2d lieutenant; John F. Moore, 2d lieutenant; C. J. McClelland, brevet 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Wm. D. Ratcliffe, captain; Joseph T. Lokey, 1st lieutenant; Henry E. Ware, 1st lieutenant; Theodore B. Harlan, 2d lieutenant; Newton Devore, sup. 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Frank Mott, captain; Simeon Sumpter, 1st lieutenant; Casper Castner, 1st lieutenant; James M. Burk, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Milton Evans, captain; Andrew J. Farow, 1st lieutenant; James B. Brewer, 2d lieutenant; Daniel Hendrickson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Charles Nute, captain; James C. Bierbower, 1st lieutenant; Samuel B. Kelley, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Henry C. White, captain; Lewis M. Clarke, captain; George L. McCord, 1st lieutenant; James W. Steward, 2d lieutenant; Joseph T. Cottingham, brevet 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

John D. Russell, captain; Jacob Nelson, captain; David L. Evans, 1st lieutenant; George F. Hertel, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY L.

John M. Gray, captain; Thomas Barber, 1st lieutenant; John R. Ta'cer, 2d lieutenant.



## COMPANY M.

Francis M. Rathburn, captain; John A. Thompson, 1st lieutenant; James M. Blackburn, 2d lieutenant.

## CAVALRY—ELEVENTH REGIMENT.

Alexander W. Holeman, colonel; resigned Sept. 26, 1864.

William E. Riley, lieutenant-colonel; resigned July 18, 1863.

Archibald J. Alexander, lieutenant-colonel; resigned June 9, 1864.

Milton Graham, lieutenant-colonel.

William O. Boyle, major; killed in action Dec. 18, 1864, at Marion, Va.

Duval English, major.

Frederick Slater, major; promoted to major from captain Company E.

L. L. Pinkerton, surgeon; resigned March 22, 1863.

James H. Peyton, surgeon; resigned March 8, 1864.

James F. Peyton, surgeon; promoted surgeon March 9, 1864.

John F. Rodgers, asst. surgeon; discharged to date from appointment.

Thomas W. Hewitt, asst. surgeon.

Wm. P. Pierce, adjutant; discharged Aug. 6, 1864.

Harry Gee, adjutant; promoted from sergeant-major to adjutant June 23, 1864.

Stephen Stone, quartermaster; resigned March 27, 1863.

Wm. M. Simpson, quartermaster; promoted quartermaster June 7, 1863.

Munroe B. Pulliam, commissary; captured at Philadelphia, Tenn., Oct. 20, 1863.

Louis Bien Katap, commissary; promoted commissary Jan. 23, 1865.

John Taffe, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

John G. Pond, captain; Wm. P. Pierce, captain; Reuben F. Scott, 1st lieutenant; John M. Cotton, 2d lieutenant; Howard Warren, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

James A. Johnson, captain; Pres. F. Hansbrough, captain; George J. Burgess, 2d lieutenant; Wm. M. Simpson, sup. 2d lieutenant; Abraham W. Stone, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Jacob Cozatt, captain; Samuel P. Debaun, 1st lieutenant; Charles H. Edwards, 1st lieutenant; Wm. H. Norton, 2d lieutenant; John J. Rose, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

W. H. Bell, captain; James W. Robinson, 1st lieutenant; John W. Burton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Frederick Slater, captain; Edward H. Green, captain; Robert Q. Terrill, 1st lieutenant; Solomon Huffman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Robert S. Curd, captain; Benjamin W. Blincoc, 1st lieutenant; John H. Dickerson, 1st lieutenant; John J. Curtis, 1st lieutenant; Harrison F. Davis, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Joseph Lawson, captain; Allen Purdy, 1st lieutenant; Joseph M. Willerman, 1st lieutenant; John H. Skinner, brevetted 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

George H. Wheeler, captain; Daniel E. W. Smith, 1st lieutenant; George W. Taylor, 2d lieutenant; B. H. Niemeyer, 2d lieutenant.

Companies I, K, L, M of this regiment, were transferred to the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, per S. O. No. 70, headquarters Department of Cumberland, dated June 23, 1865.

The Eleventh Kentucky Cavalry was mustered into the United States service on the 22d day of September, at Louisville, Ky., by Capt. V. N. Smith, United States mustering officer.

## CAVALRY—TWELFTH REGIMENT.

Quintus C. Shanks, colonel; commissioned Oct. 11, 1862.

Eugene W. Crittenden, colonel; promoted from captain 4th United States Cavalry.

Alexander W. Holeman, lieutenant-colonel; promoted colonel 11th Kentucky Cavalry Nov. 2, 1863.

James T. Bramlette, lieutenant-colonel; commissioned Nov. 9, 1863.

Nathaniel L. Lightfoot, major; commissioned Oct. 11, 1862.

Wm. R. Kinney, major; commissioned Oct. 11, 1862.

Ira Hart Stout, major; promoted Oct. 11, 1862.

Julius N. Delfosse, major; killed in action at Philadelphia, Tenn., Oct. 20, 1863.

James B. Harrison, major; promoted from captain of Company B Nov. 17, 1863.

George F. Barnes, major; transferred to 12th Kentucky Cavalry.

Garland J. Blewitt, adjutant; was commissioned Aug. 16, 1862.

Zeno B. Freeman, adjutant; resigned Dec. 23, 1863.

William Noland, adjutant; promoted from commissary sergeant.

Thomas E. Tyler, adjutant; promoted from 1st sergeant July 30, 1865.

James A. Thomas, regimental quartermaster; commissioned Aug. 19, 1862.

John T. Feaman, regimental quartermaster, promoted regimental quartermaster April 11, 1863.

Daniel J. King, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster June 17, 1865.

Charles S. Clary, commissary; commissioned Oct. 11, 1862.

Erasmus O. Brown, surgeon; mustered in to date Sept. 12, 1862.

Thomas J. Swan, surgeon; resigned May 11, 1865.

Samuel B. Littlepage, asst. surgeon; hospital steward from August 10, 1862, to Jan. 30, 1863.

Horace Fletcher, asst. surgeon; commissioned Oct. 25, 1862.

A. T. Bennett, asst. surgeon; commissioned March 6, 1865.

John Pell, chaplain; commissioned Oct. 11, 1862.

## COMPANY A.

Andrew G. Hamilton, captain; Thomas J. Cherry, captain; James B. Harrison, captain; James L. Hix, captain; Moses P. Gott, 1st lieutenant; Edgar M. Gwynn, 1st lieutenant; Hiram D. Roberts, 1st lieutenant; John H. Stone, 2d lieutenant; David J. Bloek, 2d lieutenant; Cincinnati Condit, 2d lieutenant; William F. Denton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Wm. P. Pierce, captain; Wm. H. Ritchey, 1st lieutenant; Benj. F. Lewis, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

George W. Webb, captain; Henry A. Denton, captain; Robert Karnes, captain; Thomas S. Coleman, 1st lieutenant; Isaac T. Montgomery, 1st lieutenant; Samuel R. Jones, 2d lieutenant; Louis Bergman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Mason Hedrick, captain; Jno. L. Woodward, captain; Stephen D. Dial, captain; Robert Karnes, captain; Felix G. Baunon, 1st lieutenant; Obediah B. Chapman, 1st lieutenant; Europe F. Littlepage, 1st lieutenant; Thomas B. Perrigo, 1st lieutenant; Wm. K. Wallace, 1st lieutenant; Porter A. Hudson, 2d lieutenant; Thomas Lloyd, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Henry M. Bennett, captain; Henry F. Samuels, captain; Newton Smock, 1st lieutenant; Nathaniel M. Priest, 1st lieutenant; Charles B. Mitchell, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

Silvinas B. Johnson, captain; Adam Elms, captain; Samuel Baker, captain; Simon P. Morgan, 1st lieutenant; Hiram D. Roberts, 1st lieutenant; Sidney C. Swift, 1st lieutenant; David H. Baker, 1st lieutenant; James A. Anderson, 2d lieutenant; William T. Flora, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

John W. Hill, captain; Samuel E. Hill, captain; John H. Quisenberry, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Cullen, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

W. L. Payne, captain; Benjamin Duvall, captain; Geo. W. Bullitt, captain; Guy D. Howe, 1st lieutenant; Amos Lippincott, 1st lieutenant; William H. Hines, 2d lieutenant; James Butler, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Charles Bachmann, captain; Merrit M. Peirce, 1st lieutenant; William H. Bunting, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

John E. Williamson, captain; Wm. Mangan, captain; Elias J. Pendick, 1st lieutenant; Samuel B. McAfee, 1st lieutenant; Henry H. Hamilton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY L.

John H. Starks, captain; William G. Hurt, captain; Benj. K. Stephenson, 1st lieutenant; William D. James, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY M.

Thomas P. Carter, captain; Levi Linn, 1st lieutenant; Charles H. Turner, 1st lieutenant; William D. Lee, 2d lieutenant.

The Twelfth Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry was organized in the winter of 1862-63. A portion of the regiment was mustered into the United States service on the 17th day of November, 1862, at Owensboro, Ky., by W. B. Royall, captain 5th United States Cavalry; the remainder of the regiment was mustered in at Munfordsville, Ky., February 12, 1863, by Capt. T. E. Noell.

## CAVALRY—THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

James W. Weatherford, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel Dec. 23, 1863.

John A. Morrison, lieutenant-colonel.

Harrison M. Hurt, major; promoted from captain Company E December 23, 1863.

Ferdinand D. Rigney, major.

George W. Sweeney, major; on duty as major from Oct. 23, 1863.

Daniel S. Parker adjutant.

Fielding P. Bland, regimental quartermaster.

George F. Cunningham, commissary; cashiered by order No. 90, Department of the Ohio, dated Oct. 28, 1864.

Lafayette Bennett, surgeon.

Wm. D. Stone, assistant surgeon; absent, sick, since Dec. 1, 1864.

Joseph S. Harper, assistant surgeon.

Robert F. Mills, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

James M. Giboney, captain; Benj. F. Bransom, 1st lieutenant; Joseph W. Cartwright, 2d lieutenant; David Murphy, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

Asa Bryant, captain; Napoleon B. Portman, 1st lieutenant; Strother Bowman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Thomas Wood, captain; Richard H. McWhorter, 1st lieutenant; Mathew H. Turner, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

Thomas Watson, captain; Jesse C. Newell, 1st lieutenant; George T. Rigney, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Harrison M. Hurt, captain; William D. Lowe, captain; James M. Stephenson, 1st lieutenant; R. W. Chapman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

James R. Howard, captain; Elza C. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Martin Hurt, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

Samuel M. Crandall, captain; James H. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Jesse A. Skeen, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

William M. Northrip, captain; John E. Murrah, 1st lieutenant; William G. Gabbart, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Edmund Wilkerson, captain; John A. Stone, 1st lieutenant; Reuben Ard, 2d lieutenant; Moses Sweeney, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Nathan G. Wells, captain; George S. Hughes, 1st lieutenant; William D. Wolford, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY L.

John R. Curry, captain; Black Hughs, 1st lieutenant; Francis Montgomery, 1st lieutenant; James M. Williams, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY M.

George W. Penn, captain; John Ellis, 1st lieutenant; Franklin L. Shipman, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirteenth Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Columbia, Ky., under Col. J. W. Weatherford, and mustered into the United States service on the 23d day of December, 1863, by Capt. S. M. Letcher, United States mustering officer.

## CAVALRY—FOURTEENTH REGIMENT.

Henry C. Lilly, colonel; promoted from private Company B Feb. 13, 1863.

Andrew Herd, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from captain Company E Feb. 20, 1863.

Joseph W. Stivers, major; promoted from 2d lieutenant to major August 21, 1863.

Alfred Smith, major.

John C. Eversole, major.

R. T. Williams, major.

Frank B. Tucker, adjutant; resigned August 28, 1862.

John H. Massie, adjutant; resigned April 23, 1863.

Tho. C. Reed, adjutant; was commissary to August 24, 1863.

Alex. M. Barnes, regimental quartermaster; resigned August 28, 1862.

Lewis M. Ricketts, regimental quartermaster.

Saml. W. Hatten, commissary; promoted from sergeant major Oct. 2, 1863.



Washington Fithian, surgeon; resigned March 21, 1863.

James P. Turner, surgeon.

James W. Hensley, assistant surgeon.

Mathew G. Jones, assistant surgeon.

Wm. F. Cole, sergeant-major; promoted from sergeant Company E Sept. 1, 1863.

A. C. Lanchart, quartermaster sergeant; promoted from sergeant Company F Jan. 1, 1864.

Hezekiah Creech, commissary sergeant.

Stephen P. Wallace, saddler sergeant.

Elias Smith, hospital steward.

Robert Pendley, hospital steward; promoted from private Company E January 1, 1864.

#### COMPANY A.

Fountain Finnell, captain; John W. Ogden, 1st lieutenant; Joseph T. Smart, 1st lieutenant; William P. Schooler, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY B.

Wm. D. Craig, captain; Mason C. Miller, 1st lieutenant; Robert A. Thomas, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY C.

Seldon F. Bowman, captain; Clayton C. Bell, 1st lieutenant; Zachariah W. Owen, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY D.

Samuel McKee, captain; Allen H. Rupard, 1st lieutenant; James Kinnard, 2d lieutenant; Henry C. Rainey, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY E.

Sylvester Isaacs, captain; Andrew Herd, captain; William A. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Abraham H. Wilder, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY F.

Jefferson Hall, captain; Abraham W. Baker, 1st lieutenant; David W. Gentry, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY G.

Jackson H. Jacobs, captain; Jones A. Crawford, 1st lieutenant; Pleasant Gillum, 2d lieutenant; James H. Armstrong, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY H.

Hiram Shons, captain; Moses P. Daniel, 1st lieutenant; James M. Williams, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY I.

Thomas Amis, captain; John Amis, 1st lieutenant; Wiley Amis, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY K.

William Strong, captain; Edward Marcum, 1st lieutenant; Nimrod McIntosh, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY L.

William B. Eversole, captain; Thomas Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Abner Eversole, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY M.

Harrison Fields, captain; James Eversole, 1st lieutenant; Shadrach Stacey, Jr., 2d lieutenant.

The Fourteenth Kentucky Cavalry was organized in the fall of 1862, under Col. H. C. Lilly. Companies A, B, C, and D were mustered in on the 6th day of November, 1862, at Mt. Sterling, Ky., by Capt. S. E. Noell. Companies E, F, G, H, I, K, L, and M were mustered in at Irvine, Ky., on the 13th of February, 1863.

#### CAVALRY—FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

Gabriel Netter, lieutenant-colonel; killed in action at Owensboro, Ky., Sept. 19, 1862.

Albert P. Henry, lieutenant-colonel; captured June 29, 1863, at Spring Creek, Tenn.

Willia Waller, major.

John W. Lockhead, adjutant; promoted adjutant Dec. 16, 1862.

Thomas Alexander, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster Dec. 4, 1862.

Patrick H. Darby, regimental commissary; promoted sergeant-major May 1, 1863; promoted 1st lieutenant and regimental commissary June 15th, 1863.

Selathiel Medaris, assistant surgeon; discharged April 25, 1863.

James O. Castilow, quartermaster-sergeant.

Eugene Dodd, commissary-sergeant.

#### COMPANY A.

Samuel Duncan, captain; Henry W. Rose, 1st lieutenant; George F. Barnes, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY B.

Samuel M. Purcell, captain; Isham S. Mallory, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Alexander, 1st lieutenant; Francis M. Gilliland, 1st lieutenant; James Clement, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY C.

Jonathan Belt, captain; Fountain P. Hawkins, 1st lieutenant; William B. Bush, 2d lieutenant; Houston L. Keesee, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY D.

Wm. C. Frizzell, captain; Axel Nyberg, captain; Morgan T. Williams, 1st lieutenant; Robert L. Lockhead, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY E.

Lewis A. Hanson, captain; John B. Key, 1st lieutenant; Joseph F. Peck, 2d lieutenant.

#### COMPANY F.

Edward L. Maxwell, captain; Chas. J. Akerstrom, 1st lieutenant; Joseph A. Gates, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry was organized in the fall of 1862, and mustered into the United States service at Paducah, Ky., by Capt. Noell, United States army, on the 6th day of October, 1862. Gabriel Netter was commissioned lieutenant-colonel, July 25, 1862, and was killed at Owensboro, Ky. A. P. Henry was afterward, on February 14, 1863, commissioned lieutenant-colonel, and entered on duty as such March 5, 1863, remaining in command until his capture at Spring Creek, Tenn., June 29th, 1863, when Maj. Willia Waller became the senior officer with the regiment, and commanded it on its muster out of service at Paducah, Ky., October 6, 1863. Company C, of this regiment, was not mustered out until Oct. 29, 1863.

The Fifteenth Cavalry was chiefly engaged in scouting through the First District and western portion of the State of Kentucky, and was for some time the only protection afforded to the loyal citizens of that section. It sustained losses in numerous skirmishes, and at Owensboro, Ky., and the battle of Spring Creek, Tenn.

#### CAVALRY—SEVENTEENTH REGIMENT.

Samuel F. Johnson, colonel.

Thomas W. Campbell, lieutenant-colonel.

John B. Tyler, major.

Nelson C. Lawrence, major.

Thomas J. Lovelace, major.

David R. Murray, adjutant.

Virgil A. Jones, regimental quartermaster.

Robert Brodie, regimental quartermaster.

Thomas J. Buchanan, regimental commissary.

William Randolph, surgeon.

Charles F. Hart, surgeon.

Joseph T. Harper, assistant surgeon.

Robert Y. Thomas, chaplain.

## COMPANY A.

James C. Bacon, captain; Junius R. Clift, 1st lieutenant; Robert R. Davis, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY B.

James C. Wilson, captain; John M. Cranor, 1st lieutenant; Robert D. Chatman, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY C.

Stephen M. Overby, captain; John C. Young, 1st lieutenant; David Jackson, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY D.

James H. Lile, captain; Thomas Blythe, 1st lieutenant; Jack S. Bradley, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY E.

Ed. Hartee, captain; James M. Young, 1st lieutenant; George W. Tatum, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY F.

John Alsop, captain; B. V. Tyler, 1st lieutenant; Wm. F. Richards, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY G.

J. H. Sturdivant, captain; Wm. J. McGhee, 1st lieutenant; Alfred V. Townes, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY H.

Wm. H. Lawrence, captain; Thomas M. Lewis, 1st lieutenant; George W. Shelton, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY I.

Charles E. Van Pelt, captain; Finis H. Little, 1st lieutenant; Uriah M. Brown, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY K.

Washington C. Shannon, captain; William L. Travis, 1st lieutenant; A. Wood Pollard, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY L.

Elisha F. Lemen, captain; John G. Daniel, 1st lieutenant; Wm. C. Bourland, 2d lieutenant.

## COMPANY M.

John R. Reno, captain; David C. Goad, 1st lieutenant; Wm. H. Roark, 2d lieutenant.

The following is taken from the official records on file in the adjutant-general's office:

The Seventeenth Kentucky Cavalry was organized in the winter of 1864-65. A portion of the regiment was mustered into the United States service by Lieut. Russell, in December, 1864, at Russellville, Ky.; a portion by Capt. Smith, at Owensboro, Ky., in April, 1865; the remainder was mustered in at Louisville, Ky., in the months of January, February and March. Thos. W. Campbell, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel, March 22, 1865. Saml. F. Johnson was commissioned colonel, April 25, 1865. The regiment did good service in the southern portion of the State and along the line of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, guarding that great military thoroughfare. It was finally mustered out at Louisville, Ky., on the 20th day of September, 1865. It was engaged in numerous skirmishes, in which loss was sustained, beside the battles at Hopkinsville, Bunker Hill, and in Lyon County, Ky.

The officers of this command having failed to furnish any memorandum or official history of its marches and the battles and skirmishes in which it was engaged, a more extended notice of the same cannot be given.

## KENTUCKY LIGHT ARTILLERY.

## FIRST LIGHT ARTILLERY—BATTERY A.

David C. Stone, captain; dismissed May 4, 1863, disability, removed by the President.

Theodore S. Thomasson, captain; promoted captain May 26, 1863, mustered out Nov. 15, 1865.

Alphonso W. Roath, 1st lieutenant; resigned Nov. 29, 1861.

John H. Mellen, 1st lieutenant; honorably discharged for disability Oct. 22, 1864.

Robert A. Moffett, 1st lieutenant; resigned May 2, 1864.

John D. Irwin, 1st lieutenant; resigned March 1, 1865.

William H. Sinelare, 1st lieutenant; dismissed July 3, 1865.

John H. Landwehr, 1st lieutenant; mustered out Nov. 14, 1865.

George W. Clark, 2d lieutenant; resigned Feb. 6, 1862.

William R. Irwin, 2d lieutenant; died in hospital at Nashville, Tenn., Aug. 15, 1864.

Frederick R. Sanger, 2d lieutenant; mustered out Nov. 15, 1865.

## FIRST LIGHT ARTILLERY—BATTERY B.

John W. Hewett, captain; mustered out with battery, Nov. 15, 1864.

George W. Nell, 1st lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 15, 1864.

Albion A. Ellsworth, 1st lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 15, 1864.

William H. Spence, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 15, 1864.

William N. Snail, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 15, 1864.

Mathew H. Turner, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 15, 1864.

## FIRST LIGHT ARTILLERY—BATTERY C.

John W. Neville, captain; mustered out with battery Nov. 14, 1864.

Charles Bradley, 1st lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 14, 1864.

Hugh S. Rawle, 1st lieutenant.

Richard W. McReynolds, 2d lieutenant; veteran on detached service.

Thomas J. Walters, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 14, 1864.

## FIRST LIGHT ARTILLERY—BATTERY E.

John J. Hawes, captain; mustered out Jan. 20, 1865.

L. E. P. Bush, captain; resigned June 12, 1865.

Samuel A. Miller, captain; mustered out with battery Aug. 1, 1865.

Frank G. Clark, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery Aug. 1, 1865.

## LIGHT ARTILLERY—FIRST INDEPENDENT BATTERY.

Daniel W. Glassie, captain; mustered out with battery July 10, 1865.

Seth J. Simmonds, captain; cashiered.

James W. Kerr, 1st lieutenant; mustered out July 10, 1865, with battery.

George Hattersley, 1st lieutenant; mustered out March 17, 1865.

Robert C. Steele, 1st lieutenant; discharged for disability, Sept. 5, 1864.

Arthur Erenburg, 1st lieutenant; mustered out May 15, 1865; wounded at Antietam.

James W. Conine, 1st lieutenant; promoted colonel 5th U. S. C. T., Nov. 23, 1863.

Leonard Magnos, 1st lieutenant; dropped from rolls June 6, 1861.

Frederick A. Danie, 2d lieutenant; dismissed Nov. 17, 1862.

Hamilton B. White, 2d lieutenant; promoted captain 10th Ohio Battery, January 10, 1862.

Robert Johnson, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery July 10, 1865.



Battery A was organized in July, 1861, at Camp Joe Holt, Ind., by Capt. David C. Stone, and mustered into the United States service Sept. 27, 1861. After three years of active and distinguished service in the Army of the Cumberland, this battery veteranized at Nashville, Tenn., in February, 1864. After the defeat of Gen. Hood in December, 1864, the battery was ordered to Texas, where it remained until October, when it returned to Louisville, and was mustered out of service Nov. 15, 1865.

Battery B was organized at Camp Dick Robinson, Ky., in August, 1861, by Capt. J. W. Hewitt, and was mustered into service Oct. 8, 1861. This battery took an active part in the early engagements in Kentucky and Tennessee, and was distinguished for soldierly bearing and excellent discipline. It was mustered out at Louisville, Ky., Nov. 16, 1864, the recruits and veterans being transferred to Battery A.

Battery C was organized for one year's service at Louisville, Ky., in September, 1863, by Capt. John W. Neville, and was mustered into service on the 10th of the same month. After serving one year in the Department of Kentucky, the battery re-enlisted for three years, and was ordered to Arkansas, where it participated in several severe engagements.

Battery E was organized at Louisville, Ky., by Capt. John J. Hawes, in September, 1863, and was mustered into the service at Camp Nelson, Ky., October 6, 1863. It re-enlisted for three years in February, 1864. The service performed by this battery in Kentucky and east Tennessee was peculiarly arduous, and the gallant behavior of its members won the repeated commendation of superior officers.

The First Independent Battery was organized as Company E, 1st Kentucky Infantry, and detached as artillery at the instance of Gen. Rosecrans, then commanding in Western Virginia, Oct. 31, 1861. The battery served with distinction in the campaigns in West Virginia, participating in the engagements at Tylus Mountain, Horse Shoe Bend, Cotton Mountain and Greeley Bridge, Va., Frederick City and Antietam, Md., Cloyd Mountain, New River Bridge, Lynchburg and Salem, Va. After four years of honorable service, the battery was mustered out July 10, 1865, at Louisville, Ky.

#### BATTLE LIST OF KENTUCKY TROOPS.

Following is a list of engagements during the Rebellion in which Kentucky troops were engaged:

1861.

Wild Cat, Ky., Oct. 21—Seventh Infantry, First Cavalry.

1862.

Mill Springs, Jan. 19—Fourth, Tenth, Twelfth Infantry, First Cavalry, Patterson's Engineers.

Middle Creek, Ky., Jan. 10—Fourteenth Infantry.

Fort Donelson, Feb. 16—Seventeenth, Twenty-fifth Infantry.

Shiloh, Tenn., April 6, 7—First, Second, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Eleventh, Thirteenth, Seventeenth, Twentieth, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth Infantry.

Murfreesboro, Tenn., July 13—Battery B.

Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30—Seventh, Fourteenth, Eighteenth Infantry, Sixth, Seventh, Ninth Cavalry.

South Mountain, Md., Sept. 14—Simmonds' Independent Kentucky Battery.

Antietam Mountain, Md., Sept. 17—Simmonds' Independent Kentucky Battery.

Perryville, Ky., October 8—Fifth, Seventh, Fifteenth Infantry, First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth Cavalry, Battery A.

Dobbin's Ferry, Tenn., Dec. 9—Eighth, Twenty-first Infantry.

Chickasaw Bluffs, Dec. 29, 30—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

1863.

Stone River, Tenn., Dec. 31, 1862, Jan. 3, 1863—First, Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh, Fifteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third Infantry, Second, Third Cavalry, Battery A.

Arkansas Post, Ark., Jan. 11—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Thompson's Hill, Miss., May 1—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Champion's Hill, Miss., May 16—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Big Black River Bridge, Miss., May 17—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Horseshoe Bend, Cumberland River, May 9, 10—Ninth, Twelfth Cavalry.

Vicksburg, Miss., May 19, July 4—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Jackson, Miss., July 10, 16—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Lebanon, Ky., July 7—Twentieth Infantry.

Tullahoma Campaign, June 24, July 4—First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third Infantry, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Cavalry.

Chickamauga Campaign, Ga., Sept. 19, 20—First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-third Infantry, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Cavalry.

Marrowbone Ky., Sept. 22—Thirty-ninth Infantry.

Philadelphia, Tenn., Oct. 20—Twenty-seventh Infantry, First, Eleventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Brown's Ferry, Tenn., Oct. 27—Fifth, Sixth, Twenty-third Infantry.

Campbell Station, Tenn., Nov. 16—Thirteenth, Twenty-seventh Infantry, Fifth Cavalry.

Kingston, Tenn., Nov. 24—Sixteenth Infantry.

Siege of Knoxville, Nov.—Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh Infantry, First, Eleventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Lookout Mountain, Nov. 23—Eighth Infantry.

Missionary Ridge, Nov. 23, 25—Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third Infantry.

Bear's Station, Tenn., Dec. 14—Eleventh, Twenty-seventh Infantry, First, Twelfth Cavalry.

Mossy Creek, Tenn., Dec. 29—Sixteenth Infantry, Seventh Cavalry.

1864.

Dandridge, Tenn., Jan. 20—Seventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Dalton, Ga., Feb. 25—Eighth Infantry.

Sabine Cross Roads, La., April 8—Nineteenth Infantry.

Rockyface Ridge, May 9—First, Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Fifteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-eighth Infantry.

Resaca, Ga., May 15—First, Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-eighth Infantry.

Dallas, Ga., May 25, June 2—Third, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth,

Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth Infantry, First, Second, Third, Fourth Cavalry.

Lost Mountain, Ga., June 10—First, Fourth, Sixth, Seventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Mt. Sterling, Ky., June 9—Thirty-seventh, Fortieth, Forty-fifth Infantry, Seventeenth Cavalry, Battery C.

Cynthiana, Ky., June 12—Thirtieth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-fifth, Forty-seventh Infantry.

Kenesaw Mountain, June 20, 27—Third, Fifth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth Infantry, Second Cavalry.

Lafayette, Ga., June 24—Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh Cavalry.

Near Marietta, Ga., July 4—Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Fifteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first Infantry.

Adairsville, Ga., July 7—Third, Fifth Cavalry.

Peach Tree Creek, July 20—Third, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth, Fifteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-eighth Infantry.

Siege of Atlanta, Ga., July 22, Sept. 1—Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth Infantry, First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eleventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Newnan's, Ga., July 30—Fourth Infantry, Second, Seventh Cavalry.

Hillsboro, Ga., July 31—First, Eleventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Lovejoy Station, Aug. 20—Fourth, Ninth, Twenty-eighth Infantry, Third, Fifth Cavalry.

Jonesboro, Ga., Sept. 2—Tenth, Thirteenth, Twenty-first Infantry.

Saltillo, Va., Oct. 2—Twenty-Sixth, Thirtieth, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-fifth Infantry.

Sherman's March to the Sea—Tenth, Eighteenth Infantry, Second, Third, Fifth Cavalry.

Columbia, Tenn., Nov. 28—Eleventh, Twelfth, Sixteenth Infantry.

Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30—Twelfth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-eighth Infantry.

Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 15, 16—Twelfth, Sixteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-eighth Infantry, Fourth Mounted Infantry, Battery A.

Marian, Va., and Stoneman's (Va.) Raid, Dec. 16, 1864, Jan., 1865—Thirtieth, Fifty-third Infantry, Eleventh, Twelfth Cavalry, Battery C.

Hopkinsville, Ky., Dec. 16—Sixth, Seventh Cavalry.

Savannah, Ga., Dec. 21—Eighteenth Infantry, Battery C.

Saltillo, Va., Dec. 20—Thirtieth, Forty-fifth, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth Infantry.

Wilson's Raid in Alabama, Georgia, Dec. 20, April 20, 1865—Fourth, Sixty-seventh Cavalry, Fourth Mounted Infantry.

#### 1865.

Town Creek, N. C., Feb. 20—Twelfth Infantry.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., April 1—Fourth Infantry.

Near Raleigh, N. C., April 12—Eighteenth Infantry.

#### ROLL OF HONOR.

A list of officers of Kentucky regiments, who were killed in action or died of wounds received there during their service in the United States Volunteer Army:

Auxier, Capt. David V., 39th Inf.; died Oct. 4, 1864, of wounds received at the battle of Saltville, Va.

Anthony, Capt. James W., 17th Inf.; died Oct. 10, 1863, of wounds received at the battle of Chickamauga.

Barton, Lieut. Wm. S., 9th Inf.; killed in action at Missionary Ridge, Tenn., Nov. 25, 1863.

Bacon, Capt. Albert G., 3d Cav.; killed in action at Sacramento, Ky., Dec. 28, 1861.

Bayne, Capt. Aaron S., 15th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Tenn., Dec. 3, 1862.

Benton, Capt. John B., 8th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.

Bevill, Capt. Seth P., 10th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 21, 1863.

Bevill, 2d Lieut. John H., 21st Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Tenn., Jan. 2, 1863.

Butler, Capt. Champness D., 13th Inf.; killed in action at Kennesaw Mountain, Ga., Jan. 27, 1864.

Burgess, 2d Lieut. Francis M., 14th Inf.; died of wounds, Aug. 10, 1864, received in action on Atlanta Campaign.

Brown, 2d Lieut. Albert E., 17th Inf.; died May 18, 1862, of wounds received in action at Shiloh.

Burgher, Lieut. Wm. C., 26th Inf.; killed in action near Russellville, Ky., July 29, 1862.

Bradford, Lieut. Jacob D., 13th Inf.; killed in action at Resaca, Ga., May 14, 1864.

Bodine, Capt. James M., 2d Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 21, 1863.

Bryan, Capt. William T., 9th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.

Boyle, Maj. William O., 11th Cav.; killed in action at Marion, Va., Dec. 18, 1864.

Bradshaw, Lieut. Alban D., 3d Inf.; died Oct. 8, 1863, of wounds received at Chickamauga.

Bradney, Lieut. William, 2d Cav.; killed in action on Atlanta Campaign, July 30, 1864.

Carter, Capt. Jesse M., 1st Kentucky Cav.; killed at Columbus, Ky., July 3, 1863.

Carpenter, Lieut. Frederick F., 9th Inf.; killed at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.

Cabell, Lieut. Samuel J., 13th Inf.; died March 6, 1864, of wounds received in action at Huff's Ferry, Tenn., March 6, 1864.

Cartsinger, Lieut. James L., 30th Inf.; killed in action at Saltville, Va., Oct. 2, 1864.

Campbell, Maj. Wm. P., 15th Inf.; killed in action at Perryville, Oct. 8, 1864.

Coughlin, Lieut. James, 24th Inf.; killed in action at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864.

Coyle, Capt. Demetrius B., 9th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.

Cox, Lieut. Wade B., 8th Inf.; died July 12, 1863, of wounds received at Stone River.

Cotton, Lieut.-Col. George T., 6th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.

Coleman, Lieut. Richard D., 39th Inf.; killed in action, Jan. 9, 1864.

Cullen, Lieut. Mathew, 3d Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.

Culbertson, Capt. W. W., 18th Inf.; died Sept. 22, 1862, of wounds received in action at Richmond, Ky.

Davidson, Maj. John L., 26th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, Apr. 7, 1862.

Delfosse, Maj. J. Napoleon, 12th Cav.; killed in action at Philadelphia, Tenn., Oct. 20, 1863.

Dissell, Lieut. Frank, 5th Inf.; died May 12, 1864, of wounds received at Stone River.

Dunlap, Lieut. James, 18th Inf.; killed in action at Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30, 1862.

Eubanks, Lieut. Thomas, 6th Inf.; killed at Chickamauga Sept. 19, 1863.

Elam, Lieut. Richard M., 14th Inf.; killed in action at Salyersville, Ky., Nov. 30, 1863.



- Eifort, Maj. William H., 2d Cav.; killed in action Atlanta Campaign, Sept. 3, 1864.
- Evans, Maj. Morgan V., 19th Inf.; killed in action before Vicksburg, Miss., May 22, 1863.
- Ferguson, Capt. Alex B., 5th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.
- Forrester, Capt. John W., 5th Cav.; died Nov. 29, 1864, of wounds received on Atlanta campaign.
- Foy, Lieut.-Col. James C., 23d Inf.; died July 24, 1864, of wounds received in action near Vining's Station, Ga.
- Forman, Col. James B., 15th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.
- Fisher, Capt. John R., 27th Inf.; killed in action near Atlanta, Ga., July 20, 1864.
- Furr, 2d Lieut. William W., 6th Inf.; killed in action near Dallas, Ga., May 27, 1864.
- Garrard, Capt. Daniel, Jr., 22d Inf.; killed in action at Chickasaw Bluffs, Miss., Dec. 29, 1862.
- Gallup, Capt. Giles A., 13th Inf.; killed in action at Jonesboro, Ga., Sept. 2, 1864.
- Goulding, Capt. Seneca P., 7th Cav.; drowned while in action at Benton, Ala., Apr. 10, 1865.
- Griffin, Lieut. Jesse W., 25th Inf.; killed in action at Fort Donelson, Tenn., Feb. 15, 1862.
- Griffin, Lieut. Amos M., 5th Cav.; killed in action March —, 1865.
- Hampton, Adj. Levi J., 39th Inf.; killed in action Dec. 4, 1862.
- Hund, Lieut. Anton, 6th Inf.; died May 23, 1862, of wounds received at Shiloh, Tenn.
- Hayes, 2d Lieut. James M., 4th Inf.; killed in action at Logan's Cross Roads, Jan. 19, 1862.
- Halisey, Col. Dennis I., 6th Cav.; killed in action near New Market, Ky., Dec. 31, 1862.
- Hestand, Lieut. Turner, 9th Inf.; killed in action at Lovejoy's Station, Ga., Sept. 2, 1864.
- Hegan, Capt. Wm. B., 23d Inf.; killed in action at Chickasaw Bluffs, Miss., Dec. 29, 1862.
- Hedger, Lieut. Hugh A., 21st Inf.; killed in action at Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 15, 1864.
- Higdon, Lieut. John T., 26th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, Apr. 7, 1862.
- Hill, Capt. John W., 12th Cav.; killed in action, Nov. 18, 1863.
- Hickman, Capt. Robert B., 8th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.
- Hill, Capt. George W., 12th Inf.; killed in action before Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 6, 1864.
- Hoffman, Lieut. Joseph C., 23d Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.
- Hurley, Capt. John P., 5th Inf.; killed in action at Missionary Ridge, Nov. 25, 1863.
- Humphrey, Lieut. James, 1st Cav.; died Sept. —, 1864, of wounds received in action.
- Huston, Lieut. John W., 5th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.
- Hunt, Lieut. Garvine D., 3d Inf.; died Nov. 30, 1863, of wounds received at Missionary Ridge.
- Jenkins, Lieut. Wm. G., 2d Cav.; killed in action, June 29, 1863.
- Jenkins, Capt. Jarrett W., 1st Cav.; killed in action at Perryville, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.
- Jones, 2d Lieut. Samuel R., 12th Cav.; killed in action near Brandenburg, Ky., July 12, 1864.
- Jouett, Lieut.-Col. George P., 15th Inf.; killed in action at Chaplin Hills, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.
- Korman, 2d Lieut. John B., 23d Inf.; died July 26, 1864, of wounds received in action before Chattanooga, Tenn.
- Laurie, 2d Lieut. James, 16th Inf.; died May 14, 1864, of wounds received in action at Resaca, Ga.
- Landrum, Capt. Wm. J., 17th Inf.; killed in action at Cassville, Ga., May 19, 1864.
- Lee, Lieut. Matthias Z. S., 24th Inf.; died Feb. 14, 1864, of wounds received in action at Knoxville, Tenn.
- Leggett, Lieut. Algernon S., 9th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.
- Lewis, Capt. Orrin M., 18th Inf.; killed in action at Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30, 1862.
- Lochman, 2d Lieut. Frederick V., 6th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.
- Lowc, 2d Lieut. Thomas A., 13th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, April 7, 1862.
- Lee, Lieut. Wm. L., 13th Inf.; died April 16, 1862, of wounds received at Shiloh.
- Mavity, Capt. Ephraim P., 23d Inf.; died Sept. 17, 1864, of wounds received in action at Chattanooga, Tenn.
- Marker, Capt. Peter, 6th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.
- Martin, Capt. Columbus H., 11th Inf.; died Dec. 18, 1863, of wounds received in action at Philadelphia, Tenn.
- McGraw, Capt. John, 6th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.
- McKee, Col. Samuel, 3d Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.
- McDowell, Capt. E. Irwine, 15th Inf.; killed in action at Resaca, Ga., May 14, 1864.
- McGrath, Lieut. James A. T., 15th Inf.; killed in action at Chaplin Hills, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.
- McCulloch, Capt. Miller R., 2d Cav.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 30, 1862.
- McClure, Lieut. Joseph L., 15th Inf.; died Oct. 18, 1862, of wounds received in action at Perryville, Ky.
- Miller, Lieut. Jonathan P., 1st Ky. Cav.; killed in action at Mill Springs, Jan. 19, 1862.
- Minter, Capt. Landon C., 8th Inf.; died Feb. 15, 1863, of wounds received at Stone River, Tenn.
- Miller, 2d Lieut. James A., 2d Inf.; killed in action at Pittsburg Landing, April 7, 1862.
- Miller, Capt. Joseph E., 5th Inf.; killed in action at Resaca, Ga., May 16, 1864.
- Mitchell, Lieut. Wm. D., 5th Cav.; killed in action March 10, 1865.
- Millman, Lieut. John D., 17th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.
- Morton, Capt. Preston, 17th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, April 6, 1862.
- Murphy, Lieut. William, 6th Cav.; killed in action, July 4, 1863.
- Myers, 2d Lieut. John H., 10th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.
- Nierhoff, Capt. Frederick, 6th Inf.; killed in action at Kenesaw Mt., Ga., June 23, 1864.
- Osborne, Lieut. Chilson A., 14th Inf.; died Nov. 30, 1864, of wounds received in action at Charleston, S. C.
- Overburg, Lieut. Frederick, 3d Cav.; killed in action near Marietta, Ga., Oct. 3, 1864.
- Owens, Capt. Elisha, 8th Cav.; killed at Pilot Knob, Ky., Feb. 28, 1863.
- Palmer, Capt. Henry D., 16th Inf.; killed in action at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864.
- Patrick, Capt. Wiley C., 14th Inf.; killed in action near Alatoona, Ga., June 2, 1864.
- Pennington, Capt. Levi, 7th Inf.; killed in action at Chickasaw Bluffs, Miss., December 28, 1862.
- Pope, Col. Curran, 15th Inf.; died Nov. 5, 1862, of wounds received in action at Chaplin Hills, Ky.
- Robinson, Lieut. William H., 53d Inf.; killed in action at Marion, Va., Dec. 18, 1864.
- Rockingham, Lieut. Richard, 6th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.
- Ryan, 2d Lieut. John, 5th Inf.; died Sept. 25, 1863, of wounds received at Chickamauga.
- Royce, 2d Lieut. Samuel H., 7th Cav.; killed in action at Big Hill, near Richmond, Ky., Aug. 23, 1862.
- Scott, Lieut. Hugh L., 53d Inf.; died Dec. 3, 1864, of wounds received in action.

Sheets, Lieut. Frank N., 4th Cav.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.

Sketoe, Capt. Isaac W., 11th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, April 7, 1862.

Smith, Lieut. Elza C., 13th Cav.; killed in hospital at Saltville, Va., Oct. 7, 1864.

Sinkhorn, Lieut. Granville J., 28th Inf.; killed in action at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864.

Spellmeyer, Capt. John H., 2d Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, April 7, 1862.

Stoue, Lieut. Sebastian, 21st Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.

Sturgis, Capt. Robert C., 17th Inf.; died Aug. 9, 1864, of wounds received in action before Atlanta, Ga.

Stewart, Lieut. Thomas, 14th Inf.; killed in action before Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 4, 1864.

Stearman, 2d Lieut. Wm. H., 13th Inf.; died Nov. 17, 1863, of wounds received in action at Huff's Ferry, east Tenn.

Taylor, Capt. Henry S., 3d Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.

Thomasson, Maj. Charles M., 5th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.

Truett, 2d Lieut. Jabez, 22d Inf.; killed in action at Chickasaw Bluffs, Dec. 29, 1862.

Tate, Lieut. Charles R., 9th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, Tenn., April 7, 1862.

Thornburg, 2d Lieut. Walter, 39th Inf.; killed in action Sept. 22, 1863.

Todd, Capt. Charles S., 6th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River Dec. 31, 1862.

Todd, Lieut. L. Frank, 15th Inf.; died Jan. 20, 1863, of wounds received in action.

Vickary, 2d Lieut. Jenkins J., 30th Inf.; killed in action at Saltville, Va., Oct. 2, 1864.

Victor, Capt. Wallace, 13th Inf.; died July 13, 1864, of wounds received at Chickamauga.

Washburn, 2d Lieut. John W., 18th Inf.; killed in action at Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30, 1863.

White, Capt. Charles L., 3d Cav.; died Dec. 7, 1864, of wounds received in action.

Wileman, Maj. Abram G., 18th Inf.; killed in skirmish in Pendleton County, Ky., Oct. 5, 1863.

Wilson, Capt. Thomas, 7th Inf.; killed in action at Champion's Hill, Miss., May 16, 1863.

Wilson, Capt. Upton, 5th Inf.; killed in action at Missionary Ridge Nov. 25, 1863.

Wolford, Capt. Francis M., 1st Cav.; killed in action at Hillsboro, Ga., July 31, 1864.

#### DEATHS IN KENTUCKY UNION TROOPS. 1861-65.

Killed in action, 95 officers, 1,390 enlisted men; died of wounds, 39 officers, 954 enlisted men; died of disease, 121 officers, 7,122 enlisted men; accidentally killed, 1 officer, 219 enlisted men; drowned, 6 officers, 228 enlisted men; murdered, 14 enlisted men; suicide, 1 officer, 7 enlisted men; executed (G. C. M.), 12 enlisted men; sunstroke, 2 enlisted men; other known causes, 7 officers, 165 enlisted men; causes not stated, 1 officer, 390 enlisted men. Total 271 officers and 10,503 enlisted men, of which number 3 officers and 1,017 enlisted men died while prisoners of war.

#### DEATHS IN ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.\* 1861-65.

Killed in action, 4,142 officers, 62,916 enlisted men; died of wounds, 2,223 officers, 40,789 enlisted men; died of disease, 2,795 officers, 221,791 enlisted men; accidentally killed, 142 officers, 3,972 enlisted

men; drowned, 106 officers, 4,838 enlisted men; murdered, 37 officers, 483 enlisted men; suicide, 26 officers, 365 enlisted men; executed (G. C. M.), 267 enlisted men; sunstroke, 5 officers, 308 enlisted men; other known causes, 80 officers, 2,122 enlisted men; causes not stated, 28 officers, 12,093 enlisted men. Total 9,584 officers and 349,944 enlisted men; of which number 219 officers and 29,279 enlisted men died while prisoners of war.

#### CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY.

##### GENERAL OFFICERS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY APPOINTED FROM KENTUCKY.\*

Jno. C. Breckinridge, brig.-gen., Nov. 2, 1861; maj.-gen. Apr. 11, 1862; acting secretary of war, 1865.

Simon B. Buckner, brig.-gen., Sept. 14, 1861; maj.-gen., Aug. 16, 1862; lieutenant-gen. Sept. 20, 1864.

Abe Buford, brig.-gen., Sept. 2, 1862.

George B. Cosby, brig.-gen., Jan. 20, 1863.

George B. Crittenden, brig.-gen., March 16, 1861; maj.-gen., Nov. 9, 1861; resigned Oct. 23, 1862.

Basil W. Duke, brig.-gen., Sept. 15, 1864.

Charles W. Field, brig.-gen., May, 9, 1862; maj.-gen. Sept. 12, 1864.

Roger W. Hanson, brig.-gen., Dec. 13, 1862.

J. M. Hawes, brig.-gen., March 5, 1862.

B. H. Helm, brig.-gen., March 14, 1862.

George B. Hodge, brig.-gen., Aug. 2, 1864.

Joseph H. Lewis, brig.-gen., Sept. 30, 1863.

H. B. Lyou, brig.-gen., June 14, 1864.

Humphrey Marshall, brig.-gen., Oct. 30, 1861; resigned June 16, 1862; reappointed June 20, 1862; with rank from Oct. 1, 1861.

Jno. H. Morgan, brig.-gen., Dec. 11, 1862.

William Preston, brig.-gen., April 14, 1862; maj.-gen., Jan. 1, 1865.

Gustavus W. Smith, maj.-gen., Sept. 9, 1861; resigned Sept. 11, 1863.

Lloyd Tilghman, brig.-gen., Oct. 18, 1861.

Jno. S. Williams, brig.-gen., April 16, 1862.

##### LIST OF NAMES OF COMMANDING OFFICERS OF THE FIRST KENTUCKY BRIGADE IN THE ORDER OF THEIR DATES OF COMMAND

Brig.-Gen. Jno. C. Breckinridge.

Brig.-Gen. Roger W. Hanson.

Col. R. P. Trabue.

Brig.-Gen. Marcus J. Wright.

Brig.-Gen. B. H. Helm.

Brig.-Gen. Joseph H. Lewis.

##### GENERAL AND STAFF OFFICERS APPOINTED FROM KENTUCKY.†

*Gen. John C. Breckinridge.*—*Staff:* Ament, B. W., medical director, relieved Aug. 29, 1862; Addison, —, volunteer aid-de-camp, Aug., 1862; Benham, Calhoun, major, acting inspector-general, Oct. 28, 1862; Breckinridge, J. Cabell, lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Nov. 17, 1861, Sept. 30, Oct. 28, 1862; Buckner, Jno. A., captain, assistant adjutant-general, July 18, 1862, lieutenant-colonel, Oct. 28, 1862; Brown, —, major, chief commissary subsistence, Oct. 12, 1862; Bradford, J. W., captain, assistant quartermaster, paymaster, June, 4, 1863; Bird, —, captain, volunteer aid-de-camp, Aug., 1862; Brewer, —, lieutenant-colonel, volunteer aid-de-camp, Aug., 1862; Bertus, Wm. E., lieutenant, Twelfth Louisiana, acting inspector-general,

\* From the war office at Washington, D. C.

† From the office of the adjutant-general of the United States, and never before published.

† This list is from the war office at Washington, and was sent to Col. John B. Castleman, adjutant-general of Kentucky, who had it corrected and revised for this work.



Sept., 1863; Cobb, Robertson, captain, chief of artillery. — Division, Nov. 1, 1863, Nov. 6, 1863, assigned as chief of artillery of corps; Coleman, —, captain, volunteer aid-de-camp, Jan. 1, 1863; Daragh, Thos. B., lieutenant, volunteer aid-de-camp, Jan. 1, 1863; Ewing, E. H., captain, assistant quartermaster, June 27, 1863; Ershine, Jno. H., surgeon, medical director, March 6, 1862; Evans, Alex., major and chief commissary, —, 7, 1863; Foote, Henry S., aid-de-camp; Granes, R. E., major, chief of artillery, Oct. 28, 1862; Hawes, Carey N., announced as chief surgeon of division, Sept. 6, 1862; Hawkins, Thomas T., first lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Nov. 17, 1861; Capo, —, aid-de-camp, captain, assistant adjutant-general, Oct., 1862, Oct. 28, 1862; Helm, Geo. M., 1st lieutenant, engineer officer, Aug. 18, 1862; Hamilton, Wm. B., volunteer aid-de-camp, Aug., 1862; Huestis, Dr., —, medical inspector, chief surgeon, Jan., Sept., 1863; Hope, John, captain, acting inspector-general, Sept. 30, 1862, announced as acting inspector-general of reserve corps, April 25, 1862; Johnson, J. P., assistant adjutant-general, July, 1863; Kratz, Dr. —, assistant surgeon, Sept., 1863; Little, George, captain, ordnance officer, May 2, 1863; Legare, J. C., surgeon, medical inspector, March 6, 1862; Morgan, R. C., acting assistant adjutant-general, Jan. 19, 1862; Mastin, Chas. J., captain, acting inspector-general, Feb. 26, 1863, lieutenant-colonel, acting inspector-general, Sept., 1863; Nocquet, Jas. W., captain, chief of engineers, Sept. 30, 1862; O'Hara, Theodore, colonel, acting assistant adjutant-general, Dec., 1862, Jan., 1863; Pickett, Geo. B., captain, engineer officer, March 6, 1862; Pickett, Jno. T., colonel, assistant adjutant-general, —, 1862; Pinckney, —, lieutenant-colonel, volunteer aid-de-camp, Aug., 1862; Pendleton, J. E., Dr., medical director, Sept. 30, 1862, Oct. 29, 1862; Pendleton, John E., volunteer aid-de-camp, Jan. 1, 1863; Robertson, J. S., captain, assistant adjutant-general, Sept. 8, 1862; Richards, A. Keene, aid-de-camp, June 23, 1862; Sullins, —, major, chief quartermaster, Oct. 12, 1862; Schenck, Isaac, major, acting commissary subsistence, Dec. 13, 1862; Slocum, —, captain, chief artillery, Nov. 6, 1863; Sample, Chas. captain, ordnance officer, Jan. 1, 1863, acting inspector-general, Jan. 24, 1864; Vou Zinken, Leon, colonel, Twentieth Louisiana Regiment, acting assistant inspector-general, Sept., 1863; Triplett, —, major, chief quartermaster, on march Oct. 12, 1862; Wilson, J. T., acting inspector-general, Oct. 28, 1862, Dec. 31, 1862; Wilson, James, major, assistant adjutant-general, Dec. 11, 1862, Sept., 1863, Nov. 11, 1863, acting chief of artillery, Sept. 30, 1862, ordnance officer of division, April 21, 1862; Weatherby, surgeon, acting medical director, Sept. 30, 1862; Weeden, acting chief surgeon, Oct. 29, 1863; Young, J. F., surgeon, medical purveyor, March 6, 1862.

*Gen. S. B. Buckner.*—*Staff:* Ament, B. W., surgeon, Aug., 1862; Buckner, D. P., volunteer aid-de-camp, Sept., 1861, Feb., 1862; Casly, Geo. B., major, assistant adjutant-general, Sept., 1861, Feb., 1862; Clay, T. J., acting aid-de-camp, Feb., 1862; Cassiday, Alex., captain, assistant inspector-general, Sept., 1861, major, assistant inspector-general, Feb., 1862; Chambliss, N. P., lieutenant, ordnance officer, Sept. 18, 1861; Carrington, L. F., aid-de-camp, Nov. 26, 1861; Davidson, —, major, chief of artillery, Feb., 1862; Gallagher, J. N., acting aid-de-camp, Feb., 1862; Hays, S. K., major, assistant quartermaster, Feb., 1862; Haines, J. M., major, assistant inspector-general, Sept. 18, 1861; Johnston, Chas. F., lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Sept., 1861, Feb., 1862; Moore, —, engineer officer, Feb., 1862; Nocquet, J., captain, engineer officer, Sept. 18, 1861; Shcliba, Victor, major, lieutenant-colonel, chief of staff, June, 1863; Winter-smith, Richard C., major, acting commissary of subsistence, Feb., 1862; Watts, G. O., lieutenant, acting aid-de-camp, Sept. 18, 1861.

*Brig.-Gen. A. Buford.*—*Staff:* Crowder, Thos. M., captain, assistant adjutant-general, Oct., 1862, May, 1863; Nicholson, Hunter, major, assistant adjutant-general, Dec., 1862; Given, D. A., 1st lieutenant, acting aid-de-camp; Myers, D. E., 1st lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Aug. 1, 1863 (captain Company E, 9th Kentucky Cavalry), captain, acting inspector-general; Lea, James L., captain, assistant quartermaster, 1862, transferred to staff of Gen. T. H. Bell, Feb., 1865; Finch, J. R., major, acting commissary of subsistence; Gardner, Jno. D., 1st lieutenant, ordnance officer, May 20, 1862, transferred from 7th Kentucky Regiment; Clardy, Thos. F., surgeon (7th Kentucky); Cargill, W. M., major, quartermaster.

*Col. Edward Crossland, Commanding Brigade.*—*Staff:* Buford's Division, Forrest's Cavalry, May, 1864; Randle, C. S., captain, acting assistant adjutant-general (7th Kentucky Regiment); Matthewson, J. P., 1st lieutenant, acting assistant inspector-general; Lindsey, Wm., captain, assistant quartermaster (7th Kentucky Regiment), July, 1862; Smith, J. R., major, acting commissary of subsistence, July 22, 1863; Galbraith, Robert A., captain, acting aid-de-camp; Terry, F. G., captain, acting ordnance officer, Sept. 22, 1862 (8th Kentucky Regiment).

*Maj.-Gen. Geo. B. Crittenden.*—*Staff:* Brewer, Jas. B., volunteer aid-de-camp, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862; Cunningham, A. S., major, assistant adjutant-general, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862, Dec. 4, 1861; Hillyer, Giles M., major, assistant commissary of subsistence, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862; Porter, W. W., lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862, captain, assistant adjutant-general, April 6-7, 1862; Ramsay, F. A., surgeon, medical director, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862; Thornton, H. I. (J?), aid-de-camp, Dec. 7, 1862, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862.

*Brig.-Gen. Basil W. Duke.*—*Staff:* Cameron, —, captain, chaplain, Sept. 15, 1864, transferred to special service in Canada, Nov., 1864; Davis, William J., captain, assistant adjutant-general, April, 1863, major, aid-de-camp, Dec., 1864; Elliott, R. F., major, acting commissary of subsistence, Sept. 15, 1864, previously commissary Morgan's staff; Gassette, C. W., major, acting quartermaster, Sept. 15, 1864, previously acting quartermaster on Morgan's staff; Gwyn, Hugh G., captain, assistant inspector-general, Sept. 15, 1864, major, assistant inspector-general, Dec. 1, 1864, previously adjutant Keeble's Tennessee regiment, infantry; Morgan, Calvin C., 1st lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Sept. 15, 1864, captain, aid-de-camp, Dec. 1, 1864; Thorpe, P. H., adjutant (?) June, 1862; Williams, Robert, major, brigade-surgeon, Sept. 15, 1864.

*Brig.-Gen. Chas. W. Field.*—*Staff:* Corbin, Richard, volunteer aid-de-camp of division, April, 1864; Deshields, H. C., captain quartermaster, April, 1861 (from 40th Virginia), major quartermaster of division subsequently; Harrison, George F., captain adjutant-general, April, 1861, assistant adjutant-general, June, July, 1862 (formerly adjutant 9th Va. Cav., resigned Sept., 1862; Hudson, medical director of division, January, 1864; Mason, Julien J., major, assistant commissary subsistence, April, 1861, (assigned from 9th Va. Cav. private, afterward commissary of division); Jones, Willis F., major, assistant adjutant-general, January, 1864 (killed in battle August, 1864); Mason, W. R., lieutenant, aid-de-camp, June, July, 1862, assigned to conscript bureau July, 1863; Masters, L., captain, assistant inspector general, April, 1861, assigned from heavy artillery, major, assistant adjutant-general, Nov. 4, 1864, major, inspector-general of division, January, 1864 (April, 1865, killed in battle); Pleasants, James, captain, orderly officer of division; Rabb, R. L., lieutenant, aid-de-camp, first lieutenant, aid-de-camp, January, 1864 (resigned August, 1864); Spence, surgeon, medical director, April, 1861; Stephenson,



John, first lieutenant aid-de-camp of division, Aug., 1864.

*Brig.-Gen. Roger W. Hanson.*—*Staff:* Hope, John S., captain, acting assistant adjutant-general, Dec. 4, 1862; Chipley, S. F., acting assistant adjutant-general, December 20, 1862; Benedict, Joseph, lieutenant 9th Ky., ordered to act as aid-de-camp to Col. Hanson, commanding first Kentucky Brigade, Nov. 10, 1862.

*Brig.-Gen. J. M. Hawes.*—*Staff:* Barbour, E. P., aid-de-camp, acting assistant adjutant-general, April 29, 1862; Dyer, H. R., major, assistant quartermaster; Hawes, S. N., lieutenant, aid-de-camp; Hove, J. A. P., captain, aid-de-camp; Leman —, captain, acting commissary subsistence; McClarty, Clinton, major, assistant adjutant-general; Robertson, James M., captain, assistant inspector-general; Sanders Reid, major, assistant commissary subsistence; Scott, John S., captain, assistant adjutant-general; Walker, A. J., captain, ordnance officer; Marshall, Benjamin T., chief surgeon, April 29, 1862; Lester, H. F., lieutenant (2d Kentucky) ordnance officer, April 29, 1862; Robertson, J. S., assistant adjutant-general, May 14, 1862.

*Brig.-Gen. George B. Hodge.*—*Staff:* Bullock, Wallie, first lieutenant, aid-de-camp, April, 1863; Davis, Hugh L., first lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Aug., 1864; McAfee, John, captain, assistant adjutant-general (Ind. Confederate Battalion); Miller, W., major, quartermaster (from 27th Virginia P. Rangers), April, 1862; Ogden, John, captain, aid-de-camp; West, Douglas, major, acting ordnance officer; Hope, John, captain, assistant inspector-general.

*Brig.-Gen. Joseph H. Lewis.*—*Staff:* Hewitt, Fayette, captain, assistant adjutant-general, Dec. 2, 1861-64; McKay, Henry Clay, lieutenant, aid-de-camp, October, 1863; John R., major, assistant quartermaster, Dec., 1863; Phillips, W. S., captain, assistant quartermaster, 1862, major, Dec., 1863; Holmes, Chas. W., major, assistant commissary subsistence, July 17, 1863; Payne, Lewis E., lieutenant, ordnance officer, December, 1863; Buchanan, Samuel H., assistant adjutant-general, Sept. 15, 1864, assistant inspector-general, Dec. 20, 1863; Helm, Chas. W., captain and assistant commissary subsistence, June 16, 1864; Vertrees, J. S., assistant surgeon, 1863.

*Brig.-Gen. Humphrey Marshall.*—*Staff:* Fisher Thos. H., major, chief quartermaster, May, 1862; Guerrant, Edward O., assistant adjutant-general, Dec. 30, 1862; Jenkins, B. W., captain, Jan., 1863; Marshall, Chas. E., captain, assistant adjutant-general, April, 1862; resigned Dec., 1862.

*Col. and Brig.-Gen. Jno. H. Morgan.*—*Staff:* Alston, R. A., captain, assistant adjutant-general, June, 1862; Grenfell, St. Leger, colonel, assistant adjutant-general, Aug. 22, 1862; Llewellyn, D. H., captain, assistant quartermaster, Aug. 22, 1862; major, Dec. 9, 1862; Morgan, Charlton, captain, aid-de-camp, Dec. 9, 1862; Roberts, Green, captain, assistant aid-de-camp, Oct., 1862; Tyler, Robt., lieutenant, assistant aid-de-camp, Dec. 9, 1862; Williams, R. H., acting aid-de-camp, Dec. 9, 1862.

*Col. R. T. Trabue Commanding Hanson's Brigade* Dec. 31, 1862, and Jan. 1, 1863. —*Staff:* Benedict, Joseph, Dec. 31, 1862, and Jan. 1, 1863; Chipley, S. F., captain, Dec. 31, 1862 and Jan. 1, 1863; Semple, Charles, captain, acting ordnance officer, Dec. 21, 1862, and Jan. 1, 1863; Stake, T. E., lieutenant, assistant inspector-general, Dec. 31, 1862, and Jan. 1, 1863; Trabue, Presley, lieutenant, acting ordnance officer, Dec. 31, 1862, and Jan. 1, 1863; Williams, Robt. H., adjutant 4th Kentucky, acting assistant adjutant-general, Dec. 31, 1862, and Jan. 1, 1863; Darrach, Thomas B., acting assistant adjutant-general, Oct. 13, 1862; Robertson, J. S., acting assistant adjutant-general, April 20, 1862; Hewitt, J. W., acting assistant adjutant-general, June 16, 1862;

Shaw, G. T., captain, acting commissary subsistence, June 16, 1862.

*Brig.-Gen. Jno. S. Williams.*—*Staff:* Duke, Basil C., surgeon, Sept., 1862; Marye, Lawrence, captain, ordnance officer, Sept. 1862; Morris, John, colonel, volunteer aid-de-camp, Sept., 1862; Peyton, Wm. M., captain, aid-de-camp, Sept., 1862; Poor, R. L., captain, chief engineer, department West Virginia, Sept. 20, 1862; temporarily on staff of Gen. Williams; Stanton, Richard, captain, assistant adjutant-general, Sept., 1862.

#### NAMES OF FIELD OFFICERS, KENTUCKY REGIMENTS.\*

*First Infantry.*—Colonel, Thos. H. Taylor; lieutenant-colonels, Wm. Preston Johnston, Ed. Crossland; major, Ed. Crossland.

*Second Infantry.*—Colonels, J. M. Hawes, R. W. Hanson, R. A. Johnson, James W. Moss; lieutenant-colonels, Robert A. Johnston, James W. Hewitt, Phil. Lee; majors, James W. Hewitt, James W. Moss, H. McDowell; adjutant, T. E. Moss.

*Third Infantry.*—Colonels, Lloyd Tilghman, A. P. Thompson; lieutenant-colonels, Benj. Anderson, Alfred M. Johnston; majors, Alfred M. Johnston, J. H. Bowman.

*Fourth Infantry.*—Colonels, Robert P. Trabue, Joseph P. Nuckols, Jr., Thos. W. Thompson; lieutenant-colonels, Andrew R. Hynes, Jno. A. Adair, Jos. P. Nuckols, Thos. W. Thompson; majors, Thos. B. Munroe, Jr., Thos. W. Preston, Thos. W. Thompson, Jno. B. Rogers.

*Fifth Infantry.*—Colonels, Jno. S. Williams, Andrew J. May, H. Hawkins, lieutenant-colonels, Andrew J. May, Hiram Hawkins, Jno. W. Caldwell; majors, J. C. Wickliffe, Jno. W. Caldwell, Geo. W. Conner, William Moynhier.

*Sixth Infantry.*—Colonels, Joseph H. Lewis, Martin H. Cofer; lieutenant-colonel, Martin H. Cofer; majors, Thos. H. Hayes, W. L. Clarke.

*Seventh Infantry.*—Colonels, C. Wickliffe, Ed. Crossland, W. D. Lannom; lieutenant-colonels, W. D. Lannom, H. L. Shorneill; majors, W. J. N. Welborn, H. S. Hale.

*Eighth Infantry.*—Colonel, H. B. Lyon; lieutenant-colonels, H. B. Lyon, A. R. Shacklett; major, R. W. Henry.

*Ninth Infantry.*—Colonels, T. H. Hunt, J. W. Caldwell; lieutenant-colonels, J. W. Caldwell, J. C. Wickliffe; majors, J. C. Wickliffe, Benj. Desha.

*Tenth Infantry.*—Colonels, R. W. Martin, A. R. Johnston; lieutenant-colonel, R. M. Martin; major, W. G. Owen.

*Eleventh Infantry.*—Colonel, B. E. Candill; major, J. T. Chenowith.

*First Cavalry.*—Colonel, J. R. Butler; lieutenant-colonel, Thos. W. Woodward; majors, J. W. Caldwell, N. R. Chambliss, I. L. Chenowith.

*Second Cavalry.*—Colonel, T. G. Woodward; lieutenant-colonels, Thos. G. Woodward, Thos. T. Johnson; majors, T. R. Webber, T. W. Lewis.

*Third Cavalry.*—Colonel, J. R. Butler.

*Fourth Cavalry.*—Colonel, H. L. Giltner; lieutenant-colonel, M. P. Pryor.

*Fifth Cavalry.*—Colonel, D. H. Smith; lieutenant-colonel, Preston Thompson.

*Sixth Cavalry.*—Colonel, J. Warren Grogshy; lieutenant-colonel, Thos. W. Napier.

*Seventh Cavalry.*—Colonel, Ed. Crossland; major, Thos. Steele.

*Eighth Cavalry.*—Colonel, R. S. Cluke.

*Ninth Cavalry.*—Colonels, W. C. P. Breckinridge, T. H. Hunt; lieutenant-colonel, R. G. Stoner; major, J. C. Wickliffe.

*Tenth Cavalry.*—Colonels, A. R. Johnson, A. J. May, E. Trimble.

\*From the war office at Washington.



*Eleventh Cavalry.*—Colonel, D. W. Chenault.

*Faulkner's Cavalry.*—Major, T. S. Tate.

*First Battalion Volunteers.*—Major, Thos. H. Hays.

*First Battalion Mounted Rifles.*—Majors, B. F. Bradley, O. G. Camron.

*Second Battalion Mounted Rifles.*—Major, Thomas Johnson.

*Third Battalion Mounted Rifles.*—Major, Jno. B. Halladay.

*Morgan's Cavalry.*—Colonel, Jno. H. Morgan; lieutenant-colonel, J. W. Bowler; majors, G. M. Morgan, J. T. Cassell.

The following roster of Confederate troops exhibits the various organizations with which Kentucky troops served during the years 1863-64:

Brig.-Gen. John S. Williams' Brigade, 1863: First Kentucky Mounted Infantry, Second Kentucky Mounted Infantry, Ninth Kentucky Mounted Infantry, Second Kentucky Battalion Cavalry, Hamilton's Battalion Cavalry, Allison's Squadron Cavalry.

Brig.-Gen. Joseph H. Lewis' Brigade: Second Kentucky Infantry, Fourth Kentucky Infantry, Fifth Kentucky Infantry, Sixth Kentucky Infantry, Ninth Kentucky Infantry.

Brig. Gen. A. Buford's Cavalry Brigade, Nov. 20, 1863: Eighth Kentucky, Col. H. B. Lyon; Seventh Kentucky, Col. Edward Crossland; Third Kentucky, Col. A. P. Thompson.

With Wharton's Division, August 15, 1863; Second Brigade, Col. Thomas Harrison: First Kentucky Cavalry, Col. J. R. Butler.

Morgan's Division, First Brigade, Cavalry, Col. B. W. Duke: Second Kentucky, Maj. T. B. Webber; Fifth Kentucky, Col. D. H. Smith; Ninth Kentucky, Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge; Sixth Kentucky, Col. J. Warren Grogbsby; Ward's Kentucky Regiment, Col. Ward.

Second Brigade, Cavalry, Col. R. S. Cluke: Eighth Kentucky, Col. R. S. Cluke; Eleventh Kentucky, Col. D. W. Chenault; Tenth Kentucky, Lt.-Col. J. M. Huffman.

Chickamauga, Sept. 19-20, 1863; Breckinridge's Division, Helm's Brigade Infantry: Second Kentucky, Col. J. W. Hewitt and Lieut.-Col. J. W. Moss; Fourth Kentucky, Col. Jos. P. Nuckols, Jr., and Maj. T. W. Thompson; Sixth Kentucky, Col. J. H. Lewis and Lieut.-Col. M. H. Cofer; Ninth Kentucky, Col. J. W. Caldwell and Lieut.-Col. J. C. Wickliffe; Cobb's Battery, Capt. Robert Cobb.

Missionary Ridge, Nov. 25, 1863; Breckinridge's Division, Lewis' Brigade, Infantry: Second Kentucky Regiment, Lieut.-Col. James W. Moss; Fourth Kentucky Regiment, Maj. T. W. Thompson; Sixth Kentucky Regiment, Lieut.-Col. W. L. Clarke; Ninth Kentucky Regiment, Lieut.-Col. Jno. C. Wickliffe; Fifth Kentucky Regiment, Col. H. Hawkins.

With Wheeler's Cavalry Corps, Oct. 31, 1863; Fourth Division, Brig.-Gen. Kelly; 1st Kentucky Mounted Infantry, Col. J. R. Butler; Second Kentucky Mounted Infantry; Ninth Kentucky Mounted Infantry.

Second Brigade of Brig.-Gen. Kelly's Division, Wheeler's Cavalry Corps, Nov. 20, 1863, Col. J. Warren Grogbsby, commanding: First Kentucky Mounted Infantry Regiment, Col. J. R. Butler; Second Kentucky Mounted Infantry Regiment, Col. Thos. G. Woodnard; Ninth Kentucky Mounted Infantry Regiment, Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge.

Wheeler's Cavalry Corps, Nov. 23, 1863, Kelly's Division, Second Brigade: First (Third) Kentucky Regiment, Col. J. R. Butler; Second Kentucky Regiment, Col. Thos. Woodward; Ninth Kentucky Regiment, Col. W. P. C. Breckinridge.

With Bates' Division, June 30, 1864; Lewis' Brigade Infantry: Second Kentucky Regiment, Col. J. Moss; Fourth Kentucky Regiment, Lieut.-Col. T. W. Thompson; Fifth Kentucky Regiment, Lieut. Col. H. Hawkins; Sixth Kentucky Regiment, Col. M. H.

Cofer; Ninth Kentucky Regiment, Col. J. W. Caldwell.

Wheeler's Cavalry Corps, Army of the Tennessee, June 30, 1864, Brig.-Gen. Jno. S. Williams' Cavalry Brigade: First Kentucky Regiment, Lieut.-Col. J. W. Griffith; Second Kentucky Regiment, Maj. T. W. Lewis; Ninth Kentucky Regiment, Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge; Second Kentucky Battalion, Capt. J. B. Douch; Allison's Squadron, Capt. J. S. Reese; Detachment Hamilton's Battery, Maj. James Shaw.

## FORREST'S CAVALRY COMMAND, AUGUST 30, 1864.

### BUFORD'S DIVISION.

*Lyon's Brigade.*—Third Kentucky Infantry Regiment (mounted) Col. G. A. C. Holt; Seventh Kentucky Infantry Regiment (mounted) Col. Ed. Crossland; Eighth Kentucky Infantry Regiment, Lieut.-Col. A. R. Shacklett; Twelfth Kentucky Infantry Regiment; Col. W. W. Faulkner.

## FORREST'S COMMAND, MARCH 20, 1864.

### CHALMERS' DIVISION.

*Third Brigade.*—Col. A. P. Thompson; Third Kentucky Infantry, Lieut.-Col. G. A. C. Holt; Seventh Kentucky Infantry, Col. Ed. Crossland; Eighth Kentucky Infantry, Lieut.-Col. A. R. Shacklett; Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, Col. W. W. Faulkner.

*Byrnes' Battery.*—Edward P. Byrne, captain, 1861; Elias D. Lawrence, lieutenant; Thos. Hinds, 1st lieutenant, Oct. 1861; Jno. Joyes, Jr., lieutenant, 1861; Guignard Scott, 2d lieutenant; Joseph Bell, 2d lieutenant; B. P. Shelly, 2d lieutenant, Aug., 1861; Frank P. Peak, 2d lieutenant. B. T. Shelly, 2d lieutenant, 1861.

*Cobb's Battery.*—Robert Cobb, capt. March, 1862; E. P. Gracey, lieutenant July, 1861; R. B. Matthews, lieutenant March, 1862; B. H. Gaines, 2d lieutenant, July, 1861; A. B. Danes, 2d lieutenant, Oct., 1861.

It has not been possible, in compiling the foregoing list, to obtain all the names, or even a satisfactory list of the killed and wounded in the Confederate army, either among commissioned officers or privates, from 1861-65. Records of such statistics are not easily, if at all attainable, and this interesting feature, so far as regards Confederate officers and soldiers, has been reluctantly omitted.

## THE BATTLE OF PERRYVILLE.

The disposition of the Union forces at the period of the Confederate invasion in August, 1862, was as follows: The Seventh Division of the Army of the Ohio, under command of Maj. Gen. George W. Morgan, consisting of three brigades of four regiments each, three batteries of artillery and a squadron of cavalry, numbering in all about 7,000 men, was stationed at Cumberland Gap. Maj.-Gen. William Nelson, who had been detached from the main army in Tennessee and sent to Kentucky to assume command of all the Union forces in the State, had at his disposal a considerable number of regiments of the new levy sent him by Gen. Wright, in command at Cincinnati. Two brigades of these troops under command of Brig.-Gens. M. D. Manson and Charles Cruft were stationed at Richmond, Ky.; one brigade under Col. C. C. Gilbert at Stanford, and probably a few more within easy call, which it was his intention to concentrate before offering battle to the better seasoned troops of Gen. E. Kirby Smith, when an unlooked-for battle was precipitated by Manson's advance from Richmond to try conclusions with the invader. In addition to this force in central Kentucky was that constantly accumulating in the vicinity of Louisville under command of Gen. Boyle. All of these,

however, were raw troops, undisciplined, undrilled and totally deficient in military experience. It may be imagined with what anxiety the arrival of the Army of the Ohio was awaited by the Union people of Kentucky.

### ARMY OF THE OHIO.

MAJ.-GEN. DON CARLOS BUELL, OCTOBER 8, 1862.

Brig.-Gen. Sill's division, fourteen volunteer regiments and three battalions of regular infantry, one battalion of cavalry, one battalion of engineers and three batteries of artillery.

Brig.-Gen. Rousseau's division, fourteen regiments of infantry, four batteries of artillery, one squadron of cavalry and a battalion of engineers.

Brig.-Gen. Jackson's division, eight regiments of infantry, Garrard's detachment of the Seventh Kentucky, Thirty-second Kentucky and Third Tennessee infantry, and two batteries of artillery. The above troops composed the First Army Corps under command of Maj.-Gen. Alex McD. McCook. Gen. Sill's division being absent, left only the two divisions of Rousseau and Jackson on the field of Perryville. The latter (with the exception of Garrard's), composed exclusively of raw recruits, had the misfortune to receive the attack of Cheatham's veteran troops. The death of their brave commander, Gen. James S. Jackson, who was killed early in the action, followed almost immediately by the fall of both brigade commanders, led to the rout of this division. Had this assault fallen upon any other division present on the field a different result would doubtless have followed.

The Second Army Corps, Maj.-Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, consisted of three divisions of fifteen regiments of infantry each; total, forty-five; ten batteries of artillery, two squadrons of cavalry and one battalion of engineers. This fine corps of troops occupied the extreme right of the line of battle as formed about noon, but was not ordered into action until too late to take part before night closed the contest. It may be added that they were, with the possible exception of a few regiments on their extreme left, in utter ignorance that a battle was being fought by their comrades on the left not more than four miles away.

THIRD ARMY CORPS, MAJ.-GEN. CHARLES C. GILBERT.

The First Division, Brig.-Gen. Alvin Schoepf, was the original division organized the previous year by Maj.-Gen. George H. Thomas, who was now second in command of the Army of the Ohio. It consisted of three brigades commanded by Col. Moses B. Walker, Brig.-Gen. Speed S. Fry and Brig.-Gen. James B. Steedman. Fifteen regiments of infantry (among which were the Fourth, Tenth and Twelfth Kentucky), a squadron of cavalry and three batteries of artillery constituted the organization.

Brig.-Gen. R. B. Mitchell's division consisted of three brigades of four regiments each, two squadrons of cavalry and three batteries of artillery.

Brig.-Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's division comprised the same number of infantry regiments, with two batteries of artillery. The two last mentioned divisions, together with Rousseau's and Jackson's, fought the battle of Perryville. The Fifteenth Kentucky infantry was in Lytle's brigade of Rousseau's division, and Stone's Kentucky Battery was in the same division.

The death of Maj.-Gen. William Nelson at the hands of Brig.-Gen. Jeff. C. Davis at the Gault House, Louisville, on the 29th of August, deprived the Union army of one of its most valued commanders. Had this deplorable event not occurred, the central corps would, on the day of Perryville, have been commanded by Nelson. Those who witnessed the magnificent fighting qualities of this superb soldier at Shiloh need not be told that he would not have awaited a second invitation from hard-pressed McCook to lead his three divisions

thundering down upon Polk's left flank in ample time to close his avenue of escape through Perryville to Harrodsburg.

The casualties in the Army of the Ohio were as follows:

Rousseau's division.—Killed, 484; wounded, 1,520; missing, 188; total, 2,192. Jackson's division.—Killed, 188; wounded, 632; missing, 237; total, 1,107. Schoepf's division.—Killed, 4; wounded, 14; missing, 8; total, 26. Mitchell's division.—Killed, 121; wounded, 324; missing, 64; total, 509. Sheridan's division.—Killed, 44; wounded, 292; missing, 14; total, 350. Cavalry division.—Killed, 4; wounded, 17; missing, 4; total, 25. Aggregate, 4,209. The loss in the Fifteenth Kentucky was greater than in any other regiment on the field: Killed, 66; wounded, 130; total, 196. Stone's Kentucky Battery lost in killed, 3; wounded, 9; missing, 1; total, 13. Garrard's detachment.—Wounded, 6; missing, 33; total, 39. The Second Kentucky Cavalry lost wounded, 4; missing, 1; total, 5. Col. Curran Pope was fatally wounded and died November 5, 1862; Lieut.-Col. George P. Jouett, Maj. William P. Campbell, Lieut. James A. T. McGrath and Lieut. Joseph L. McClure were killed in action. Capt. John Spalding and Joshua P. Prather and Lieut. F. D. Garretty were among the wounded.

### ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

The Army of the Mississippi, commanded by Maj.-Gen. Bragg, consisted of four divisions of four brigades each. The divisions commanded respectively by Gens. Cheatham and Withers constituted the right wing, under command of Maj.-Gen. Leonidas Polk. Maj.-Gen. William J. Hardee commanded the left wing, which embraced the remaining two divisions under Maj.-Gens. Simon B. Buckner and J. Patton Anderson.

Withers' division having been detached in compliance with the request of Gen. Smith to report to him, left the three divisions of Cheatham, Buckner and Anderson to cope, at hazardous odds against them, with nearly the whole of Buell's army. That they were not captured is only to be accounted for by the surprising luck that often accompanies the most foolhardy enterprises. Had Bragg directed his attack against the right instead of the left of the Union line of battle he would have met the veteran divisions of Wood, Van Cleve and Smith, the two latter seasoned in battle at Shiloh, where their heroic courage had won the twin stars of a major-general's commission for their brave commanders, Crittenden and Nelson. Here, too, was their gallant commander, Thomas L. Crittenden, whose cheerful courage found its readiest manifestation on the battle-field, while at his side, strong, wise and brave, was the masterful Thomas, second in command.

Nothing could exceed the fury of the Confederate attack. The raw recruits, upon whom it came, did not remain long to witness its terribly destructive power, but fell back to make room for the veterans under Rousseau, Mitchell and Sheridan, whose eight brigades braced the attack made by eleven equally well-educated to the profession, until Schoepf's division, tardily sent to take a hand in the fray, made its appearance upon the field, and night closed the contest. Referring to the conduct of Maj.-Gen. Buckner on the field, Gen. Hardee says: "To Maj.-Gen. Buckner I am indebted for the skillful management of his troops, the judicious use of his artillery, and for the opportune services of himself and the veteran division under his command."

The casualties in the Army of the Mississippi were as follows:

Cheatham's division.—Killed, 268; wounded, 1,131; missing, 67; total, 1,466.

Hardee's Corps, Buckner's and Anderson's divisions.—Killed, 212; wounded, 1,504; missing, 184 total, 1,930. Aggregate, 3,396



## DEATHS IN KENTUCKY UNION TROOPS DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

ORGANIZATION.	Killed and died of wounds.		Of disease and other causes.		Prisoners of war died.		Discharged for Disability.	Aggregate Deaths, Officers and Men.	Total No. Mustered.
	Offic'rs.	Enlisted Men.	Offic'rs.	Enlisted Men.	Offic'rs.	Enlisted Men.			
First Cavalry.....	5	51	1	172	.....	119	142	348	1413
Second Cavalry.....	5	47	1	113	.....	14	289	180	997
Third Cavalry.....	3	50	3	161	.....	8	104	215	1200
Fourth Cavalry.....	1	30	1	101	.....	55	168	188	826
Fifth Cavalry.....	4	31	5	154	.....	16	117	210	879
Sixth Cavalry.....	2	29	4	200	.....	58	170	293	1350
Seventh Cavalry.....	1	21	6	115	.....	10	153	153	1142
Eighth Cavalry.....	1	7	4	109	.....	.....	63	121	1288
Ninth Cavalry.....	.....	5	1	103	.....	.....	85	109	1258
Tenth Cavalry.....	.....	11	1	61	.....	2	30	75	1235
Eleventh Cavalry.....	1	16	1	100	1	145	152	264	1280
Twelfth Cavalry.....	3	18	4	146	.....	68	252	239	1690
Thirteenth Cavalry.....	.....	9	1	86	1	.....	8	97	1241
Fourteenth Cavalry.....	.....	13	2	69	.....	.....	11	84	1296
Fifteenth Cavalry.....	1	1	1	62	.....	.....	30	65	631
Sixteenth Cavalry.....	.....	3	1	55	.....	3	23	62	.....
Seventeenth Cavalry.....	.....	6	2	68	.....	.....	47	76	1266
Artillery.....	.....	14	1	78	.....	.....	175	93	1285
First Infantry.....	.....	61	1	52	.....	30	182	144	1105
Second Infantry.....	3	76	1	82	.....	9	216	171	1158
Third Infantry.....	6	94	.....	186	.....	19	214	305	1076
Fourth Infantry.....	1	114	4	244	.....	92	320	455	1858
Fifth Infantry.....	8	143	4	125	.....	31	190	311	1050
Sixth Infantry.....	10	99	5	83	.....	17	221	214	975
Seventh Infantry.....	3	38	2	287	.....	.....	189	330	1169
Eighth Infantry.....	4	53	1	128	.....	21	85	207	1033
Ninth Infantry.....	7	95	3	236	.....	14	251	355	1435
Tenth Infantry.....	2	68	5	138	.....	10	156	223	969
Eleventh Infantry.....	2	45	2	185	1	35	186	270	979
Twelfth Infantry.....	1	38	5	177	.....	20	41	241	994
Thirteenth Infantry.....	8	47	6	164	.....	17	185	242	982
Fourteenth Infantry.....	5	49	5	145	.....	6	107	210	1325
Fifteenth Infantry.....	9	106	1	103	.....	10	245	249	969
Sixteenth Infantry.....	2	50	5	129	.....	3	35	189	895
Seventeenth Infantry.....	8	122	5	141	.....	17	316	293	1499
Eighteenth Infantry.....	5	83	1	136	.....	23	45	248	929
Nineteenth Infantry.....	1	40	3	154	.....	3	187	201	962
Twentieth Infantry.....	.....	38	3	193	.....	5	193	239	991
Twenty-first Infantry.....	3	58	6	151	.....	5	269	223	939
Twenty-second Infantry.....	3	50	3	144	.....	7	198	207	1013
Twenty-third Infantry.....	4	81	.....	98	.....	9	266	192	1018
Twenty-fourth Infantry.....	2	27	3	175	.....	6	119	213	1064
Twenty-sixth Infantry.....	2	35	2	143	.....	6	156	188	1160
Twenty-seventh Infantry.....	1	35	1	163	.....	20	135	220	826
Twenty-eighth Infantry.....	1	36	1	67	.....	9	174	114	842
Thirtieth Infantry.....	2	23	.....	70	.....	3	16	98	882
Thirty-second Infantry.....	.....	.....	1	42	.....	5	17	48	923
Thirty-third Infantry.....	.....	.....	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	22	.....
Thirty-fourth Infantry.....	.....	3	2	62	.....	2	145	69	894
Thirty-fifth Infantry.....	.....	8	.....	51	.....	.....	8	59	962
Thirty-seventh Infantry.....	.....	8	.....	193	.....	.....	11	111	876
Thirty-ninth Infantry.....	3	23	3	178	.....	23	64	230	1358
Fortieth Infantry.....	.....	8	2	81	.....	13	18	104	1036
Forty-fifth Infantry.....	.....	10	1	95	.....	15	12	121	1000
Forty-seventh Infantry.....	.....	1	4	72	.....	1	4	78	916
Forty-eighth Infantry.....	.....	7	1	103	.....	.....	3	111	882
Forty-ninth Infantry.....	.....	1	1	78	.....	.....	9	80	916
Fifty-second Infantry.....	.....	11	1	50	.....	3	5	65	889
Fifty-third Infantry.....	1	8	.....	39	.....	2	62	50	1058
Fifty-fourth Infantry.....	.....	1	.....	29	.....	.....	58	30	851
Fifty-fifth Infantry.....	.....	7	2	29	.....	.....	79	38	873
Engineers.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	7	8	43
Unassigned.....	.....	19	.....	96	.....	8	.....	123	407
Totals.....	134	2291	136	7190	3	1017	7358	10771	64190
Veteran Cavalry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	233	.....	2655
Veteran Infantry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1100	.....	5430
Total casualties computed in original organizations.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8691	.....	72275

# BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

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JOHN L. ADAMS, M. D., is a native of Newark, New Jersey, and was born May 8, 1860. His parents were M. W. and Anna A. (Lee) Adams, natives of New York, and of English and Dutch origin. The subject was brought up in New Jersey, and received a liberal education. After going through the public schools, he entered Williams College in Massachusetts, in which he finished his education. He commenced the study of medicine in the College of Physicians and Surgeons Department of Columbia College, New York City, and graduated in 1885. He began practice in New York, and later graduated from the New York Hospital. He came to Louisville in March, 1887, and is at present practicing in this city.

BENJAMIN A. ALLAN, M. D., was born in Fleming County, Ky., January 3, 1857, and is a son of Dr. Henry G. and Mary E. (Botts) Allan. The former, after practicing medicine in Fleming County for twenty years, came to Louisville, where he is still in active practice; the latter is a daughter of John H. Botts, long sheriff of Fleming County, and at one time State Senator from that district. Subject's grandfather was Benjamin Allan, a prominent clergyman in the Christian Church, and a convert of Alexander Campbell. The subject of this sketch received a liberal education, and after completing it read medicine with his father. He graduated from Hospital Medical College in 1878, and then began practicing in Fleming County, where he remained five years, and then came to Louisville, and has practiced here successfully since. He was married in 1879 to Miss Rosa Stine, of Maysville, Ky., a daughter of Louis Stine,

for more than twenty years a merchant tailor of that city. Three children were born to this union, viz: Mary Ellen, Amy Lee and Roger. Dr. Allan is a prominent Mason, and a zealous member of the Christian Church.

CHARLES D. ASHBY was born February 11, 1843, in Jefferson County, Ky. His father, Presley Ashby, was a native of Oldham County, Ky., born May 5, 1814, and was married to Miss Allishia McDaniel, and had born to him six children. Charles D., the eldest born, was educated in the country schools, and at eighteen years of age, volunteered in the Union army, enlisting in Company H, Thirty-fourth Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, and served until the close of the war, when he returned to Kentucky, located in Bullitt County, and engaged in farming. In 1870 he was married to Miss Rolaner Froman, daughter of Jeremiah and Amanda Froman.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AVERY, the founder in Louisville of one of the largest plow factories in the world, was born in Aurora, New York, and was the son of Daniel Avery, who emigrated to that place from Groton, Connecticut, becoming one of the earliest settlers of Cayuga County. He was a large farmer and land owner, and represented his district two terms in Congress. Benjamin F., the subject of this sketch, was the sixth in a family of fifteen children, twelve of whom lived to middle or old age. All received an academic education, but the boys had to share the work of the farm. This labor was distasteful to Benjamin, who begged permission to go to college. His petition was granted, on condition that his expenses should



be deducted from the \$1,000 which would be his portion on coming of age, in accordance with his father's custom. He accepted the condition and entered Hamilton College, but at the end of the first year transferred his connection to Union College, from which he graduated in 1822. At his father's solicitation, he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in New York City. He developed no taste, however, for the profession, his natural mechanical inclinations precluding much interest in any other direction. His earlier experience on the farm had convinced him that there was room for improvement in form and general construction of the plows then in use. Providing himself with patterns, a pocket furnace as it was called, and other apparatus for a small foundry, he started southward on a small coasting vessel; with these and \$400 in money as his sole earthly possessions, he sailed up James river to Richmond, Va., desiring to make his first business venture there, but finding indifferent encouragement, he went on to Clarksville, Mecklenburg County, where in company with another young man, Caleb H. Richmond, a practical moulder, he opened his first foundry in a pine-log building, eighteen by twenty feet square, covered with slabs split from pine logs. They bought a single ton of metal to start with; would not run in debt by borrowing money or soliciting credit; attended industriously and energetically to business; lived frugally, and in a short time began to reap their harvest in success. After a few years the owners of the land which they occupied, determining to turn this success to their own account, refused to longer lease their property. This obliged the young men to seek a new field, which they found in Milton, Caswell County, North Carolina. After a few years, the same thing recurring, they went to Meadville, Halifax County, Va., bought land and settled permanently. During all the period of their association Mr. Avery was the business manager, sharing also in the manual work of the foundry, at which his more skillful experienced partner assiduously labored. At Meadville the partnership was ended harmoniously, Mr. Avery always cherishing

pleasant memories of his first associate in business. On the death of his father, in 1842, Mr. Avery was appointed executor of the estate, and the next year sold his Virginia property and business to a younger brother, his own time and attention being required at Aurora. Here was residing a nephew, Daniel Humphrey Avery, energetic and desiring new business interests. In 1846, his uncle Benjamin fitted him out with plow patterns and a roving commission to select the best place in the south or southwest for a plow manufactory. With excellent judgment the young man, after looking widely and carefully, selected Louisville as the place, and the next spring began work in Jabez Baldwin's foundry, on Main street, now the plow factory of Brinley, Miles & Hardy. In a few months, however, he began to feel the need of his uncle's experience, and urged his coming for a short time. Mr. Avery reached Louisville December 25, 1847, intending to stay a few weeks only. As the weeks lengthened into months, he became so much interested in a business which he had once relinquished, that he decided to spend his winters here, and finally made this his home. The beginnings of the industry were very small. He was sure that he could make a better and cheaper plow than those in general use, but the prejudice against cast-iron plows was so general, that the sale of a single plow, for many months, was an event. Much of Mr. Avery's outside encouragement in those days was similar to that given by Mr. Jas. Hewitt of "Rock Hill," near Louisville, who owned large plantations in the south, and who was also a native of Cayuga County. "My friend," said Mr. Hewitt, "if you can succeed in introducing your plow, you will have fortune enough, but I don't believe you can!" After two or three years, the nephew, Daniel Humphrey, engaged in a successful business in Tuscaloosa, Ala., where he died during the late war. Long before the war, Mr. Avery had built a large factory at the corner of Fifteenth and Main streets, the beginning of the immense establishment which the firm now occupies. During the war, his business, which had been almost exclusively with the south, was completely

prostrated. Through all those dark and troublous days, he was earnest and outspoken for the Union. When the war was over he recommenced business, and soon restored it to more than its former prosperity. In 1863 he formed a new firm with his son and son-in-law (John C. Coonly), as joint partners, under the style of B. F. Avery & Sons. The business was gradually extended until it has become the most important in the western country; employing a large number of workmen and making many different kinds of cast-iron and steel plows, besides publishing an excellent semi-monthly paper, called "Home and Farm," which has a very large circulation. Mr. Avery was married by Rev. Dr. Nott, President of Union College, April 27, 1844, to Miss Susanna H. Look, eldest daughter of Mr. Samuel Look, a farmer widely known in central New York. The result of this union was six children, viz: Lydia Arms, wife of John C. Coonly, of Chicago; Samuel Look; Gertrude Arms, wife of John G. Shanklin, of Evansville, Indiana; George Capwell; Helen Blasdell, wife of C. B. Robinson, of Louisville, and William Sidney. The sons are all in the firm of B. F. Avery & Sons, and live in Louisville. Mr. Avery was an exemplary member of the Presbyterian Church. He died in 1885, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Upon the death of Mr. Avery, his eldest son, Samuel L., succeeded him as president of the plow-works. Samuel Look Avery was born December 9, 1846, in Louisville. He was educated in Louisville and the East, and after leaving school, engaged actively in business. He was vice-president of the large plow-works some ten years before his father's death, when he succeeded to the presidency; George C. is now the vice-president. He was born March 1, 1852, and received a liberal education. The Avery Plow Works are the largest in the world, and their plows are sold in nearly every State in the Union.

L. A. BACHUS was born at Frankfort, Ky., in 1837, and is a son of Lucius D. and Elizabeth P. (Walker) Bachus, who were natives of Boston, Mass., and Kentucky respectively. L. A. Bachus was the only child born to this marriage. His early life was

spent in Lexington, where he learned the trade of silversmith. In 1861, at the breaking out of the war, he was drill-master of several companies of state militia and was soon mustered into service in the Union army. He was promoted to second lieutenant of Company C, Twentieth Kentucky Volunteers, in January, 1862. August 31, 1863, he was promoted to first lieutenant, and to captain September 1, 1864, and served in this capacity until he was mustered out at Louisville, January 17, 1865. He was wounded at the battle of Shiloh, and while absent on account of his wounds, served on court martial duty and instructing newly appointed officers. At the close of the war he returned to Lexington. In May, 1868, he located at Louisville, where he has since been engaged at his trade. In 1872 he was married to Miss Julia A. Robinson, daughter of James C. Robinson, of Louisville, and is now the father of four children: Lucius James, Julia H., Katie E. and Clarence M. He is a member of the Episcopal Church, and a prominent member of the G. A. R.

GEORGE B. BAHR, descendant of one of the substantial German citizens who add so largely to the wealth and prosperity of Louisville, was born April 20, 1840, and is a son of John W. and Mary (Kraft) Bahr, natives of Germany, and who came to this country about the year 1838. He was born and reared in this city. When the war broke out he went into the Confederate army as captain under Gen. Hardy. After his return to the city he engaged in the hardware business, having commenced to learn the hardware and bell-hanging trade when but fourteen years of age. He started his present store in 1864, and carries on an extensive wholesale and retail business. For the past fifteen years he has had as a partner, Mr. Adam Zimmerman. They have about twenty men on the road and in the house. He was married in 1862 to Miss Josephine Frecking, of Louisville. She died in 1872, and he married Miss Amelia Schlicker, of Louisville, but whose parents came from France. He had born to him one child by his first marriage, Lulu, and four by his second: George William, Emile Edward, Daisy and an infant.



WILLIAM BAILEY, M. D., was born in Franklin County, Ky., November 4, 1833, and is a son of Shelah and Mary (Church) Bailey, natives of Virginia and Franklin County, Ky., respectively. He was brought up in Franklin County, and educated principally in the Kentucky Military Institute, where he spent six years, graduating in 1853. After graduating he taught in the institute as assistant in mathematics until 1856, when he commenced the study of medicine. He attended the first course of lectures in the Medical University of Louisville; afterwards graduated from the Kentucky School of Medicine in 1857, and immediately began practice at Shelbyville, Ky. In 1862 he was appointed surgeon of the Ninth (Federal) Kentucky Cavalry, remaining in the service one year, when he was mustered out. He then came to Louisville, and in 1864 graduated from the Medical University, in which he had taken his first course of lectures. He was a professor during 1866-'67 in the Kentucky School of Medicine, where he engaged in the organization of the Hospital College of Medicine, in which he was assigned the same chair he had held in the Kentucky School; was also president of the faculty for two years, when changed to the Medical University, where he has been made professor of *Materia Medica*, Therapeutics and Hygiene; he also enjoys a large private practice. He was married in 1859 to Miss Sue Owen, of Shelby County, and a member of an old and prominent Kentucky family. They have four children. He is a member of the American Medical Society, and also of State and local medical societies, as well as of the American Public Health Association.

FRANK BAKE, of German descent, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, June 26, 1851; he came to Louisville in 1867, and for two and one-half years was engaged in learning the printer's trade, but in 1875 he engaged in the liquor business for himself; he was married in 1873 to Miss Anna, daughter of Herman Forsting, of this city. She died in 1882, leaving three children, and in 1885 Mr. Bake married Miss Florence Stricker, of Indiana.

PATRICK BANNON is a native of Ireland, and was born in the town of Killough, County Down, July 12, 1824. His father died when he was young, when his mother married James Campbell, and they came to Louisville in 1851. The subject received his education in Ireland, and learned the trade of a plasterer, which he followed here until 1854, when he commenced the manufacture of terra cotta work, and in 1870 added to his business the manufacture of sewer pipe. From a rather small beginning his establishment has grown to be one of the largest in the country, doing from \$75,000 to \$100,000 of business annually, and selling goods in every Southern State. His son, M. J. Bannon, is superintendent and business manager of the works. Mr. Bannon has been a man of considerable local prominence; served in the city council, and in 1868 was its president; was for ten years president of the Hibernian Loan Association, which wound up successfully. He was married in 1860 to Miss Lou Smith, a daughter of Early Smith, a prominent farmer of the county. She died in 1878, and in 1880 he married Mrs. Sue Brackheimer.

HENRY STITES BARKER was born near Hopkinsville, Ky., July 23, 1850. His father, Richard Henry Barker, was a native of Todd County, Ky., and of English ancestry, who settled early in Virginia, and came to Kentucky many years ago. He was a lawyer, and practiced in Clarksville, Tenn. He went to New Orleans and finally died there with that plague of the Crescent City, yellow fever. Subject's mother was Caroline Sharp, of Hopkinsville, member of a prominent Kentucky family. Henry S. (the subject) remained on the farm until twelve years old, and then entered Kentucky University—in the Agricultural and Mechanical department—where he remained three years. He commenced reading law in 1873, and in the meantime came to Louisville, and completed his studies with Judge Stites. He was admitted to the bar the same year, and at once entered upon an active practice of his profession. In December, 1887, he was elected city attorney by the

council. He was married in May, 1883, to Miss Kate Meriwether, of Montgomery County, Tenn.

W. W. BARNES was born in Wilson, North Carolina, January 22, 1852, and is a son of Elias and Mahala (Sharp) Barnes, both also natives of North Carolina. He was educated in the country schools of his native State; studied dentistry, and in 1873 went to Philadelphia, and graduated there in the Philadelphia Dental College in the spring of 1875. He immediately came to Louisville and opened an office for the practice of his profession. Since then he has graduated in medicine from the Kentucky School of Medicine, but still practices dentistry at 621 Fourth avenue. Dr. Barnes is accomplished in his profession, and stands high among his professional brethren.

HON. JOHN WATSON BARR, Judge of the United States District Court for the district of Kentucky, comes of an old Kentucky family—his grandfather Barr, a native of Maryland, having emigrated to Kentucky in 1787, and settled in Fayette County. The family is of English origin, but came to America prior to the Revolutionary war. John W. was born in Versailles, Ky., December 17, 1826, and is a son of William and Ann (Watson) Barr, the former a native of Fayette County and the latter of Woodford County. He was educated at schools in his native county and at Lexington. Having read law, he graduated from the law department of Transylvania University, at Lexington, in 1847, and commenced practice at Versailles, where he remained until 1854. He then came to Louisville, and soon attained to a large business. He devoted himself wholly to his profession, eschewing politics in toto, until 1880, when he was appointed United States District Judge, a position he still acceptably fills. During the late civil war he was an unconditional Union man, and was a member of the State Central Committee of the Union party. Since the war he has been identified with the Republican party, and is zealous in that faith. He was married in November, 1859, to Miss Susan Rogers, daughter of Jason Rogers, lieutenant-colonel of the

Louisville Legion in the Mexican war, and a native of New York.

JOHN M. BARRALL was born in Bullitt County, October 4, 1829, and is a son of Christian and Elizabeth (Harshfield) Barrall, the former a native of Lancaster County, Pa. His parents immigrated to this country from France in an early day and settled in Pennsylvania, where Christian grew up a useful citizen. He (Christian) served three years in the army (under Gen. St. Clair) and participated in a number of skirmishes with the Indians. After leaving the army he came to Kentucky and settled in Bullitt County, where he died in 1863, aged 93 years. His wife, Elizabeth Harshfield, was a daughter of Martin and Mary Harshfield, early settlers in this county. The subject of this sketch was brought up on the farm, and educated in the common schools. He married Mildred Ann Miller in 1856, a daughter of Peter and Martha Miller. They have had three children—two dying in infancy and one living: Martha Elizabeth, born May 3, 1866, and married, in 1882, to Henry K. Abel. Mr. Barrall is a thrifty and enterprising farmer, and a good citizen.

JULIUS W. BEILSTEIN, a native of Louisville, was born February 22, 1861, son of Ernest Beilstein, native of Darmstadt, Germany, and born September 20, 1832; landed at New Orleans in 1845, and came to Louisville in 1847. He married, in 1859, Miss Julia O. Schnatterer, a native of Louisville, and daughter of Frederick Schnatterer, a native of Stuttgart, Germany, and who came to Louisville in 1834. Julius W. Beilstein was educated at the public schools of this city, and at fifteen (1876), he entered the insurance business. He accepted an offer in 1881 which carried him to Chicago, as special agent and adjuster for the Springfield Fire and Marine Insurance Company of Massachusetts. In 1884 he returned to Louisville to accept the secretaryship of the Falls City Insurance Company. He was married January 26, 1886, to Miss Effie Lee Duncan, a native of Louisville, and daughter of William J. Duncan. January 1, 1888, he resigned his position with the Falls City Insurance Company to accept



the management of the Anglo-Nevada Assurance Corporation of San Francisco, Cal., for the South.

HON. LUKE P. BLACKBURN, deceased, was born in Woodford County, Ky., June 16, 1816, and was a son of Edward M. Blackburn, a prominent farmer and stock-raiser. The subject of this sketch was well educated, and graduated in medicine from Transylvania University, at Lexington, where he located and commenced the practice of his profession. In 1835, when the cholera broke out in this country, it raged at Versailles, carrying death to many homes. Dr. Blackburn, after the death of some of the physicians of the place, and the flight of others, went there, and alone fought the disease until health was restored to the stricken town. This dangerous service was rendered without pecuniary reward. He finally removed to Versailles, where he established a large and lucrative practice. He became considerably involved in manufacturing enterprises through the financial depression of 1837-39, and in 1846 removed to Natchez, Miss., where he soon built up an extensive practice. When the yellow fever made its appearance in New Orleans in 1848, the city authorities directed him, as health officer of Natchez, to establish quarantine, which he did effectually. He became so interested in the sufferings of the marines, for whom the general government did not provide, as well as hundreds of others, that he built a hospital, at his own expense, in which he again established a reputation for personal professional daring, skill, and genuine philanthropy. Mainly through his efforts and influence, a bill was passed by the Congress of the United States, providing for the erection of the Natchez hospital, of which, when completed, Dr. Blackburn was appointed surgeon, holding the position for many years, both of the State and Marine Hospital. He early advanced the theory of exemption from Asiatic cholera, by the use of pure soft water; has long been a believer in the transmissibility and infection of yellow fever; and in 1854, protected Natchez from that disease, by a rigid quarantine, when it prevailed in the surrounding country. The legislature of Mississippi commissioned him

to visit the legislature of Louisiana, and urge that body to establish a quarantine below New Orleans. This he did so intelligently before both branches of the legislature that he was authorized to establish, below New Orleans, the present quarantine system. In 1857 he visited the hospitals of England, Scotland, France and Germany, and returning to America located in New Orleans, where he resumed the practice of his profession with his usual success and popularity. The year previous to his visit to Europe, the yellow fever broke out from an infected ship, in the vicinity of Fort Washington on Long Island, N. Y., and Dr. Blackburn, being in New York City, was invited by the mayor to give his aid to the afflicted district, which he did, refusing the proffered compensation for his services. When the civil war broke out in 1861, he was an ardent friend and sympathizer of the South; he was the political friend and physician of Gen. John A. Quitman. As surgeon, he was attached to the staff of Gen. Sterling Price, and the legislature of Mississippi put \$50,000 in his hands to be applied to the benefit of the suffering soldiers of that State. In 1864, by the request of the Governor-General of Canada, whither his duties had called him, he repaired to the Bermuda Islands, to look after the suffering citizens and soldiers. In 1867 he returned to the United States, and engaged in planting in Arkansas, where his wife owned a plantation. When the yellow fever last visited Memphis, true to the benevolence of his disposition, he volunteered his aid, and rendered great service to the suffering city. It was one of the great pleasures of his life to aid those in extreme danger, and he never refused to respond to the call of the sick and distressed, and he combated more epidemics of cholera and yellow fever than almost any other physician. Dr. Blackburn was first married to Ella Guest Boswell, a daughter of Dr. Joseph Boswell, of Lexington, Ky. She died in 1855, and in November, 1857, he married Julia M. Churchill, of Kentucky, who, with his only child, Dr. Cary B. Blackburn, survives him. Dr. Blackburn was elected to the Kentucky legislature in 1843, and in 1879 was elected governor of







*Thos. W. Chaenhardt.*

the Commonwealth, serving four years. He died September 14, 1887, in the seventy-first year of his age.

DR. CARY B. BLACKBURN was born April 29, 1838, in Woodford County, Ky., and is a son of Dr. Luke P., and Ella (Boswell) Blackburn. He received his early education in Natchez, Miss., and afterward at college at Frankfort, Ky., where he graduated in 1858. He commenced the study of medicine at once with Dr. Gross, of Philadelphia, and graduated in 1861. During the prevalence of the yellow fever in Natchez, in 1865, he nobly aided his father in administering to those afflicted. He participated actively in the late Civil war, first as a lieutenant in the Confederate army, then as lieutenant-colonel of his regiment, and for awhile as surgeon. He returned to Kentucky in 1868, and resumed the practice of medicine at Louisville, where he has established a lucrative business, and holds an active and honorable position in the profession. He is a member of the Kentucky State Medical Society, and is a man of unexceptional personal and professional habits.

THOMAS W. BLACKHART.—Although Thos. W. Blackhart is a son of Ohio, yet so intimately has he identified himself with the development of the State, that Kentucky claims him by right of adoption. Youngest son of Barkley and Martha (Walters) Blackhart, natives of Pennsylvania and Ohio, he was born in Ohio, October 26th, 1859. His father was a farmer, and Thomas spent his early life on the farm. He received a good common-school education, finishing his course at the age of fifteen; he then came to Louisville and was engaged on the city newspapers until 1876, when he entered the service of Price & Lucas, manufacturers of cider and vinegar. Here he soon evinced superior business talents and judgment and soon became the head of their office, conducting a large business successfully until 1887, when he retired to devote all his time to his private interests. He is president of the Daisy Realty Co., and treasurer of the Westview Building Co., and the largest stockholder in both companies; vice-president of the West Louis-

ville Land & Improvement Co., president of a coal and lumber company; a director in the Pine Mountain Iron & Coal Co., and mayor at the town of Parkland, where he resides, and is first in all movements for advancement of town and state. He has great force, energy and determination, and that thorough-going disposition which takes right hold of great projects with both hands and drives into thick and thin in spite of all obstacles and opposition, however great, and thus accomplishes wonders. He has a natural love for hard work, and capacity for carrying forward great undertakings, and will make a decided mark in the business world, or in whatever department these energies may be exercised. Mr. Blackhart was married, in 1877, to Miss Anna M. Brown, of Elmira, N. Y., who proved a devoted and loving help-meet and judicious adviser. She died March 9, 1888.

ISADORE NATHAN BLOOM, A. B., M. D., was born in Louisville, October 27, 1858, and is a son of Nathan and Rosina Bloom. The former was a member of the great dry goods firm of Louisville—Bamberger, Bloom & Co.—and was a native of Hesse Darmstadt, Germany. He came to this country in 1849; was married in 1850, and died in Louisville, where he ranked as a most estimable citizen, in 1887, at the age of sixty years. The subject, Dr. Bloom, received his early education in the schools of Louisville, and in 1874, entered Yale College, from which he graduated four years later, with the degree of A. B. He then went to Harvard, where he took a medical course, and graduated as M. D. In 1881 he went abroad, and served on Prof. Kaposi's staff in the dermatological department of the Vienna General Hospital. He returned here in 1883, and practiced medicine for one year, when he again went abroad, occupying the same position in the Vienna Hospital for one year. Again returning to Louisville he resumed the practice of medicine, making a specialty of diseases of the skin, in the treatment of which he is very successful. Dr. Bloom married Miss Fannie Corinne Peixotto, daughter of the former United States minister to Roumania, who served eight years under President Grant. They have one child



—a daughter. He is the dermatologist of the Louisville City Hospital, secretary of the Louisville Clinical Society, and a member of the Louisville Medical Society, of the Mississippi Valley Medical Society, and the Louisville Surgical Society.

JOHN BLUM, the proprietor of a store for grocery supplies, meats, vegetables, and family provisions, at 1624 West Market street, Louisville, was born in Auglaize County, Ohio, July 13, 1858. He came to this city in September, 1885, and opened his present business May 16, 1886. His parents are both living and residing with him. He was educated in the schools of the State of Ohio. His father is a native of Bavaria; his mother was born in Ohio. He has one brother and three sisters, all of whom are living. Since opening his store in this city he has enjoyed a very good trade.

WALTER F. BOGGESS, second assistant to Superintendent Pusey, of the Central Asylum for the Insane, was born January 19, 1863, in Jefferson County, Kentucky. His father, the Rev. C. Y. Boggess, is a native of Muhlenberg County, Kentucky, and has been a minister in the Methodist Church for thirty-five years. His mother's maiden name was Miss Rose Moorman, daughter of Alanson Moorman. She was a member of an old family in Meade County, Ky. The subject of this sketch was educated at Vanderbilt University, at Nashville, Tenn., and from this institution he graduated in 1882. For the two years that followed he was assistant instructor in Greek. Then he came to Louisville (in 1883), and entered the Louisville Medical College, graduating as valedictorian, in 1885, being second honor man in the class. In March, 1886, he accepted his present position.

JOHN H. BRAND was born in Woodford County, Ky., October 6, 1841, and is a son of George W. and Nannie (Griffith) Brand, the former a native of Lexington, and the latter of Natchez, Miss. He was reared principally in Woodford County, and after the advantages of the local schools, was sent to St. Timothy's College, near Baltimore, from which he graduated in 1860. He came to Louisville in 1865, and for a time was engaged with A. O. Brannin

& Co. in the pork packing business. Retiring from the firm, he next engaged in the fancy grocery business, and with a spice mill. In 1881 he began to deal in tobacco, and at present, under the firm name of Brand & Bethel, does a large export business in tobacco. Mr. Brand was married in 1866, to Miss Lizzie Brannin, daughter of Mr. A. O. Brannin. He is one of the live, go-ahead business men of Louisville, and takes an active interest in its prosperity and welfare. He is an active Mason and a member of Louisville Commandery No. 1, Knights Templar.

GEORGE BRINKWORTH, proprietor of the Custom House Restaurant, is a native of England, and was born near Sheffield, April 28, 1843. His parents, William and Martha Brinkworth, were also natives of England. William, with the subject of this sketch, came to this country in 1847, and located at Madison, Ind., where George Brinkworth was reared and received his early school training. When quite a boy he engaged to work on steamboats that plied the Ohio River, filling various positions till the commencement of the civil war, when, in 1866, he joined the Third Indiana Cavalry as a private, was slightly wounded in the engagement at White Oak Swamps, Virginia, and was in active service till the war closed. He came to Louisville in 1880, and began his present business. Mr. Brinkworth is commander of the Walter Whittaker Post, G. A. R., in this city. He was married in 1866 to Miss Mary A. Pepp-r, of Madison, Ind., and has one child, Libbie E. He is a member of the Knights of Pythias, and the Elk fraternity.

JOHN ALBERT BROADUS, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Homiletics and Interpretation of the New Testament in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, was born in Culpeper County, Va., January 24, 1827. His family is of Welsh extraction, and the name was formerly spelled Broadhurst. His father was a prominent member of the Virginia Legislature a number of years ago. Doctor Broadus was educated at the University of Virginia, where he took the degree of A. M. in 1850. In 1851 he was elected Assistant Professor of Latin and Greek in

that institution and filled the place two years. In 1855 he was elected chaplain of the university and served two years. In 1863 he preached as Missionary in General Lee's army. From this period until 1865 he was corresponding secretary of the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. In 1870 he published a book on the "Preparation and Delivery of Sermons" which was republished and enlarged, and has been adopted as a text book in various theological seminaries of different denominations in Europe and America. In 1867-'69 he published in the *Religious World*, Richmond, Va., a series of papers criticising the American Bible Union's version of the New Testament, and in 1872-'73, another series entitled "Reflections of Travel," in which he gave an account of a tour he made through Europe and Palestine in 1870-'71. In 1876 he published a series of lectures on the history of preaching. Doctor Broadus ranks with the ablest preachers of his generation.

FRANK I. BROCAR, a prominent painter of Louisville, is a native of Floyd County, Ind., was born in 1844, came to this city when a boy and learned his trade, that of a car painter. He enlisted Sept., 1862, in Company C, Thirty-fourth Kentucky Volunteers, and served till July, 1865, in all the movements of his regiment and acted as duty sergeant and color bearer. At the close of the war he returned to Louisville, engaged at his trade, and is now located at 412 Seventh street. He is a member of the G. A. R., and in Masonry has reached the thirty-second (Scottish Rite) degree. Mr. Brocar was married November 18, 1866, to Miss Mary R. McGuire, of Louisville, and the four children born to this union are living, named as follows: Clarence I., Mary G., Albert C. and Elnor G.

HON. ELI H. BROWN was born in Brandenburg, Ky., November 13, 1843, and is a son of John Me. and Minerva J. (Murray) Brown, the former a native of Nelson County and the latter of Washington County. His grandfather, Joseph Brown, came from Virginia, and settled in Nelson County. His maternal grandfather, Col. John Murray, served in the war of 1812, and was a native

of Maryland. He came to Kentucky and settled in Washington County at a very early day. The father of the subject was a merchant most of his life, and also dealt largely in tobacco. He was one of a firm who had stores in Hardinsburg, Brandenburg and at Stephensport, Cloverport and Hawesville; he died in 1865. He was County Judge of Hancock County the last eight years of his life. Hon. Eli H. Brown was reared in his native town and educated principally at Hawesville, finishing his education at Lewisport College, Kentucky. He read law with Hon. George W. Williams, now of Owensboro, and was admitted to the bar at Hawesville in 1862. In 1872 he removed to Owensboro, and formed a partnership with his old preceptor, Judge Williams, remaining with him until 1878, when he came to Louisville, and has since practiced in this city. While still a resident of Hancock, he was appointed to fill a vacancy as Commonwealth's Attorney of the Fifth Judicial District. In 1872 he was Democratic elector in the Second Congressional District, and had a joint discussion with Hon. Samuel E. Smith, who, in 1867, contested with Hon. John Young Brown his seat in Congress. He was married in February, 1870, to Miss Nannie W. Dorsey, youngest daughter of Dr. W. D. Dorsey, of Kentucky, an eminent physician, who removed to Yazoo City, Miss., and became very wealthy. Four children were born to this union: Horace Stone, Eli Houston, Washington Dorsey and Sarah Ellen. His first wife died in December, 1885. In March, 1888, Judge Brown was married to Miss Elizabeth A. Keegan, of Louisville, Ky., a highly accomplished lady—she being the youngest daughter of an old and prominent family of Louisville.

JUDGE HORATIO W. BRUCE was born in Lewis County, Ky., February 22, 1830, and is a son of Alexander and Amanda (Bragg) Bruce, and a grandson of John Bruce, a Revolutionary soldier and a native of Virginia. He was reared in Lewis County, and educated in the common-schools of that region, and in 1850, began reading law in Vanceburg. After thorough preparation



he was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Flemingsburg. He was elected representative from Fleming County to the House of Representatives of 1855-56, and in 1856 was elected Commonwealth attorney, the duties of which he filled with distinguished ability, but resigned in 1859, and settled in Louisville, where he soon won a large practice. At the outbreak of the civil war he cast his fortunes with the Confederacy and went South. He was elected to the Confederate Congress and served in that field until the war was over and the cause lost. He then returned to Louisville and resumed the practice of law. In 1868 he was elected Circuit Judge of the Ninth Judicial District, serving in that position until January, 1873, when he resigned to accept the chancellorship of the Louisville Chancery Court. This position he held until March, 1880. For several years prior to the date of his resignation (1880), he taught the history and science of law, real property, contracts, and commercial law in the law department of the University of Louisville; for a long period, also, he was President of the Board of Trustees of the Louisville Medical College. Since 1880 he has been attorney for the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. Judge Bruce ranks among the able lawyers of the Louisville bar and is a jurist of distinguished ability. He was married in June, 1856, to Miss Lizzie B. Helm, daughter of Gov. John L. Helm. They have five children living.

WILLIAM CHRISTIAN BULLITT was born on his father's farm—"Ox Moor," as it was called—February 14, 1793, and is a son of Alexander Scott Bullitt, the first lieutenant-governor of Kentucky, and Priscilla (Christian) Bullitt. A. S. Bullitt died when William C. was sixteen years of age and bequeathed to the latter his farm, which he owned until his death, and upon which the greater part of his life was passed. He was admitted to the bar in Louisville in 1815, when under twenty years of age, and practiced until 1817, when he was debarred through the dueling law by reason of a challenge sent to the Hon. Ben Hardin. The legislature, however, by a general law removed the disabili-

ties of all who came under that penalty. The law proving too great a strain upon a somewhat delicate constitution, he retired from the bar in 1820, and settled on the farm where his family were all brought up. His education was derived almost entirely from his father, having attended school but a very short time during his youth. He at all times took a deep interest in politics, was a constant student and well versed in history, but never entered upon public life, the only public position he ever held being that of a member of the convention which formed the present State constitution. In youth he was of a gay and joyous disposition, but of quick temper. In later years he became reserved and somewhat stern. Strong, practical sense, and unyielding firmness of purpose, perfect candor in his dealings with men, and a strong sense of justice, were his marked characteristics. While he mingled but little in society, his home was distinguished for that rare hospitality which marked the early days of Kentucky. During the late war, the disturbed condition of society in the country induced him to remove to the city to Louisville, and he never afterward resided on his farm. Mr. Bullitt was married on the 1st of September, 1819, to Mildred Ann Fry, a daughter of Joshua Fry, who was early distinguished as a teacher in Kentucky. Ten children were born of this marriage; four died in early life and without issue. Those now surviving are: Hon. Joshua F. Bullitt, of Louisville; John C. Bullitt, of Philadelphia; Thomas W. Bullitt, of Louisville—all of whom are lawyers; and Henry M. Bullitt, who lives on a part of the old farm. The daughters are Mrs. Sue B. Dixon, widow of Hon. Archibald Dixon, of Henderson; and Mrs. Helen M. Chenoweth, wife of Dr. Henry Chenoweth, of Jefferson County. Mr. Bullitt died August 28, 1877, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, his wife died July 12, 1879, in the eighty-third year of her age.

THOMAS W. BULLITT was born in Jefferson County, May 17, 1838, and is a son of William C. and Mildred Ann (Fry) Bullitt. Both the Bullitts and Frys were early settlers in Kentucky, and are among the prominent



Wm C. Bullitt





families of the State. Alexander Scott Bullitt, the grandfather of subject, was the first lieutenant-governor of the State, and was President of the Second Constitutional Convention; he died about 1816. Subject's father, Wm. C. Bullitt, began life as a lawyer, but on account of bad health had to retire from practice and take up farming. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1849-50. The subject is the third of four sons living: Hon. Joshua F. Bullitt being the eldest. He was educated in Centre College, at Danville, graduating in 1858. He went to Philadelphia in 1859, studied law, and graduated in 1861 from the Philadelphia law school; remaining there he was admitted to the bar, and in 1862 returned to Louisville. He entered the Confederate army in 1862, in Gen. Duke's regiment (the Second Kentucky), Gen. Morgan's Cavalry, and served until the end of war. He was with Morgan in the Ohio raid, but was captured in Kentucky, remaining a prisoner until early in 1865, when he was sent to Richmond for exchange. At the close of the war he began practicing law, and is entirely devoted to his profession. He is a director in the Second National Bank, in the Fidelity Trust and Safety Vault Co., Louisville Abstract and Loan Association, Louisville Southern Railroad Company, Kentucky & Indiana Bridge Co., etc., etc. Mr. Bullitt was married February 21, 1871, to Miss Annie P. Logan, a daughter of Judge Caleb Logan, formerly Chancellor of the Louisville Chancery Court.

HON. WILLIAM FONTAINE BULLOCK was born in Fayette County, Ky., January 16, 1807, and is descended from one of the prominent families of Kentucky. The following was written by himself, of his parents, some years ago: "My father, Edmund Bullock, the oldest son of Edward and Agnes Bullock, was a native of Hanover County, Va., and was descended from a stock distinguished for integrity. His education was as thorough and accurate as the times would permit. In early life he emigrated to the 'District of Kentucky,' where he soon acquired a high standing, based upon his exalted merits as a man and as a citizen. In all his dealings he

was faithful and just, and in his intercourse with his fellow-men he was polite, noble and generous. He was soon called into public life, and was, for many years, a leading member of the Legislature of Kentucky. He was speaker, at different times, of both branches of that body, and in that capacity won for himself a high reputation. He was alike remarkable for his dignity and urbanity of manners and for his stern and unbending sense of justice. Throughout a long life he lived above reproach—a noble specimen of an honest man. He died in the eighty-ninth year of his age, at peace with God through faith in Christ. My mother, Elizabeth, was the second daughter of Aaron Fontaine, who was the youngest son of Rev. Peter Fontaine, and was born in Virginia, in 1754. The Rev. Peter Fontaine came from England to America in 1715, and was soon thereafter installed as rector of one of the oldest parishes of the Episcopal Church in the State of Virginia. He was the son of Rev. James Fontaine, who fled from France to England upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685. He was a Huguenot of noble birth and of the most indomitable energy, and was especially distinguished for his heroic devotion to his Protestant faith. My grandfather was a noble scion of such a stock. I never saw my mother; she died at my birth. My knowledge of her is derived from my father, who, to the close of a long life, never ceased to cherish her memory and to impress upon my heart the highest appreciation of her lovely character." Such was the family from which the subject of this sketch sprung. Judge Bullock has long been conspicuous in a corps of celebrities, second to none in the Union in the point of ability and fame. The Kentucky bar enjoys a high reputation, and its members have largely influenced the character, not only of the great West, but of the entire country. The mother of most of the Western States, she can point to her deeds in National Councils, and her sons' glory in the fame of her Breckinridge, Nicholas, Daviess, Clay, Rowan, Crittenden, Barry, Sharp, Boyle, Owsley, Mills, Trimble, Bibb, Robertson, and a host of others, who contributed to the imperishable legal renown



of the State. For a long period of time, in the early history of Kentucky, Lexington enjoyed a large portion of the renown of the State. The first newspaper west of the Alleghenies was published in Lexington; Transylvania University, for a number of years the most renowned institution of learning in the great valley of the Ohio, was located there. From that venerable hall of learning, Kentucky scattered, with a profuse hand, her intellectual treasures over the West and South. While Transylvania University was under the auspicious administration of President Holley, it is doubtful whether any city in the United States possessed a larger share of intellectual activity than Lexington. Education flourished in all its departments, and a love of literature and science pervaded all ranks. The general pursuit of knowledge which characterized the people enabled them to support for many years the finest public library in the West, to which was attached reading-rooms, containing all the best periodicals in the English language. The great genius of Matthew Jouett, one of the noblest artists on canvas that his country has produced, and the cultivated taste, public spirit and enterprise of John D. Clifford, command the prosperity of the fine arts. Philosophy, literature, classical learning, science and art, went hand in hand, and Lexington was the glory, the pride, and the cynosure of the West. In addition to the resources of intellectual growth and activity already mentioned, Lexington maintained, for about fifteen years, the ablest, most prosperous and successful medical school in the western country. Nor were the interests of a law-school neglected in the midst of these intellectual energies; but one was established, as a department of the University, which speedily attained a high rank. The genius and abilities of the bar of Lexington were illustrated by Henry Clay, William T. Barry, William Blair, Jesse Bledsoe, Joseph Cabell, Breckinridge, and others, who, with less extended fame, enjoyed a high reputation at home. It was in the midst of these intellectual energies, that the subject of this sketch first saw the light. At an early period he exhibited a fondness for study, and

such was the proficiency attained at a country school, that he entered Transylvania University, and graduated in 1824, when he was but seventeen years of age. No student ever entered those classic halls with a higher reputation; and his devotion to study, his modest and good habits, enabled him to add largely to his youthful fame. At the time of his graduation, he was esteemed as second to none of the distinguished *élèves* of Transylvania University, then in the zenith of her renown. As an orator, he was unrivalled in that institution; and such was his great distinction, that upon the return of Mr. Clay to Kentucky after his vote for Mr. Adams, when his congressional district determined, in its own language, "to speak its instructions to Henry Clay, in a language that could neither be misunderstood or mistaken," the youthful orator of Transylvania was selected to deliver the speech, welcoming the patriot of Kentucky to the hearts of those who had long entrusted their political interests to his keeping. It was an occasion of deep interest; it drew people from various parts of the State and an immense assembly of Kentuckians, and citizens of other States were gathered to receive the illustrious sage of Ashland. For the time being, the eyes of the nation were upon Lexington. The traducers of the fame of her most illustrious son looked on the scene with fear and trembling, while the friends of the administration of Mr. Adams looked to it as a source of hopeful energy and triumph. In the midst of all these great interests, in the presence of that great assemblage, indeed, of the American people, the young orator of Transylvania addressed a speech of welcome to Henry Clay that was worthy of the occasion. It was an effort of eloquence of which any son of Kentucky might well have been proud. Even during the mighty response of Henry Clay, whether its eloquent tones were moving the best feelings of our nature, or its withering scorn was hurling defiance and its anathemas upon the heads of those whose machinations were struggling for his ruin, the calm and elevated eloquence of the youthful orator worked its way into the memories of the people, and placed him conspicuous among

the speakers of Kentucky. In 1828 Mr. Bullock moved to Louisville, Ky., and commenced the practice of law, in the midst of as formidable competition as could be found in the State. But the same habits that had given him such enviable distinction in the curriculum of Transylvania University, soon attracted attention to him in his new sphere of duty, and gave him high rank among the able men who adorned the Louisville bar. He was elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1838, 1840, 1841, and was the author of some of the noblest monuments of Kentucky legislation. To his well directed efforts Kentucky is indebted for her common-school system. He introduced the bill into legislature, and by his eloquence, his mastery of the whole subject, and his untiring labors, both as the eloquent exponent of the cause before the representatives of the people and the profound writer for the press, he so deeply engraved the merits of the common school system upon the public mind, that it now defies all the powers of its enemies. Various efforts have been made to cripple this system, and the most formidable was in 1843, to cancel the bonds of the State, which had been given to the Board of Education, on account of a loan of the money that had been appropriated to the common-school system. The original appropriation was \$850,000, a portion of the dividend paid to Kentucky from the surplus revenue of the general government. This sum was loaned to the State on her bonds. In 1843, an attempt was made to cancel these bonds, by which the common-school system would have been utterly destroyed. Mr. Bullock was not at that time a member of the legislature, but he earnestly appealed, through the press, against this great outrage. While the danger lasted he was always at his post, battling for the cause that had enlisted his zeal and his best abilities. A profound debt of gratitude is due to Judge Bullock for his services in the cause of education. Nor were the philanthropic exertions of Mr. Bullock, while he was in the legislature, confined to the cause of popular education. When efforts were first begun in Kentucky for an improved management of the insane, those

efforts found in him a zealous and intelligent champion. In 1842, he produced a profound impression upon the public mind, by a report which he submitted to the Kentucky legislature on the management of the insane. He accompanied the report with a speech which commanded the attention of the State, and to his exertions the triumph of the cause is due. Kentucky has been exceedingly liberal since that time in her appropriations to the insane; and the lunatic asylums now compare for excellence with any in the United States. Another crowning glory of Judge Bullock's legislative career, was in his successful exertions to procure an endowment from the State for an institution for the education of the blind. His eloquent advocacy of the cause, his zeal and energy, were crowned with success; and in 1841 the legislature of Kentucky appropriated \$10,000 towards establishing a school for the blind. This is the favorite eleemosynary institution in Kentucky. The legislature has been liberal in its endowments for its support, and the institution has resources now to place it upon a sure basis. Judge Bullock was one of the original trustees of this institution, and has been one of the most active and useful members of the Board to the present time. He has been president to the Board of Trustees most of the time from its first organization until now. These are the monuments of the legislative career of Judge Bullock, and his friends point to them as the characteristics of the man. After the close of his legislative career, Mr. Bullock again resumed the practice of his profession. In 1846, he was appointed to the bench as judge of the Fifth Judicial district, an appointment that gave general satisfaction. His high legal reputation, his urbanity of demeanor, his decision and firmness, and his universally acknowledged integrity in all things, gave an earnest of a successful career in this new sphere of usefulness, which has been fully redeemed by his judicial course. Pursuing a strong natural bent, Judge Bullock has played a conspicuous part as a popular orator. A devoted personal friend and an ardent political admirer of Henry Clay, he long ranked among the most attractive and



effective Whig leaders in a period when the hustings offered in Kentucky a high arena for intellectual conflict, and an exciting theater for brilliant displays of eloquence. In view of the close relationship to Mr. Clay, he was befittingly chosen to deliver the oration that was uttered in the presence of a vast assemblage in Louisville, May 30, 1867, on the occasion of unveiling the life-size statute of the great statesman—the handiwork of Joel T. Hart—which now adorns the rotunda of the court-house. But it is chiefly as a lawyer and jurist that Judge Bullock has evinced his highest powers. During the last forty years he has ranked among the foremost members of the Kentucky bar. The records of the court show that he has been an unusually successful practitioner, often making great and triumphant arguments before judges and juries, and always exhibiting marked ability in the management of his cases. He has justly been styled one of the most courteous and yet most formidable antagonists in the forum. For twelve years, dating from 1849, he was a member of the law faculty of the University of Louisville, in which capacity he displayed much learning and skill as a teacher, and inspired his students with a love of the science which he taught. He has virtually retired from active practice, but as late as 1882, he appeared before the Court of Appeals, in the case of the Louisville Bridge Company against the city of Louisville, as attorney for the former corporation, and delivered an argument for his client seldom equaled in the presence of that tribunal.

RICHARD T. BURKE, County Assessor, was born in this city November 28, 1852, and is a son of Patrick and Mary (Gallagher) Burke, natives of Ireland. They came to Louisville in 1851. The subject, Richard T., was brought up in Louisville, educated in the city schools, and graduated from the Male High School in 1868. He learned the trade of a harness-maker from his father, who was of that trade, but did not follow the business long; he was elected constable in 1876, and served until 1886. In 1883 he was elected a member of the City Council from the Twelfth ward, and in 1886 he was elected to his pres-

ent position—County Assessor. In 1882 he married Miss Isabella Dunlap, of this city. They have one child.

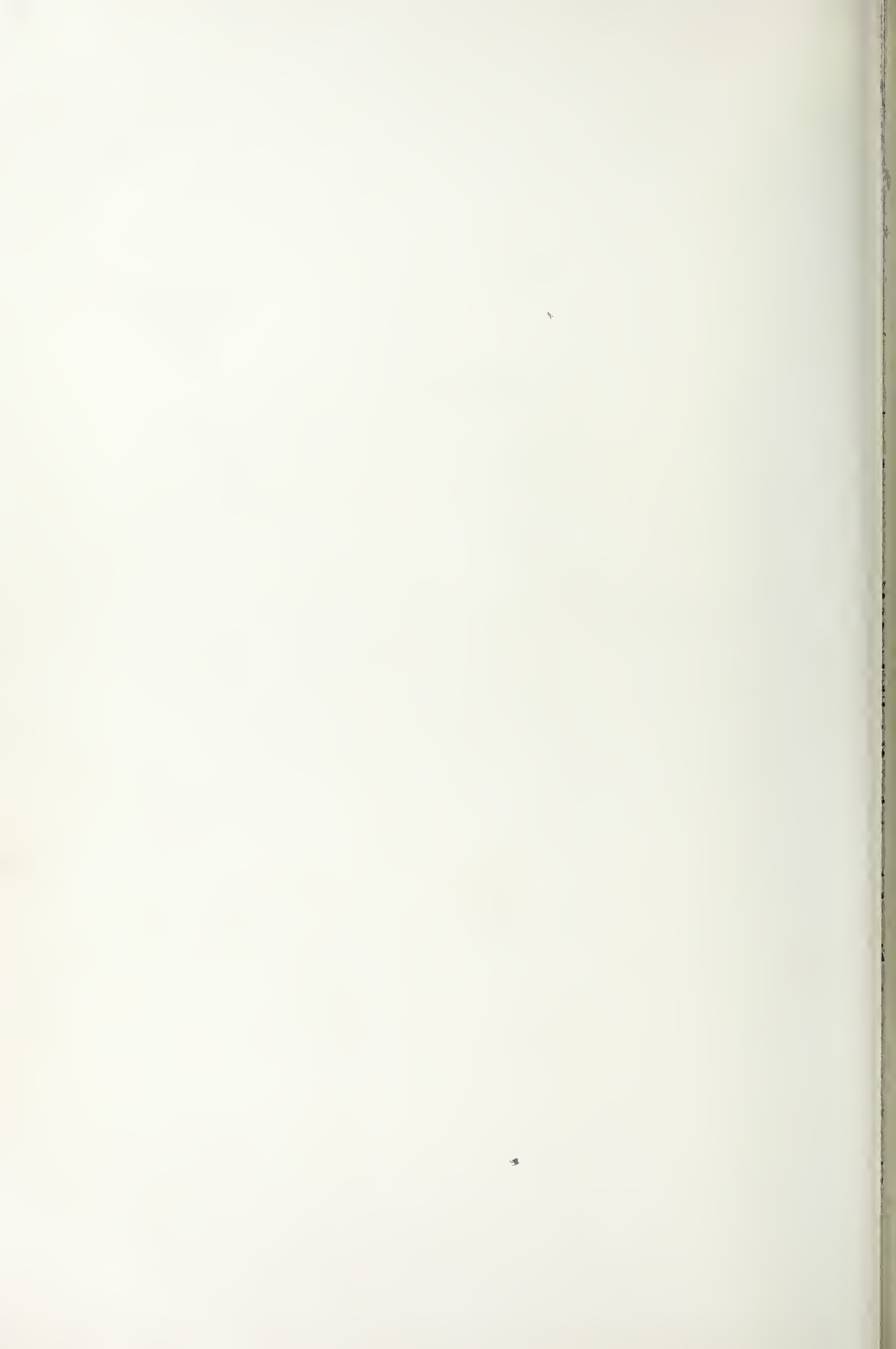
JAMES CABLE, an influential farmer, was born in Jefferson County, Kentucky, January 5, 1839, and is a son of Nelson and Sarah (Potts) Cable, also members of the county. Nelson Cable died in 1858. James Cable, the subject of this sketch, was reared on the farm and has ever since followed that pursuit. He served as a private during the late war in the Tenth Kentucky Infantry, and participated in the battles of Shiloh, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge and other important engagements. At the close of the war he returned to the farm, and was married to Miss Lucinda Kendall. They have had six children, as follows: Job, born November 3, 1866; Mary Alice, December 30, 1868; Azzie Breen, June 15, 1871; Arthur, born November 18, 1873, (deceased); R. N., October 11, 1875; Anna, March 30, 1879.

JOHN S. CAIN, Clerk of the Circuit Court of Jefferson County, and one of the best known and most popular of all the county officials, was born near Madison, Jefferson County, Ind., September 11, 1827, and is a son of John and Catharine (Frankham) Cain, the former a native of Spottsylvania County, Va., and the latter of Shenandoah County, Va. The subject of this sketch was early thrown upon his own resources, but with boundless energy, and an indomitable will he fought his way step by step; he managed, by strong perseverance, to attain a good, practical education. He came to Louisville in 1835, and the first business he engaged in after becoming of an age to work, was as an accountant, and by practice and experience he became an expert book-keeper. In 1842 he went to Madison, Wis., where he was engaged in numerous pursuits, and turned his hand to anything by which he could make a living. Among other things, he read law for a time. He returned to Louisville in 1848, and engaged for a short period in keeping books. He was elected city auditor in 1850, the first under the new charter, but resigned in about a year, when he was elected cashier of the Louisville Gas Company. This posi-



*A. F. Canine D.D.*











*Geo. B. Postman*

tion he held for seventeen years, resigning in 1868, to make the race for circuit clerk. He was elected in August of that year, entered upon the duties in September following, and he is there yet. He was re-elected in 1874, again in 1880 and in 1886. His uniform courtesy and accommodating nature has invested him with a popularity which renders him invincible in a political contest. He was married in 1854 to Miss Amanda Pepper, of Henry County, Ky. They have six children. Mr. Cain is a man of unblemished integrity, and a most estimable and popular citizen, as well as model official.

DR. JAMES FULTON CANINE, dentist, was born in Shelby County, Ky., May 5, 1830, and is a son of John and Jane (Fulton) Canine, natives also of Shelby County. The Canines came originally from Holland, and settled in Virginia, in an early day; the great-grandfather of the subject was a quartermaster in the Revolutionary army. The Fultons are of English extraction, the mother of subject being a descendent of Robert Fulton, the inventor. The subject of this sketch was reared on the farm and educated at Crawfordsville, Ind., and at Ohio College. At the age of twenty-one he began studying dentistry, and finally graduated from the School of Dentistry at Cincinnati, O. He first began practicing this profession at Crawfordsville, Ind., and in 1864 came to Louisville, and is to-day one of the most successful practitioners in the city. He was married in 1851 to Miss Elizabeth Hutchison, of Crawfordsville. Three children, two sons and one daughter, were born of this marriage. Both of the sons are dentists; one, Charles E., practicing in Colorado, the other, Hal B., with his father in Louisville.

JOHN B. CASTLEMAN, one of the honorable citizens of Louisville, and one of her prominent business men, is a native of Fayette County, Ky., and was born June 30, 1842. He is a son of David and Virginia (Harrison) Castleman, the former born on the old Castleman homestead near Versailles, Ky., the latter a native of Fayette County. The subject of this sketch was reared in Fayette County, where he was educated. After the

advantages of the lower schools, he entered Transylvania University, but at the breaking out of the civil war in 1861, quietly left school, and volunteered in Morgan's cavalry as a private. He afterward organized and commanded Company D, of Morgan's squadron, and after the promotion of Morgan to brigadier-general, he became a major in his old regiment, then commanded by Gen. Basil Duke. Major Castleman commanded the regiment in several important engagements, in which he displayed soldiership highly satisfactory to his superior officers and the men he led to battle. He was detailed, with Chief Justice Hines, on an expedition against North-western Missouri, to release the Confederate prisoners confined there, during which expedition he was captured. He remained a prisoner until the close of the war, when he was released and ordered to leave the country. He went to Europe, where he remained until President Johnson revoked the order, when he returned to America, and in 1867 came to Louisville. He graduated from the law department of the University of Louisville, in 1868, but did not enter into practice. He opened an insurance business, in which he is still engaged, and in which he has been very successful, winning an honorable reputation among the business men of the city by his unimpeachable integrity. Upon the re-organization of the Louisville Legion, First Regiment, Kentucky State Guards, in 1878, he was made its colonel—a position he still holds, and in testimony of his soldierly qualities, and his ability for the important position, it is only necessary to say that he is idolized by his soldiers. When Hon. J. Proctor Knott was elected governor, he appointed Col. Castleman adjutant-general of the State, and, as in all positions held by him, he discharged his duties to the satisfaction of all with whom he came in contact officially or otherwise. Upon the expiration of his term as adjutant-general, Gov. Knott publicly presented him a sword, and in his presentation speech, characterized Col. Castleman as "Trusted adviser and faithful friend." The *Courier-Journal* editorially said: "Gen. John B. Castleman's services as adjutant-general are no more



highly appreciated by Gov. Knott than by the people of the State at large. He has infused a new spirit of pride into the State Guard, and he has at the same time subjected it to severe, but needed, discipline. The expiration of Gen. Castleman's term of service restores him to all the rights, privileges and duties of a citizen of Louisville. If he had refused to serve our people as mayor, he would have been just in the position to be selected as Gov. Buckner's successor. In office or out, Gen. Castleman is a good citizen, and Louisville knows that he is always in her service." Gen. Castleman was urged to become candidate for mayor of Louisville in 1887, but declined the honor. Under the new mayor, Hon. Charles D. Jacob, he was offered the responsible place—chief-of-police—but this office he also declined, preferring the position of a private citizen and business man.

W. CARROLL CHAPMAN, physician, was born in Hartford, Ky., June 17, 1863, and is a son of W. C. and Martha Ann (Collins) Chapman, native Kentuckians. His grandfather, David Chapman, was the first male child born in Kentucky, south of the Green River, and was born near the present town of Bowling Green. The house in which he was born, was of the pioneer type, and had port-holes to aid the inmates in defending themselves against the Indians, who attacked the house several times. On one occasion the Indians kept the cows out in the forest until one of the men, Jeff Chapman, went after them, when he was fired on, the bullet striking his powder horn, thus saving his life. David Chapman died in 1884, at the age of ninety-five years. The *Courier-Journal* published an interesting sketch of him, headed "One of Nature's Nobleman." The subject of this sketch was well educated. He studied medicine and graduated at the age of twenty years from the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Baltimore, Md., and was appointed resident physician of Maternity Hospital, in Baltimore, for a term of one year. He then came back to Kentucky and located at Cecilia, Hardin County, where he remained for about a year and a half, when he came to Louisville,

and opened an office here, and has been in active practice ever since. Dr. Chapman is a zealous member of the Baptist Church, and has been for twelve years. He has a brother, Byron Chapman, a merchant of La Fayette, Ind., and a sister, wife of Mr. Wood English, of Cecilia, Ky.

JAMES B. COCKE was born in 1836, and is a son of William A. and Matilda (Bridgeford) Cocke, the former of Lynchburg, Va., and the latter a daughter of Thomas Bridgeford of Louisville. William A. Cocke was marshal of the Chancery Court of Louisville several terms, and was sheriff under the old constitution of the State, when the oldest magistrate became sheriff of the county by virtue of his office. He was prominent in the city's early history, and died in 1844. James A. Cocke was brought up in Louisville, and was educated in the public schools. He is secretary and treasurer of the Kentucky and Louisville Mutual Insurance Company, a position he has held for ten years. He was married in November, 1861, to Miss Julia Crutchfield, a daughter of Maj. Edward Crutchfield, of Louisville. One child, James H., was born of this union. In February, 1887, his wife died. He entered the Confederate army in September, 1861, in the Second Kentucky Mounted Rifles, and served through the entire war. Mr. Cocke is an excellent business man, an enterprising citizen and a courteous gentleman.

LIEUTENANT HENRY S. COHN has the honor of having been the first drummer-boy that went to the front in April, 1861, from the State of Ohio, being then a member of Capt. Peter Diester's Company B (Dayton Lafayette Guard), First Ohio Volunteer Infantry. Lieut. Cohn was born in Hamburg, Germany, on the 4th of May, 1844, and was therefore not seventeen years old when he followed the flag of the Union. He emigrated to America in the spring of 1859, and after having tried to make an honest living by various ways, finally became a compositor on the *Waechterh am Ohio*, a German weekly published at Portsmouth, whence he went to Dayton a few days before the fall of Sumter. During the first term of enlistment he par-

ticipated in the engagements at Vienna, Va., Fairfax Court-house and Bull Run. On his return to Portsmouth he at once received the appointment of drum-major of the Fifth Virginia Infantry, United States Volunteer, and served with this regiment until August 22, 1862, participating in the following battles and engagements in Virginia: Moorefield, Bull Pasture Mountain, Franklin, Fisher's Hill, Mt. Jackson, Cross Keys, Port Republic, Culpeper, and on the Rappahannock. His next enlistment was in the One Hundred and Sixth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, where he entered as orderly sergeant and was as such wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Hartsville, Tenn., on December 7, 1862, while in command of his company. Referring to his services, the Hon. Pres. W. Taulbee, M. C. (to whom was referred a special bill in Congress allowing Lieut. Cohn his pension as lieutenant), says: "Henry S. Cohn enlisted as a member of the Ohio Lafayette Guards in 1861, he at the time being only seventeen years of age, and continued therein for about four months, participating in the first Bull Run fight, when he was mustered out of service on account of expiration of term of service. He then enlisted in the Fifth Virginia Regiment, and was appointed drum-major. Was honorably discharged therefrom in August, 1862, and at once joined the One Hundred and Sixth Ohio Infantry, and at the organization thereof was appointed first sergeant of Company G, then at the age of eighteen years, and served in that capacity until December, 1862. When at the battle of Hartsville, Tenn., his captain was killed, and the first and second lieutenants both mortally wounded; he took command of his company during the battle, and although his comrades were being killed at a fearful rate, this gallant young soldier led his company on to the hottest of the battle until a bullet prostrated him, inflicting a severe wound, from which he has never recovered and for which he is now drawing a pension. During this battle his entire brigade was captured and carried away as prisoners, leaving him with his killed and wounded comrades on the bloody field, when the surgeons of the Confederate army came on the field and car-

ried him with other wounded soldiers to Church Hospital, where he lingered for many months, until he sufficiently recovered to be moved to Camp Denison, Ohio, where he rejoined his command, and although his wounds had not healed, but were constantly troubling him, he was transferred to Company C, One Hundred and Sixth Ohio Regiment, and was by regimental orders appointed lieutenant of that company, and served in that capacity from February until 22d of May, 1863, when he was discharged on account of disability, resulting from his wounds. The committee believe that with such a record as the foregoing, Sergt. Cohn is entitled to the rank of lieutenant, and to be so rated on the pension roll, and therefore recommend the passage of the substitute." Having been used to military life he could not stay at home as long as the cannons roared in front, but not being able to stand the fatigues and hardships as before, being disabled, he became a clerk in the inspector general's department of the Second Division, Twentieth Army Corps, and served as such during the entire campaign of Gen. Sherman, starting from Bridgeport, Ala., in May, 1864, thence to Atlanta, Savannah, Columbia, Goldsborough, Raleigh, Richmond and Washington; thereby actually serving during the entire war from beginning to end. After the war Lieut. Cohn removed to Louisville, where he was first employed as a compositor on the *Anzeiger*, the leading German daily in Kentucky. He was afterward promoted to book-keeper in the same office, and when the business became a corporation, he became one of the stock-holders thereof, and now holds and has held for many years the honorable and lucrative position of Secretary of the Louisville *Anzeiger* Company. He is a member of Post Thomas G. A. R., K. of P., K. of H., and a number of German societies.

JOHN COLGAN, a leading druggist of Louisville, was born in that city December 18, 1840, and is a son of William and Elizabeth (Christopher) Colgan, natives of Virginia and Maryland respectively. John Colgan's paternal grandfather removed from Virginia to Kentucky about 1800, and settled on a farm in Shelby County. William Colgan came to



Louisville from Shelby County about 1823, and here followed his trade of house-building and general business of a mechanic. The subject of this sketch was educated in the common schools, and upon quitting, engaged in the drug business in 1860. During the war he was a political prisoner for four months in a Memphis prison, but through the influence of General Forrest was released through exchange. He immediately engaged in the drug business again, and in 1879 originated and began the manufacture of "Colgan's celebrated Taffa Tulu" chewing gum, which has large sales all over the United States, Canada and Australia. He employs on an average fifty hands in the factory, and the annual aggregate sales of his tulu amount to \$75,000 to \$100,000. Mr. Colgan was married, in 1866, to Miss Mattie McCrory, daughter of John McCrory, of Louisville, and has living five children—Bettie, William, Henry, Mabel and Clifton. In January, 1881, Mr. James A. McAfee became his partner, and ever since the firm of Colgan & McAfee on Tenth and Walnut streets has been well known in the city.

WILLIAM M. COLLINS, a native of Ireland, was born July 19, 1845, and in 1849 was brought to America by his parents, who settled in Louisville. He was educated in the common-schools of the city and at Bardstown, Ky. His first employment was as messenger for E. Buster two years, after which he passed four years on the farm with his father. In 1862 he returned to Louisville, and in June enlisted in Company A, Fifth Infantry, and served until after the battle of Chickamauga, when he was mustered out as sergeant. After the close of the civil war he joined John O'Neill's Fenian expedition to Canada, and took part in the fight at Ridgeway, as captain of a company raised in Louisville. He next went to Denver, Colo., where for a year he was engaged in the manufacture of vinegar and in distilling whisky. On his return to Louisville he served as clerk in the postoffice, and in the Internal Revenue service until 1875, and then engaged in the wholesale whisky business with Alvin Wood & Co. until 1883, when he entered into the distilling

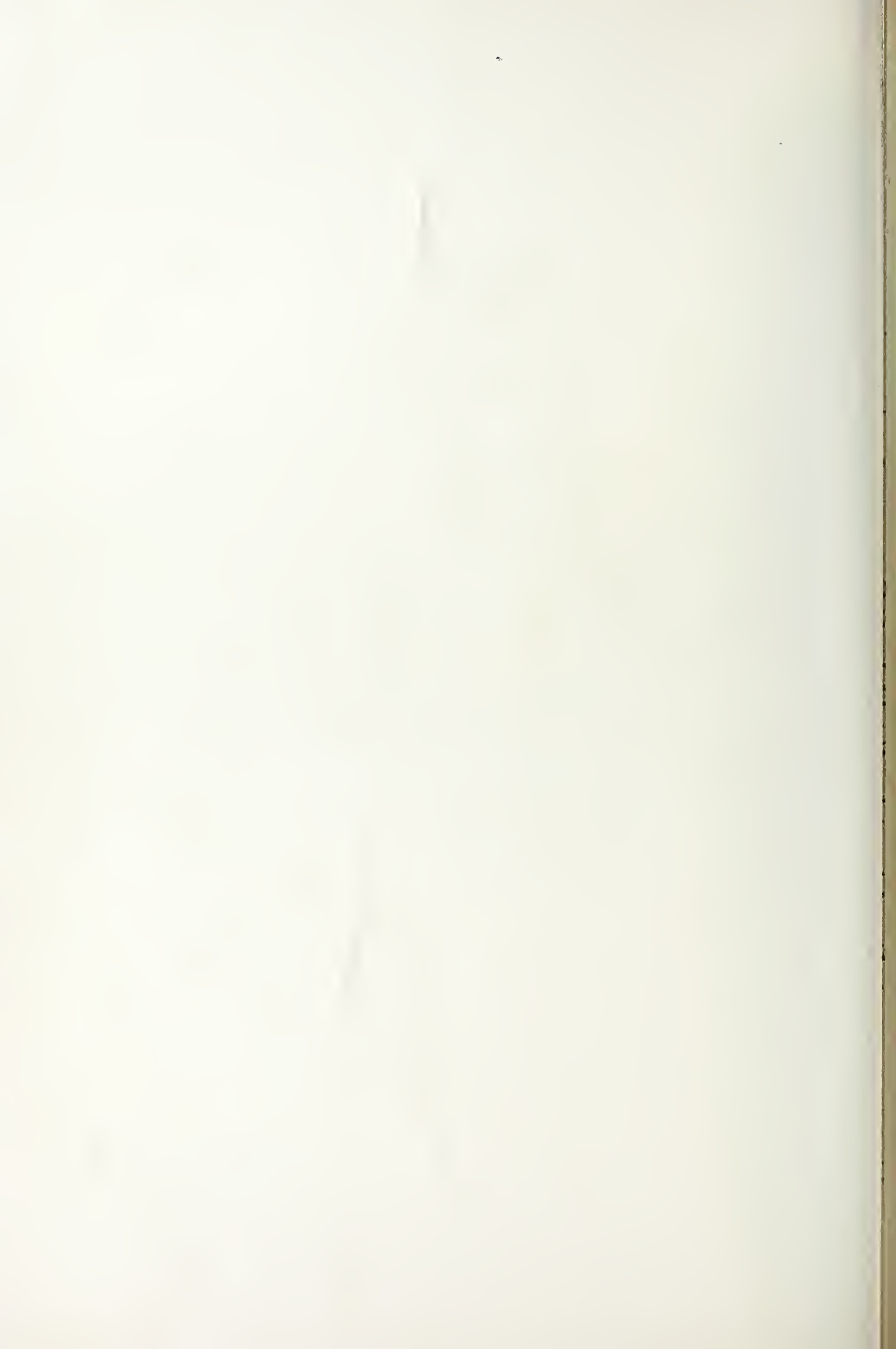
business on his own account at 104 and 106 East Main street. In 1872 he married Maggie H. Enright, who has borne him three children—Florence B., Kate E. and Charles William. Mr. Collins is a member of the G. A. R.

ARCHIBALD B. COOK, A. M., M. D., of this city, is of Irish and German extraction. John Cook, his father, who was born in County Derry, Ireland, at the age of sixteen came to America and located in Noblestown, Allegheny County, Pa., and for some years engaged in mercantile pursuits, but subsequently removed to the farm. He married Miss Kelso, a native of Allegheny County, Pa. Dr. A. B. Cook was born in Noblestown, Pa., September 23, 1828. He was educated at Jefferson College, Cannonsburgh, Pa. He had previously, however, spent some time at an academy in Wheeling, W. Va. While in college he was a close and hard-working student. He became a prominent member of the Franklin Literary Society, connected with Jefferson College, and while in his sophomore year was elected a member of the Lyceum Society—an honor rarely conferred on a sophomore, as the membership of that society was limited, and as it was their custom only to admit members of the senior and junior classes. From this institution he received the degree of A. B. in 1848, and the degree of A. M. in 1851. After being occupied for a short time in teaching in Jefferson County, Ky., in 1849 he began the study of medicine under Dr. J. A. Glenn, of Sharpsburg, Pa. In 1851 he attended lectures at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, and subsequently at the Kentucky School of Medicine, Louisville, from which he graduated in the spring of 1853. He first settled in New Castle, Henry County, Ky., removing to Louisville in 1854. He has successfully performed operations for ovariotomy and lithotomy; also has reduced dislocation of the hip joint by manipulation on the *dorsum ilii*. He became a member of the American Medical Association in 1855; was a member of the Kentucky State Medical Society; of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, of which he was vice-president; and of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Louisville.



*A. V. Hook M.D.*





The following are some of his contributions to the literature of his profession: "Chloroform—its Obstetric Use."—(inaugural thesis) *Louisville Medical Gazette*, 1853; "Fixed Apparatus for the Immediate Dressing of Fractures of Femur; Securing Bone Union in the Intra Capsular Fractures of Old Persons," etc.—*Semi-Monthly Medical News*, 1859; "Joined Twins, with Plates (his own wood-cuts), Dislocation," etc.—*Richmond & Louisville Medical Journal*, 1869; "Operation for Adhesion of Soft Palate and Uvula to the Posterior Wall of the Pharynx, with Dressing with Lead Plates," etc. etc.; and on the "Value of Cincho Quinine in the Treatment of Intermittent and Remittent Fever," both of the latter published in the *Medical and Surgical Reporter*; "Case of Gunshot wound; Ball Penetrating the Base of Left Lung, Diaphragm, Left Kidney, and Lodging in the Erector Spinal Muscles," etc.—*Louisville Medical Gazette*, 1858; "Extraction of Five False Teeth, with Plate attached from the Cardiac Orifice of the *Æsophagus*, which had been swallowed five months previous, causing Stricture of the *Æsophagus*."—*American Medical Bi-Weekly*, October, 1877; "Complicated Fracture."—Same, September, 1878; "How to Elevate the Standard of Medical Education and Medical Teaching."—Same, April 26, 1879; "Dislocation of the Shoulder Joint, caused by Muscular Spasm of Six Months' Standing, Successfully Reduced."—*Richmond & Louisville Medical Journal*, May, 1875; "Poisoning by Cannabis Indica."—*The American Practitioner*, July, 1884; "Ruptured Urethra," February, 1885; "Lacerated Perineum of Eight Years' Standing," successful, March, 1884; "Complete Laceration of the Perineum and Recto-Vaginal Septum, Resulting from Forceps Delivery, Primary Operation, complicated with Traumatic Erysipelas," successful result, August, 1885; "Surgical Diseases resulting from Infrequent Causes," January, 1886, all published in *Guillard's Medical Journal*; "Elixir Paraldehyde, the Coming Remedy as a substitute for Opiates and Anodynes."—*Medical Progress*, January, 1888, etc. etc. etc. "Elixir Paraldehyde in Puerperal Eclampsia, dead

Fœtus, Seventh Month of Pregnancy, Albuminous Urine, Good Recovery," *Guillard's Medical Journal*, 1888, etc. etc. etc. In 1855 Doctor Cook was elected professor of anatomy and demonstrator of anatomy in the Kentucky School of Medicine, a position he held until 1856, when he was elected to the latter position in the medical department of the University of Louisville. This he also held for several years, the while also teaching private classes in medical branches and giving special lectures in surgery and surgical anatomy. In 1863 he was elected professor of surgery in the Kentucky School of Medicine; and in 1866, the two medical faculties uniting, he took the chair of the surgical diseases of the genito-urinary organs and rectum in the University of Louisville. In 1867, he was again elected to the chair of principles and practice of surgery in the Kentucky School of Medicine, and he was then president and registrar of the faculty. In 1875 he was elected to the same chair in the Louisville Medical College, filling both positions until 1877, when the chair of the Kentucky School of Medicine was changed to embrace the science and art of surgery and clinical surgery. He was for ten years physician to the Episcopal Orphan Asylum; for several years connected with dispensaries for the benefit of the poor, and for twenty years, one of the surgeons in the Louisville City Marine Hospital. In 1860 he was appointed surgeon, with the rank of major, on General Buckner's staff, Kentucky State Guards; acted as surgeon of volunteers in 1863, and received the appointment to organize the invalid corps. He has been a member of the Board of Health of Louisville, was a member of the Board of Commissioners of Public Charities, of Louisville, during 1870, and chairman of the hospital committee. In February, 1872, he married Mrs. Fannie M. Roberts, of Louisville. She died November 29, 1886, leaving no children.

R. B. COTTER, one of the most extensive manufacturers and wholesale lumber dealers in Louisville, is a native of this State, having been born in Bardstown in the year 1856. Early in life he moved to this city, where he was educated, and for some time was interested



in the iron business, but during the past seven years has been engaged exclusively in the lumber trade. The office and lumber yard of Mr. Cotter are located on the corner of Eighth and Zane streets. The yard covers an area of about three and one-quarter acres, and, being near the main stem of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, has side-tracks running into it, which greatly facilitate the receiving and shipping of goods. He carries a very large stock of pine and hardwood lumber—mostly hardwood—making a specialty of poplar or whitewood, selling at wholesale only and in carload lots. His trade here is quiet large and extends east, west, north and south—also through Canada and Europe. Last year the sales of lumber amounted to 18,000,000 feet. The well equipped planing mill in the yard is kept constantly running, dressing and working lumber for various uses, the pay-roll amounting to \$1,000 per week. This is the kind of industry that builds up a city and adds to its wealth and prosperity. Mr. Cotter owns several thousand acres of the timber lands in Kentucky, Tennessee and Indiana, and his resources for procuring the very best quality of hardwood lumber to meet the growing demands of his trade are almost inexhaustible. He owns and operates a saw-mill in eastern Kentucky, one in Tennessee and another in Indiana, besides a floating mill, "Old Hickory," operating on the Ohio River and its tributaries. This floating saw-mill draws less than two feet of water and can navigate the smallest streams, where a force of men is constantly engaged sawing timber and loading it on barges for transportation to Louisville. His growing trade renders it necessary for him to buy the cuts of several other mills. The secret of the success of this enterprising young merchant is found in a thorough knowledge of the business he is engaged in and reliability in filling orders according to contract. Mr. Cotter was married to Miss Anna R. Mosset, of Newport, Ky., in 1887. She is a daughter of Capt. A. J. Mosset, who is proprietor of several lines of steamboats.

HON. ATTILLA COX, Collector of Internal Revenue at Louisville, was born in

Carroll County, this State, August 16, 1843, and is a son of James P. and Felicia (Obouscier) Cox. The former was a native of Orange County, Va., came to Kentucky and was a prominent business man in Carroll County. Mr. Cox's maternal grandfather, Luke Obouscier was a native of Lausanne, Switzerland. He came to the United States many years ago, and to Kentucky, and settled in the town of Ghent in Carroll County. Mr. Cox, the subject of this sketch, was brought up and educated in the schools of his native county. He followed merchandizing, trading and banking successfully at Owenton, and was interested in many other enterprises for the improvement and development of his county. He was twice elected to the State Senate, and in 1884 was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention at Chicago, and a member of the committee to notify Mr. Cleveland of his nomination. He was appointed on the 10th of June, 1885, by President Cleveland, Collector of Internal Revenue of this district, which position he now fills, and the duties of which he has efficiently discharged. Mr. Cox was married in 1869 to Miss Kate Martin, a daughter of Judge J. B. Martin, of Owen County. He is a man of sterling integrity, of fine intelligence and business energy, and large personal and political influence.

GEORGE M. CRAWFORD was born in Louisville, February 10, 1856, and is a son of Robert I. and Margaret (Craig) Crawford, natives of Virginia. The former came to Louisville in 1845, and engaged in the wholesale dry goods business. He is now book-keeper and cashier of Falls City Tobacco Warehouse, Louisville. He was born October 12, 1821, and has four sons living, viz: Alexander W., Presbyterian minister and pastor of a church at Campbellsville, Ky.; Newton G., manager of the Phoenix Storage Co.; Brown C., book-keeper at Glover & Durrett's tobacco warehouse, and George M. George M. Crawford was educated in the public schools of Louisville, and afterwards entered the hardware store of Hart & Co., as book-keeper and cashier, where he remained for over four years. Then for five years he was with the Kentucky Flour Company; then became pres-







J. S. COOMES.

ident of the Tobacco Transfer Co., which he organized in 1885, and is still operating. He has been a director in the Westview Building Company for three years, and is at present secretary and treasurer, and general manager of the same. He was married in August, 1883, to Miss Abbie N. Tate, of Lexington, Mo. They have one child—Magnus Tate.

RICHARD CROUM, Bullitt County, was born in Green County in 1820. He is the fifth of ten children born to Henry and Nancy (Skaggs) Croum, the former a native of North Carolina, the latter a daughter of Moses Skaggs, of Green County. Henry C. was a gallant soldier in the war of 1812, and bore an honorable part in the memorable battle of New Orleans. The subject of this sketch was reared in Green County, and received but a limited education. He married Miss Frances Towns, and to them have been born two children, viz: Elam, born March 10, 1860, and Bert, born May 12, 1862. When the civil war broke out in 1861, Mr. Croum enlisted in the Thirteenth Kentucky (Federal) Infantry, and served to the close of the war, receiving an honorable discharge, in 1865, at Chattanooga.

GEORGE L. DANFORTH was born July 24, 1854, and is a son of the late Joseph Lewis Danforth of this city. The latter was a native of Louisville, and was born January 21, 1821, and died October 29, 1887. He was a son of Joseph and Lucy Shaw (Lewis) Danforth—the latter a lineal descendant of Mary Chilton, who is said to have been first of the pilgrim band to set foot on Plymouth Rock. Mr. Joseph L. Danforth received a liberal education, graduating with honors from Harvard University. His tastes, however, tended toward commercial instead of literary pursuits, and after completing his education he was taken into the wholesale dry goods house of his father, and the firm became J. Danforth & Son, long well known and prominent in the commercial circles of the city. Mr. Danforth subsequently engaged in the insurance business, and was prominently identified with it for a period of thirty years. For twenty-five years he was president of the Board of Underwriters, which body, upon his decease,

adopted appropriate memorial services. He served several terms in the school board, and was elected its president, but aside from this service, he never sought public office. Of a modest, unassuming disposition, he also possessed a clear understanding, and his judgment had great weight with those with whom he was associated in business or social life. He was thoroughly honorable, and no man stood higher in the estimation of those who knew him. His wife and five children survive him. The latter are: Mrs. Victor H. Newcomb, of New York City; Mrs. Smith, the wife of Mr. Newcomb's secretary; Mrs. Charles Johnson, of this city; an unmarried daughter, and George L., whose name heads this sketch. The latter gentleman was brought up in Louisville, and received a liberal education. He was taken into partnership with his father in the insurance business, in which he is still engaged. He is one of the live young business men of the city, and stands high among his fellows. He is president of the Louisville Spoke Company, and is prominently connected with other business enterprises, notably of which is farming and the breeding of fine horses, a pursuit more or less interesting to all Kentuckians. He was married in 1877 to Miss Florence Standiford, daughter of the late Dr. E. D. Standiford of this city. They have five children.

GEORGE M. DAVIE, one of the prominent lawyers of Louisville, was born in Christian County, Ky., March 16, 1848, and is a son of Hon. Winston J. and Sarah A. (Philips) Davie. His ancestry were persons of the highest social position. His grandparents were North Carolinians; his mother was an accomplished lady, a native of Columbus, Ga. His father was a Kentuckian, born also in Christian County. Mr. Davie's education was thorough, he having been a student at Centre College, Danville, Ky., and in 1865 he entered Princeton College, New Jersey, from which he graduated with honor in 1868. He came to Louisville the following year, and commenced the study of law with Col. Robert Woolley, a man whose brilliant ability was almost unequalled in Kentucky. He was admitted to the bar in 1870, and commenced



practice in 1871, in the office of Muir & Bijur; in 1874 he was admitted a member of the firm. In 1877 the firm became Bijur & Davie. Upon the death of Mr. Bijur in 1882, Mr. Davie formed a copartnership with Col. John Mason Brown, his brother-in-law, and in 1885 Judge Alex. P. Humphrey was admitted, the firm now being Brown, Humphrey & Davie. Mr. Davie was married December 5, 1878, to Miss Margaret Howard Preston, a daughter of Gen. William Preston, of Lexington, Ky. One child has been born to this union. Mr. Davie is devoted to his profession, and has given but little time to politics. He has, however, been for five or six years, chairman of the Democratic committee of his district.

WILLIAM DAWSON, a farmer residing near Pitt's Point, Bullitt County, was born February 18, 1818, in Nelson County, Ky. His father, George W. Dawson, was born in Virginia in 1752, and immigrated to Kentucky about the year 1771. He was a revolutionary soldier from Kentucky, and subsequently volunteered in the war of 1812, serving as a private at the battle of New Orleans, also in various engagements with the Indians, and was with General Harrison at the battle of Fort Harrison, near Terre Haute, Ind. George W. lived to be eighty-six years of age. The maiden name of subject's mother was Catherine Ballard. William Dawson, the subject of this sketch, was the seventh child born to his parents; he settled in Bullitt County in 1834, and is one of the substantial farmers of that county. He was married to Miss Margaret Ann Lee, August 16, 1838. In the late civil war he enlisted in August, 1861, in the Sixth Kentucky Volunteers, under General John C. Breckinridge, and participated in the battle of Shiloh and other historic engagements. He returned to his farm of 1900 acres in 1863.

WILLIAM B. DOHERTY, M. D., is a native of Ireland, and was born in Donegal County, January 24, 1847. His parents died in Ireland, but he was liberally educated. After going through the National schools and teaching for a time, he took a classical course. He came to New York in July, 1867, and for a time taught school. In the meantime he

began the study of medicine. He came to Kentucky in 1869, and graduated from the medical department of the University of Louisville in 1872, and has practiced ever since. For six years he was clinical assistant to Profs. Parvin and Holland, both now of Philadelphia. He served for two years on the Louisville Hospital staff. In 1886 he visited Europe, where he attended the hospitals of Dublin, London, Berlin and Vienna. He was married in April, 1875, to Miss Tillie R. Deppen, a daughter of J. L. Deppen, a well known citizen of Louisville. He is secretary of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, one of the oldest medical societies in the United States, having been established in 1832, and chartered by the Legislature of Kentucky in 1838. Prof. Gross was the first president, and Austin Flint and Lewis Rogers among the incorporators. He is Medical Examiner for the Catholic Knights of America, and other insurance companies, and is visiting physician to Sts. Mary and Elizabeth Hospitals.

DRENNON SULPHUR SPRINGS, situated in Henry County, on the Kentucky River in the State of Kentucky, at one time a celebrated watering place, was once owned by Dr. Robert Hunter, whose father was captain and surgeon in the U. S. army. He was a descendant in a direct line of an illustrious race of surgeons, natives of Ireland. Dr. Robert Hunter, while owner and resident of these valuable springs, was acknowledged a courteous and hospitable host; generous to all, he made his guests forget they had a home elsewhere than under his roof. Dr. Robert Hunter, though pre-eminently endowed by nature, and fitted by education, to hold and follow the august and dignified profession which had distinguished his ancestors, relinquished ambition, and followed the dictates of a refined and poetic nature, which this wild and romantic country gratified. These springs were afterward bought and extensively improved by his son-in-law, Abram Owen Smith, son of Thos. Smith, president of the first railroad in the State of Kentucky. Thos. Smith died of cholera in New Castle, Henry County, Ky., July 21, 1850. His wife was Harriet Owen, daughter of Colonel







Yours truly  
Jesse Dugan

Abram Owen, who fell at the battle of Tippecanoe. She was a descendant of the Dupey family, of France. The present site of the Drennon Springs presents not a vestige of its former grandeur, and its capacity to accommodate over a thousand people. The entire buildings, with all their military parade grounds, and ample construction for a military institution, were destroyed by fire about the year 1865. To-day the wild buffalo might roam unmolested among the surrounding hills that border the Kentucky River. Where music and gayety resounded, silence reigns. The murmuring river and sighing winds sing unbroken requiem to the teeming past. But the unceasing, bubbling water, so highly esteemed by Dr. Samuel Gross, of Louisville, Ky., still holds medicinal virtue, still give proof of their hold upon the gratitude of so many who found relief in the secluded haunts of that romantic region.

WILLIAM A. DUCKWALL was born June 11, 1817, in Morgan County, Va., and is a son of Isaac and Amelia (Clover) Duckwall, natives of Virginia. He came to Clermont County, Ohio, in 1836, and there married Sarah Ann Jenkins, April 25, 1838; the year following he came to New Albany, Ind., and in 1840 to Louisville, where, in connection with his brother David, he was engaged in running hacks and omnibuses from Portland to Louisville; at this time he was also engaged in the produce business. The omnibus line was continued with much competition by other omnibus lines both from Cincinnati and at home, but by his strict attention to business, caused the opposition lines to withdraw. Mr. Isiam Henderson and others built a street railway from Twelfth street to Portland, and run it in opposition to the omnibus line; after a time a compromise was made by running the omnibuses from Twelfth street to other parts of the city, the proceeds of the receipts of which being equally divided, but after a time sold out to them. The produce business was continued, and in 1856, taking W. H. Troxell as a partner, consolidated with D. Duckwall, of the boat store business, thus forming the firm of Duckwall, Troxell & Co. Afterwards, in order to give

an increase to the business, the firm became interested in several fine steamboats. In 1858, with Alex. Hunter, bought the Connor interest in the New Albany and Portland Ferries, which interest he still holds. In 1872, upon the dissolution of Duckwall, Troxell & Co., he retired from active business and moved to the country, where he had purchased lands. On the 12th of July, 1875, Mrs. Duckwall died after a brief illness. There were seven children, three having died when quite young. Mrs. Amelia Kate Duckwall Hunter, the beautiful and accomplished wife of Alex. Hunter, died May 20, 1870. The remaining children, David T. Duckwall, Mrs. E. Laura Fitch and W. A. Duckwall, Jr., are now living.

IRWIN DUGAN was born June 29, 1846, in Brown County, Ohio, and is a son of Robert C. and Elizabeth Bryant Dugan, of Scotch-Irish and Welsh extraction respectively. The former was reared a Quaker in Chester County, Pa., and held many important positions of honor and trust in Brown County, Ohio, where he moved in 1817. When the subject was five years old his parents removed to Covington, Ky., and in the schools of that city he was principally educated. There his honored father died in 1876; his mother is still living in Louisville, and recently celebrated her eighty-first birthday. He attended Commercial College at Cincinnati, and at the age of fourteen went to Blount, Tenn., where he learned telegraphy, remaining there until the civil war broke out. He then returned to Kentucky, and re-entered the school at Covington. In 1863 he went to Crothersville, Ind., as telegraph operator for two years, then to Seymour as telegraph operator and ticket agent for two years, then to Holly Springs, Miss., and thence to Memphis, Tenn. In 1872 he went on the river, as clerk, and soon became captain of the steamer T. F. Eckert, and four years later was elected president of the Dugan Towing Transportation and Wrecking Company of Louisville, Ky., which position he held until 1885, in September. He came to Louisville in 1876, and also engaged in the coal business as junior member of the firm of Dugan & Co. He was

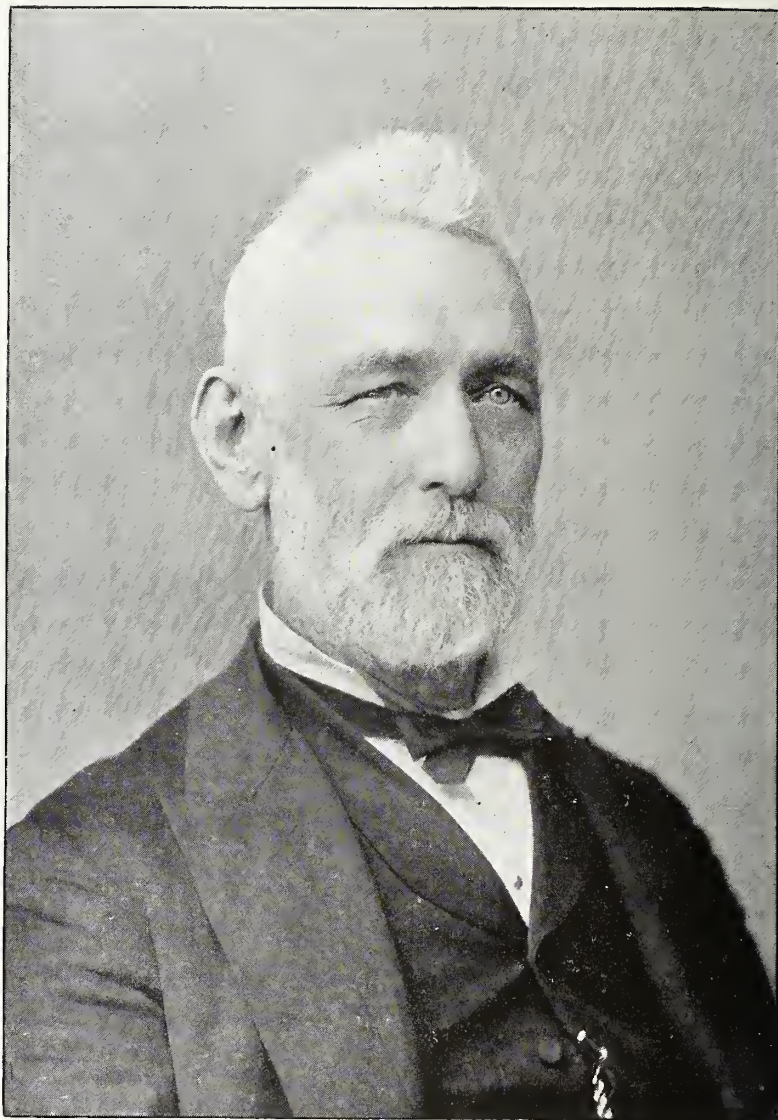


married in 1883 to Miss Mattie G. Dickson, daughter of Francis W. Dickson, a retired business man of Louisville. They have two children: Frank Irwin and Martin Elizabeth. Captain Dugan was appointed Supervising Inspector of Steam Vessels of the Sixth District, by President Cleveland, Sept. 14, 1885, which district embraces the Ohio river from Carrollton, Ky., to Cairo, the Mississippi river from Greenfield Mo., to Greenville, Miss., and all navigable waters flowing in between these points, including the Cumberland, Tennessee, White and Wabash in Indiana, White and Arkansas rivers in Arkansas, and altogether about eight thousand miles of navigable water. Captain Dugan has made a very efficient and popular inspector, and enjoys the universal respect of his subordinates as well as the men whose business brings him in contact with. He was recommended to the President for appointment to the position he now holds, by nearly all the owners and managers of steam-vessels (without regard to politics) from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, and by the underwriters at Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville, Evansville, Ind., St. Louis, Memphis, Vicksburg and New Orleans. He has eight assistant (or local) inspectors, two stationed at each of the following cities: Louisville, Ky., Evansville, Ind., Memphis and Nashville, Tenn., all of whom were appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury upon the recommendation of Captain Dugan, who selected them for their knowledge, skill and practical experience in the uses of steam for navigation, and their temperate habits and good character. He is very tenacious of the rights of the traveling public, and his subordinate officers give him their hearty co-operation. Unless a person be of temperate habits and qualified by experience to perform the duties of an officer on steam-vessels he is refused a license. That Captain Dugan has made no mistake in the selection of his staff-officers is shown by the fact that since he assumed the duties of the office more than two and one-half millions of human beings have been carried annually on steam-vessels in his district, with the loss of but one passenger, a record he may well be proud of.

CHARLES E. DUNN, one of the exemplary citizens of Louisville, is a son of John O. and Augusta (Stansbury) Dunn, the former a native of Washington, D. C., and still remembered by some of the old citizens of Louisville as a steamboat-man, the latter a native of New York City, and a daughter of A. J. Stansbury, a reporter of the *National Intelligencer* in the United States Senate and House of Representatives. They came to Louisville in 1832, where the subject of this sketch was born, August 30, 1840. He was educated in the public schools of Louisville, and mainly through his own exertions obtained a good practical education, and in the meantime studied dentistry. In the winter of 1858-59 he attended the Kentucky School of Medicine, and the next winter graduated from the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. He then returned to Louisville, and commenced the practice of his profession, as assistant of Dr. E. W. Mason, with whom he remained until the fall of 1860, when he started up for himself, and has so continued to the present time, having his office upon the same square—on Second street, between Green and Walnut. He was married in November, 1876 (the next day after Samuel J. Tilden was elected President of the United States), to Miss Susanna Thorpe, of Mount Washington, Baltimore Co., Md. She is a daughter of Charles J. R. Thorpe, who was assistant postmaster of Baltimore for many years. Four children have been born to this union, three of whom are living, viz: Oswald T., Susanna and Augusta. One, Louis Cummins, died August 20, 1887. Dr. Dunn is one of the leading Freemasons of Louisville, and has passed through all the different grades of the order from the blue lodge to the commandery. He is a Past Master of Abraham Lodge, No. 8; Past High Priest of Louisville R. A. Chapter, No. 5; Past Thrice Illustrious of Louisville Council, No. 4; Past Commander of Louisville Commandery, No. 1; Past Grand High Priest of the Grand R. A. Chapter of Kentucky, and Past Grand Master of the Grand Council of Kentucky, and at present is a member of the Board of Directors of the Masonic Widows' and Orphans' Home at







R. T. DURRETT.

Louisville. He was elected President of the "Kentucky State Dental Association," at the annual meeting June 1, 1875, and served the ensuing year. At the June meeting 1881, he was elected secretary, to which office he has been re-elected, and served in ever since.

REUBEN THOMAS DURRETT, a son of William and Elizabeth Rawlings Durrett, was born in Henry County, Kentucky, January 22, 1824. His grandfather, Francis Durrett, after going through the Illinois campaign of 1778-79, under Gen. George Rogers Clark, returned to his home in Virginia, whence the family removed to Kentucky and settled on land selected in Henry County, while it was part of Virginia. Here his father, after early shelter in the conventional log-house of the times, with the labor of his negroes, molding brick, sawing lumber, riving shingles, etc., built the first brick house in Henry County, which stands to-day, at the old homestead, two miles north of New Castle, as solid as it was when erected nearly a century ago. The Durrettts are of French origin, the name having been originally spelt Duret. The family traditions extend back to Louis Duret, an eminent physician who flourished in France during the last half of the sixteenth century. Some curious old books, published by him and his descendants, have been preserved all these years in the the family, and are now in the possession of the subject of this sketch. Early in the seventeenth century, some of the Durets of the Protestant faith, smarting under the effects of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, crossed the channel and established themselves in England. In 1644 Christopher Duret was prominently connected with the Baptist Church in London, and his name appears to the address accompanying the Confession of Faith put forth that year. In England the French sound of the letters making Duret as if written *Duray*, was lost, and the name pronounced as it was spelled. In the course of time this pronunciation was emphasized, by doubling the "r" and the "t," thus making the name Durrett, as we have it now. About 1730, John Durrett left England, and making his way across the ocean to Virginia, settled upon a tract of

land which he purchased in Spottsylvania County. A few years later he was followed by Bartholomew Durrett and Richard Durrett, both of them likewise purchasing lands and settling in Spottsylvania County. These were the ancestors of the Durrettts in America, the subject of this sketch claiming descent from his great-grandfather John Durrett. Mr. Durrett, after deriving such advantages as the schools of his native county afforded, was in Georgetown College, Kentucky, from 1844 to 1846. He then went to Brown University, in Providence, Rhode Island, where he was graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1849, followed in 1853 by the degree of A. M., for continued progress in learning. Immediately after graduating, he began the study of law, and applied himself with such diligence during the summer and fall of 1849 that he was enabled to combine the two years' course of the Law Department of the University of Louisville in one, and graduated with the degree of LL. B., in 1850. He at once began practice at the Louisville bar, which was continued until 1880, when he felt that his success had yielded him a sufficient competence on which to retire. During Mr. Durrett's thirty years at the bar, he never permitted himself to be drawn aside into politics. In 1852 he was appointed assistant elector on the Scott and Graham ticket, and in this capacity made a number of speeches, and this was the nearest he ever came to holding a political office. He was ever ready to help others to political preferment, but wanted no office for himself, although important ones were more than once within his reach. When Beriah Magoffin made the race for Governor of Kentucky in 1859, Mr. Durrett took an active part in his behalf. After his election, Gov. Magoffin sent for him and asked what he could do for him. Mr. Durrett having answered that he desired no office, the governor responded that he would make him one of his aids anyhow, and after his inauguration sent him a commission as colonel. In this way Mr. Durrett got the epithet of Colonel, which has stuck to him ever since. Mr. Durrett deserves notice as an orator, a poet, and a writer. His valedictory address when he graduated at



the law school in 1850, his Fourth of July oration at the invitation of the City Council of Louisville, in 1852, his address before the Kentucky Mechanics' Institute in 1856, and his Centennial address at Louisville in 1880, all of which have been published, have been admired for their learning and eloquence. Quite a number of his speeches in the Court House have also found their way into the newspapers of the day on account of the impression they produced when delivered. He has not of late indulged in poetry, but while he was younger he quite often wrote verses, and in such style as to impart much pleasure to others. His "Night Scene at Drennon Springs" in 1850, his "Thoughts over the Grave of Rev. Thomas Smith," in 1852, his "Old Year and New in the Coliseum at Rome" in 1858, and his numerous pieces sometimes full of humor published in the newspapers from 1850 to the beginning of the civil war, entitle him to high rank among our Western poets. It is as a prose writer, however, that Mr. Durrett's fame will probably be most lasting. He began writing for the newspapers as soon as he left college, and has kept it up ever since, though most of his writings have been published anonymously, or as editorials for which he received no credit. He was from 1857 to 1859, editor of the old *Louisville Courier*, and presented his editorials in that paper with such learning, ability, and fascination of style, as to secure him high rank among our most popular and effective writers. Of late years his writings have been principally of an historic character, particularly distinguished for original research and mastery of the subject. His articles in the *Southern Bivouac* for March, April and May, 1886, on "The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99," may be taken as specimens of the character of his historic writings. In these articles he corrected the errors which three-quarters of a century had thrown around these famous resolutions, and placed them in a new and lasting light that was just to the great men concerned in their production, and responsible for their consequences. In 1884, a number of gentlemen of Louisville, who took an interest in historic

subjects, joined Mr. Durrett in the organization of a club for the purpose of collecting and preserving the history of Kentucky. The association was called "The Filson Club," in honor of John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky. Mr. Durrett was made president of the club, and requested to prepare and read at its next meeting, a sketch of John Filson. This he did, and the article thus prepared and read, afterwards appeared in print as "Filson Club Publications No. 1." This is, perhaps, the best production that we have yet had from the pen of Mr. Durrett, and its original matter, pleasing style, and attractive appearance will make it a valuable and permanent contribution to the history of the country. In gratifying his literary taste, Mr. Durrett has collected a large and valuable library—the largest and most valuable private collection perhaps in the West. His collection of Kentucky books has no equal, he having made it a point to secure every printed work or manuscript written by a Kentuckian or written about Kentucky or Kentuckians or containing anything about Kentucky, of that was printed or written in Kentucky. He has also embraced in his "Bibliotheca Kentuckiensis" books which once belonged to eminent Kentuckians, especially of the pioneer period, and in this line preserved many quaint volumes, much valued by persons of antiquarian taste. While his collection is not so exhaustive with regard to any other State he has most of the histories of the United States, and of the different States and Territories, and nearly all of the important works known as Americana. He has also the best histories and standard works of other countries so that within his own library walls he has all the sources of information he may need in the investigation of any subject to which his attention is directed. This vast collection moreover, is not selfishly confined to the wants of its owner alone, but is free to the use of every one in search of knowledge. Mr. Durrett is exceptionally conversant with the contents of his books, and there is nothing in which he takes more pleasure than in making his great library useful to others. In recog-

dition of his learning and enterprise in behalf of knowledge, Mr. Durrett has been made a member of many of the historic associations and learned societies of this country and Europe. He has always been a liberal contributor to the deserving charities of his time, and did more than any one else towards securing for Louisville the only free library now in its midst, having inaugurated the movement for establishing the Public Library of Kentucky, now the Polytechnic Society, and remained at the head of the enterprise until the valuable property now occupied on Fourth street was purchased, and the building thereon filled with books and specimens free to the use of every citizen. Scarcely less beneficial to the public was the establishment of the Louisville Abstract and Loan Association, now the "Kentucky Title Company," in which he took a leading part. This institution now enables our citizens to readily ascertain whether the title to the property they buy or sell is good or bad, and to cover all doubt by insuring their real estate against loss by defects of title. A plain, quiet, unpretending gentleman, of the old Virginia school, not often conspicuously connected with enterprises of a public character, he has yet, in his own unostentatious way, done an enviable part both as a private and public citizen. In 1852 Mr. Durrett was married to Miss Elizabeth Humphreys Bates, only daughter of Caleb and Elizabeth Templeton Bates, of Cincinnati, O. From this union came four children, only one of whom, Dr. William Templeton Durrett, survives.

HENRY ARTHUR DUVAL, M. D., was born in Louisville, August 18, 1847, and is a son of Claudius and Julia (Mercer) Duvall. The former was born near Annapolis, Md., May 27, 1814, and came to Louisville in 1836. For years he was a prominent merchant but is now retired, and for the past twenty years has enjoyed in ease the fruits of an industrious and well spent life. In early life, with his mother and brother, when visiting her relatives on Kent Island, on the eastern shore of Maryland, he was taken prisoner by the British when their fleet came up Chesapeake Bay for the purpose of attacking

North Point, near Baltimore, Md., where occurred one of the most desperately contested actions of the war of 1812. After coming to Louisville, Claudius Duvall, who had a military education, was commissioned colonel of the militia of the State and assisted in organizing the old Louisville Legion, which went to the front during the war with Mexico, but the colonel was obliged, by reason of his large and increasing business, to decline going with the Legion to engage in that war. Henry Duvall, the grandfather of our subject, was born in Maryland, and was a captain while his brother Lewis Duvall was a colonel in the United States army. Carver Mercer, maternal grandfather of Dr. H. Arthur Duvall, was a native of Virginia, came to Louisville at a very early day, owned 300 acres in the western part of the city, and also built the first brick house in its limits. He was a relative of Gen. Mercer, the famous Revolutionary hero. Dr. H. Arthur Duvall received his rudimentary education in the best schools of Louisville, Ky.; began the study of medicine in 1877, under Drs. Foree and Bolling, and graduated from the Hospital Medical College in 1880. He engaged in the general practice of medicine until 1885, when he made a specialty of nose, chest and throat disorders, in the treatment of which he has made a great success. He was married, in 1875, to Miss Anna B. Crowfoot, a daughter of Frank Crowfoot of Louisville, and to this marriage has been born one child, William T. Duvall, who, by the death of his mother when he was three months old, was left to the care of his grandmother Duvall, and by her was reared, and is now a promising youth of more than usual intelligence and vigor of constitution. The doctor was also successful in the introduction of the mechanical massage in the city of Louisville, Ky., which process is regarded by some of the most eminent medical men of the day as a curative agent of extraordinary power, and a remarkable improvement on manual massage. While Dr. Duvall does not claim to be the pioneer in the introduction of massage treatment of various diseases, he does claim to have brought this treatment not only to a high degree of perfection but to have met



with unusual success in relieving suffering humanity, especially all those cases amenable to massage treatment. Many chronic as well as stubborn cases have readily yielded to massage treatment in the skillful hands of Dr. H. Arthur Duvall, and it is destined at an early day to become one of the most important factors in the medical profession for the relief of diseases to which man is subjected.

GEO. B. EASTIN comes of good old Virginia stock, who came early to Kentucky. His father, Augustine Eastin, was a soldier of the war of 1812, and came to Kentucky immediately after leaving the army; his mother was Nancy Bryan, a daughter of William Bryan (of Bryan's Station), a brother-in-law to Daniel Boone. The subject was born in Fayette County, August 19, 1842. At the age of thirteen he entered Transylvania University, where he remained three years; he then spent two years at Georgetown, and graduated from Kenyon College in 1861. In the same fall he entered the Confederate army, in Morgan's command, and served with him through the war. He went in as a private, was promoted to lieutenant, in which capacity he served a year and a half, and was then promoted to captain. In 1866 he came to Louisville, and the next year graduated from the law department of the University of Louisville, and was admitted to the bar. He has practiced alone most of the time, but in January, 1885, he became a partner of Judge Thomas A. Hargis; he is also attorney for the Kentucky National Bank. Mr. Eastin was married, in 1868, to Miss Fanny Castleman, a daughter of David Castleman of Fayette County.

LOUIS ECKSTENKEMPER (deceased), was born in Steele, Germany, August 1, 1822. He came to America in about 1848, and directly to this city. For a few years after his arrival he engaged in several kinds of business, and by careful management was able to save up the necessary means to enable him to enter the lumber trade, which he did in 1866, having conducted a grocery business for the twelve years immediately previous. He married Franziska Pleiman in this city, June 17, 1851. They have six children

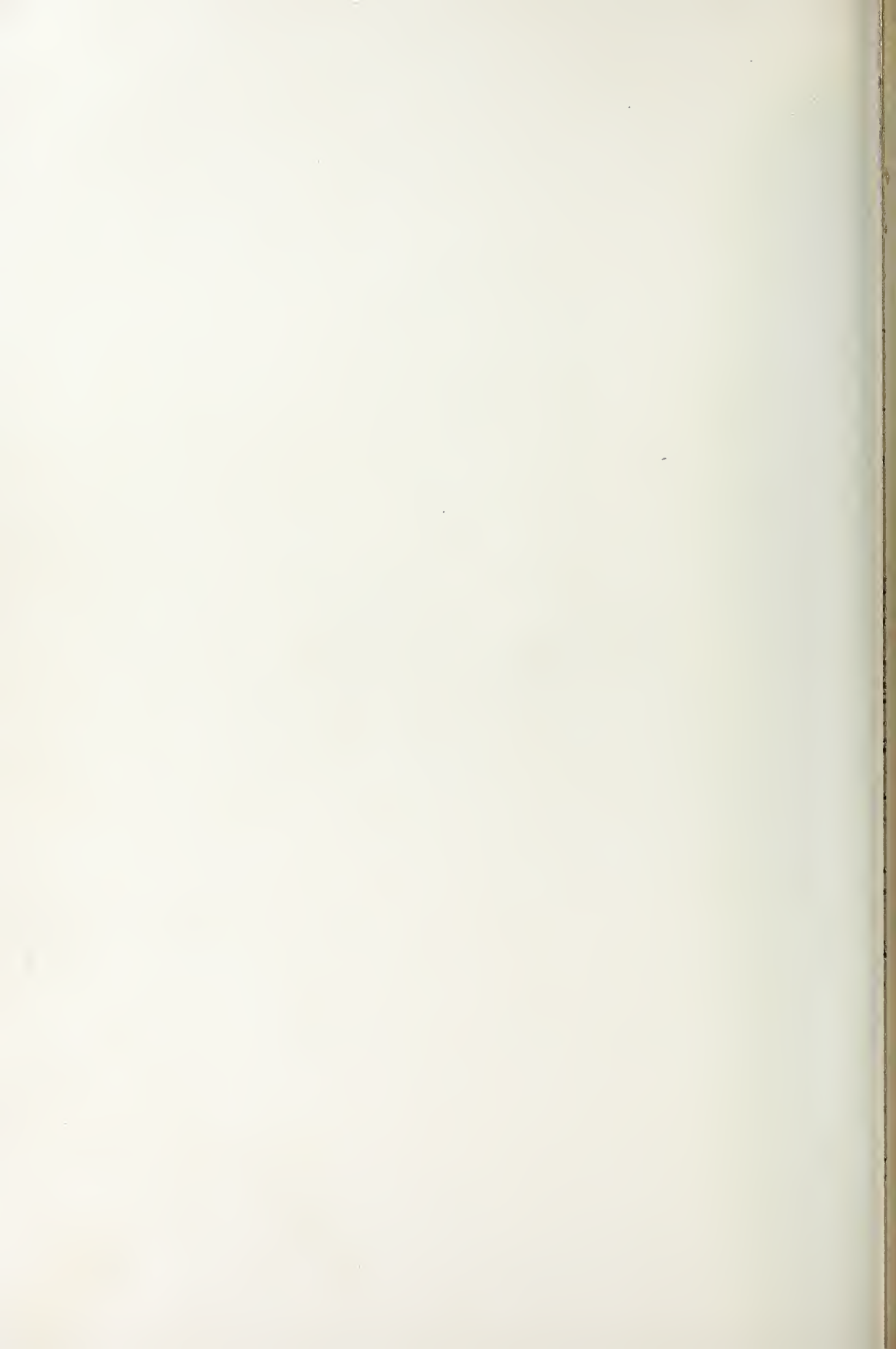
living: Louis, Jr., Matilda, Amalie, Alice, Edward and George. Matilda married Fred. Albright, of Shaw & Albright, shoe manufacturers and dealers; Amalie married William Winkler, wholesale grocer, of this city. Mr. Eckstenkemper died of typhoid fever May 29, 1886, highly esteemed by all his fellow citizens, his loss being severely felt by the people of Louisville, where for eighteen years he had served as director in the German Insurance Bank; also as president of the Louisville Warehouse Company. He was twice elected a member of the city School Board; was vice-president of the Liederkrantz society for fifteen years, and a member of the same society for twenty-five years. He was during most of his life in this city a worthy member of the Free and Accepted Masons, and for many years a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, whose members, by his death, lost a bright link in the chain that binds them to earth, but in whose memory his many virtues will ever be kept green.

JUDGE ISAAC W. EDWARDS was born in Barren County, Ky., September 19, 1832, and is a son of Isaac N. and Ann E. (Bohannon) Edwards, natives respectively of North Carolina and Virginia, the former coming to Kentucky in an early day. He came of Welsh stock, and was an active citizen, and died in 1867. The subject of this sketch was born on a farm, and reared in the country until he was seventeen years of age. He received such education as the common schools of that time afforded, and to supplement this he commenced teaching as soon as he felt capable of taking a country school. By the meager salary thus obtained he was enabled to spend a year (session of 1852-53) at Georgetown College. In the meantime he read law as he could find time, in his leisure hours, until the summer of 1855, when he went into the law office of his uncle, J. S. Bohannon, at Mumfordsville, Ky. In the spring of 1856, he was admitted to partnership with his uncle, which was continued for two years, and then dissolved by mutual consent. Mr. Edwards continued to practice law in Mumfordsville, until 1863, when he



*J. W. Edwards,*





formed a partnership with William Sampson, at Glasgow, afterward a Judge of the Court of Appeals. About the close of 1866, he came to Louisville and formed a partnership with Andy Barrett, which lasted for seven years. In 1880 he was elected Judge of the Louisville Chancery Court; was re-elected in 1886, which position he now holds. When the Vice-chancellors Court was established, now the Law and Equity Court, he was tendered the judgeship of it, which he declined; also, when Chancellor T. B. Cochrane died, he declined appointment to the position thus made vacant, preferring the active practice of his profession. From his admission to the bar in 1856 up to the time of his going on the bench in 1880, he practiced continuously, except during Mayor Jacobs' second term, when he was induced to accept the position of Chief of Police. While still living in Hart County he was appointed County Attorney and County Commissioner of Schools for four years. Judge Edwards is essentially a self-made man. He has attained to eminence as a lawyer and as a judge in the Chancery Court, one of the most important courts of Louisville, he has won a name equal to that of any of his predecessors. He was married in 1854 to Miss Louisa Wiltberger, of Chicago, who died the year following. In 1865, he was married to Miss Julia Gilpin, of Louisville. Two children were born of this marriage, viz: William S. and Ora Lee.

CHARLES G. EDWARDS, dentist at 442 West Walnut street, is a native of Greenville, Ala., and was born in the year 1842. He is a son of Richard H. and Ann E. Edwards, natives of Virginia. The former in 1837 went to Alabama on horseback, then the usual mode of traveling, passing through Kentucky. Upon his arrival in Alabama he commenced practicing medicine, which profession he had adopted. Remaining there three years, he returned to Virginia, and married Miss Ann E. Edwards, a daughter of Dr. Charles G. Edwards, a prominent physician of Loudoun County, Va. He then went back to Alabama and resumed the practice of medicine. After four years, he returned to Virginia, where he now practices his profession. He served in the Confederate army,

throughout the war, as surgeon of the Eighth Virginia Regiment. He was a graduate of Jefferson Medical College. The subject of this sketch received a good practical education, studied dentistry, and graduated from Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. He commenced practice in Leesburgh, Va., where he remained until 1875. He then came to Louisville, and has practiced here ever since, and is a professor in the Louisville College of Dentistry, established in 1887. He entered the Confederate army in 1861, then but nineteen years of age, and served through the war. He was in the first battle of Bull Run, where he was dangerously wounded. After his recovery he was transferred to the Eighth Virginia with his father, remaining in that regiment until the close of the war. Dr. Edwards was married in 1872 to Miss Lida A. Perkins, daughter of Rev. E. T. Perkins, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Louisville. They have three children living, viz: Edmund P., Ida M. and Harry G.

J. L. ESCHMANN is a native of Prussia, and was born July 22, 1830. He came to the United States in 1849, and located in Cincinnati, O. In 1856 he came to Louisville, and formed a copartnership for the manufacture of furniture with Henry Grevy and William Buhrlage, under the firm name of Grevy, Buhrlage & Co.; in 1876 it changed to Eschmann, Buhrlage & Co., and in 1880 was merged into a stock company—the Kentucky Furniture Company—with Mr. Eschmann as president. He was married in Cincinnati, in 1855, to Miss Louisa Roder, a native of Cincinnati. They have four living children, viz: Henry J., Juliet B., Mattie B. and Emma F. Mr. Eschmann is an energetic and enterprising citizen, and takes an active interest in the welfare and prosperity of his adopted city.

THOMAS B. FAIRLEIGH was born in Meade County, Ky., January 27, 1837, and is a son of William and Elizabeth (Enlow) Fairleigh, early settlers of Hardin County, and originally from Maryland. The former, William Fairleigh, was made county and circuit clerk of Meade County, upon its organization, and held both offices for thirty-five years, and Circuit Clerk for nine years more, making a



total of forty-three years continuous service in the office. He was born in 1797, and died in 1865. The subject of this sketch was reared in Meade County, and was educated at Elizabeth Academy, and at Brandon College. He studied law and graduated from the law department of the University of Louisville, in 1858, and at once began practice at Brandenburg, Ky. In 1861, when the war clouds gathered over the country, he recruited Company G, of the Twenty-sixth Kentucky Infantry, and on the 5th of May, 1862, was promoted to major; on the 12th of June following, to lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and January 3, 1865, was promoted to colonel. At the close of the war he came to Louisville, where he has since practiced his profession. He was married, in 1869, to Miss Alice Graham, of Meade County. They have one child, Ellen G.

DAVID W. FAIRLEIGH was born in Breckinridge County, November 28, 1853, and is a son of James L. and Jane (Murray) Fairleigh, the former a native of Hardin County, and the latter of Breckinridge County. His great-grandfather, Andrew Fairleigh, was a native of Maryland, of English descent; his grandfather, William Fairleigh, came to Kentucky in early times, settling in Hardin County. When Meade County was organized in 1823, he became county and circuit clerk, which positions he held continuously until his death in 1865. Subject's paternal grandfather, Col. David R. Murray, was one of the most prominent citizens of Breckinridge County, and one of its early settlers. James L. Fairleigh (father of our subject) succeeded his father as clerk of the Meade courts, and is now cashier of the Meade County Deposit Bank. David W. Fairleigh, the subject of this sketch, was educated at Brandenburg, and at Rockport (Ind.) Academy. He read law with his uncle, Col. Thomas B. Fairleigh, of Louisville, and with James W. Lewis, Esq., of Brandenburg. He was admitted to the bar in 1874, and began practice in Louisville. The next year he located at Brandenburg, where he practiced in the courts of Meade and adjoining counties until 1887, when he returned to Louisville, and opened a law office.

He is a young man of brilliance and promise, and a lawyer with few equals of his own age. He was married in 1878 to Miss Emma Ditto, of Meade County. They have four children.

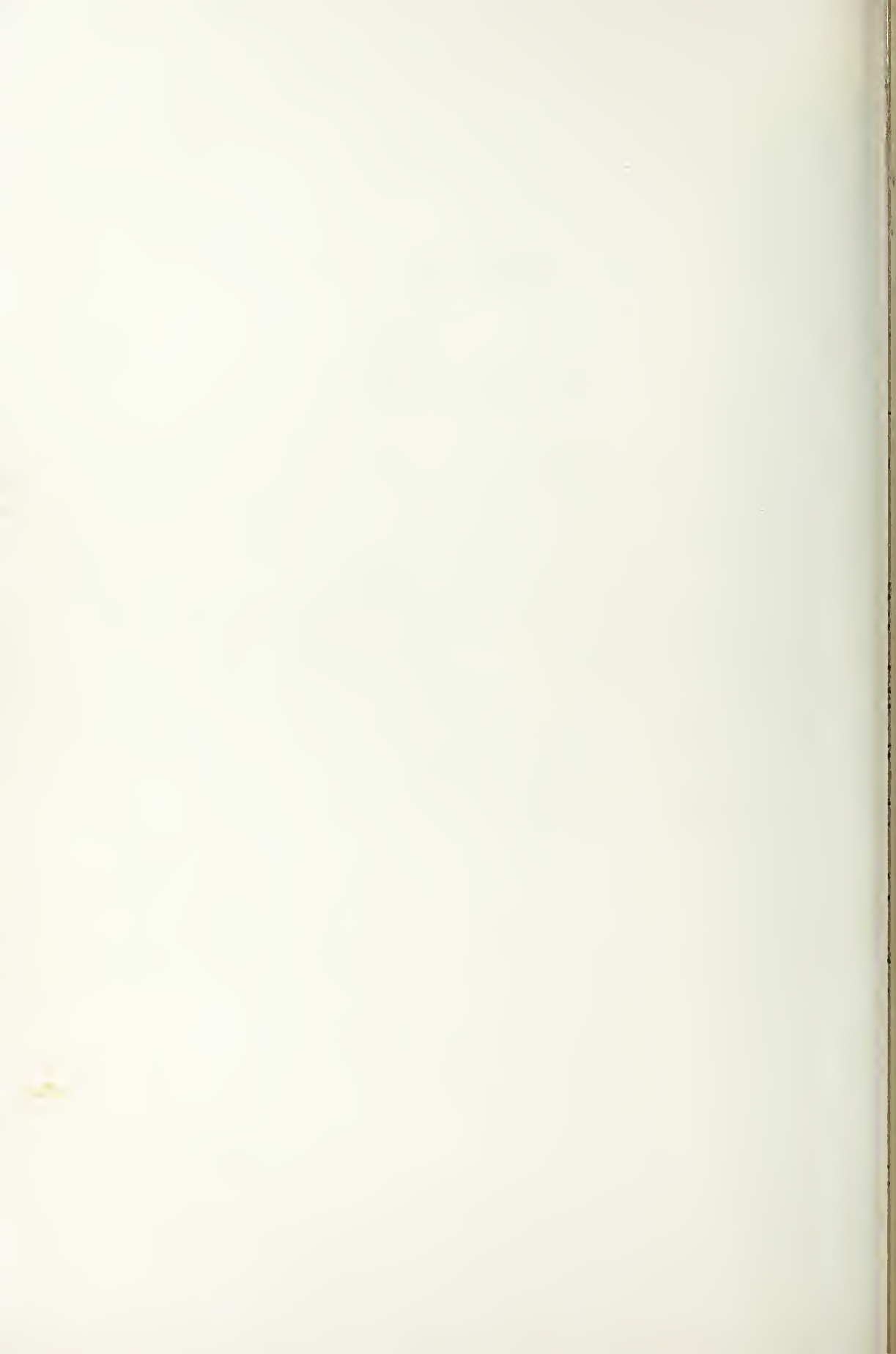
JUDGE EMMET FIELD was born in this city October 28, 1841, and is a son of William H. and Mary (Young) Field. The former was born in Culpeper County, Va., but came to Kentucky, and located at West Point. He was a lawyer and served in the State Senate under the old constitution; he died in 1861, having removed to Missouri some ten years before. The subject of this sketch, Judge Field, was educated in Missouri, in Westminster College. He came to Louisville in 1864, and the next year graduated from the Louisville Law School. He commenced practice at Springfield, Ky., where he remained two years, and then returned to Louisville, practicing law in the courts here until 1886, when he was elected judge of the Court of Common Pleas. In 1884 he accepted the chair of "Pleadings" and "Law of Contracts" in the Louisville Law School, which he has since held. He was married, in 1869, to Miss Sue McElroy, of Springfield, Ky.

THEODORE D. FINCK, M. D., is a son of C. Henry and Lizzie (Jacob) Finck, natives of Hanover, Germany, and Louisville, Ky. His maternal grandfather, Daniel Jacob, came from Baltimore to Louisville in 1832, and his father came to Louisville in 1845. The latter engaged in the wholesale liquor business, and in his day was one of the most prosperous and prominent German citizens of Louisville. He was a most zealous and active Mason, and subscribed the first sum (\$1,000) to the building of the Masonic Widows' and Orphans' Home, the most magnificent charity on the American continent. He died in 1879. The subject of this sketch was born in Louisville, March 9, 1863, and was brought up and educated in this city under a private tutor, Prof. Steffin, formerly of Annaopolis College. He commenced the study of medicine under Dr. Ochterlong, when but sixteen years of age, and entered the Kentucky School of Medicine, from which he graduated in 1882; he also attended lectures in the medical department of the University of Louisville. He went to



*Emmet Field*





Europe in 1883, and was made a member of the International Congress for Kentucky. He received certificates from Vienna Colleges; took a hospital course in London; studied at Strasburg, Heidelberg and Berlin. He returned to America in the latter part of 1884, and has practiced since in Louisville. He was assistant in pathology in Hospital Medical College—branch of Central University. He is an honorable member of the State Medical Society, of the Louisville Medical Society, and also of the Mississippi Valley Medical Association.

CHARLES C. FISHER was born in the city of Louisville, April 13, 1857. His father, Warford Fisher, was a native of Jefferson County, Ky., and married Miss Sarah Abbott, March 9, 1854. He was a member of the Independent Cavalry Company, of Louisville, and was killed by the "bushwhackers" in Owen County, Ky., June 11, 1862. Subject's mother died December 4, 1874. James W. Fisher, the grandfather of Charles C., was born in Shelby County, Ky., October 27, 1812; was taken to Indiana by his parents, when, through the forests of that State roamed bear, wolf and panther; after living there thirteen years he returned to Kentucky, married Elizabeth Morgan, then a widow, who was born in 1797, and died July 19, 1887; he survives her, but the world is total darkness to him.

CAPT. JOHN L. FOSTER, a representative citizen of Bullitt County, was born in Jefferson County, January 13, 1837. His father was James Foster, a native of Nelson County, Ky., was born May 5, 1796, and was a member of one of the early and prominent families of the State. His wife, mother of this sketch, was Nancy Jones. Her parents were from Pennsylvania, and settled early in Kentucky. Her marriage to James Foster occurred October 26, 1822. To this marriage were born fifteen children. The subject of this sketch, John L., was the eleventh born, reared to manhood on the farm, and received a liberal education in the public schools of Bullitt County. The civil war coming on he took sides with the Union, and in 1861 joined the Fifteen Kentucky Infantry, as a private

in Company D, but for his gallantry and meritorious conduct as a soldier, he was soon promoted to the captaincy of the company. This position he filled with honor to his country and himself till January, 1865, when he was mustered out by expiration of contract. At the battle of Perryville he was severely wounded, being shot through the lungs, and on four other occasions he received severe wounds from the enemy's guns. At the close of the war he returned to his native county, and was married April 4, 1865, to Miss Elizabeth Russell, of Indiana. He was soon after appointed to an important position in the Internal Revenue Service, which he held for eleven years, being forced to resign through the illness of his family. He now superintends his farm, owning a large tract of land in Bullitt County and another valuable farm in Jefferson County and tracts elsewhere. He has had nine children in his family: Barbara D., James K., born April 24, 1868, died April 16, 1885; Nancy E., Bettie E. (deceased), Bessie May, Hattie Belle, Ruby Pearle, Sarah L. and Anna Victoria. Captain Foster resides about two and a half miles southwest of Brook's Station, and is an exemplary citizen who stands high among his fellows.

JOHN FOWLER was born in Louisville, October 9, 1842, and is a son of Thomas and Elizabeth Fowler, both of whom were natives of England; they emigrated from that country directly to Louisville, Ky., and arrived in Kentucky about the time the subject was born. John Fowler was brought up and educated in the city schools of the city of Louisville and has lived there all the time, excepting during the war, when he was in the Federal army, a member of Company M, Sixth Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, in which company he enlisted as a private soldier; he was promoted to fourth sergeant, then to color-sergeant then to first sergeant and finally to second lieutenant; he also veteranized with his company, and was with it continuously during its service until about two months before the close of the war, he being absent in the hospital at that time. He had command of his company at the battle of Chickamauga,



mustered thirty-two men in the morning of going into battle and at night had only fourteen to answer roll-call.

JOHN G. FROMAN was born in Bullitt County, Ky., May 14, 1842. His father, Jeremiah Froman, was also born in Bullitt County, March 8, 1818, the Froman family being among the first who settled in Kentucky. The subject's mother was Amanda Graham, and was married to Jeremiah Froman in 1840, and they have born to them fourteen children, John G. being the second born. He was reared on the farm, receiving a common-school education. His father being both a farmer and blacksmith, he learned the trade of blacksmithing. October 7, 1861, he volunteered in Company B, Thirty-fourth Mounted Kentucky Infantry (U. S. A). July 4, 1864, he was married to Miss Sarah Snellen, a daughter of Zachariah and Charlotte Snellen.

ALVERADO E. FUNK was born in Bullitt County, June 17, 1859, and is a son of William R. Funk, a native of Nelson County, Ky., who was born January 18, 1822, and who married Sarah McDonald. Alverado E. Funk was married to Miss Alice V. Holsclaw, February 22, 1883. Mrs. Funk died May 5, 1885, the mother of two children. Mr. Funk was next married to Miss Eugenia Holsclaw, in 1886. Mr. Funk was educated at Bardstown College, and graduated from that institution. After leaving college he taught for awhile, but is now an extensive fruit grower of Bullitt County.

HAMILTON FURGANSON was born August 7, 1829, and is the eighth son of Samuel Furganson, who was born in North Carolina, in 1794. Hamilton Furganson married Miss Mary Ann Parker, February 22, 1854. She was born in Jefferson County February 22, 1835, and is the third child of John and Mary Parker, the former of whom is still living at the advanced age of seventy-eight years. Hamilton Furganson is a farmer, and is highly respected by his neighbors.

SAMUEL H. GARVIN, M. D., was born in Louisville July 23, 1839, and is a son of Joshua and Eliza (Mitton) Garvin, natives of County Cavan, Ireland, who came to Louisville in 1832. Mr. Garvin was educated in

the Episcopalian belief, while his wife was brought up a Quaker. Soon after arriving in this country both Mr. Garvin and his wife connected themselves with the Christian church, and continued devout members of that denomination until their death. Mr. Garvin was engaged as a dry goods merchant up to within a few years of his death, which occurred in 1877. Dr. Garvin, the subject of this sketch, is the youngest of two sons, the only living children of this family. He was educated in the schools of Louisville. In 1859 he began the study of medicine, and in 1861 graduated from the Kentucky School of Medicine, and in 1864 from the Bellevue Hospital Medical College of New York. In 1871 he visited Europe, and studied his profession in the various European hospitals. He has been actively engaged in the practice of medicine since he graduated. In 1869 he married Miss Mary E. Kendrick, a daughter of the late William Kendrick, a prominent and well known citizen of Louisville. They have three children.

HON. JOHN T. GATHRIGHT, surveyor of customs for the port of Louisville, is a native of Shelby County, Ky., and was born August 11, 1841. He is a son of Owen and Eliza A. (Austin) Gathright, the former a native of Shelby County, and the latter of Oldham County, and both descended from prominent families of Kentucky. Subject's paternal grandfather came from Virginia, and his maternal grandfather from Maryland. The latter was with Gen. Jackson at New Orleans, and died at the age of eighty-eight years. The Garthrights are of Scotch-Irish extraction, and the family pedigree can be traced back two hundred years prior to the American Revolution. Owen Garthright (subject's father) came to Louisville in 1858, and for a time conducted a hotel. He was also engaged in the stove and tinware business, which he discontinued at the close of the war. He has been married for fifty years, and both he and his wife are living. John T. Gathright, the subject of this sketch, is the second son (his brother, James R., was killed at the battle of Murphysboro, in the C. S. A. army). He was brought up on the farm in Shelby



*J. W. Fattwright*





County until he was fifteen years old, when he came to Louisville and entered school in 1856, two years before his father moved to the city. He enlisted in Company A, Twenty-second Kentucky Infantry (Federal), and on the organization of the regiment was made quartermaster's sergeant, but soon after was promoted to first-lieutenant, and afterward to captain of Company H. He resigned in 1863 and came home and was appointed colonel of the Sixty-fourth Regiment of State Guards, and shortly after was placed in command of ten regiments of the State Militia, which he held until the close of the war. When the war closed he engaged in mercantile pursuits until 1879, when he was elected to the State senate for four years. In this new field he became one of the most energetically working members of the body. In the first session he was chairman of the Committee of Internal Improvement, and in the second session chairman of the Committee on Banks and Insurance. In both of these important positions he discharged his duties with credit and general satisfaction to all, and in the latter he particularly distinguished himself by inaugurating various needed reforms in his district, as well as in the State at large. He introduced a bill, and succeeded in getting it passed, amending the general statutes of the State regulating the compensation of county officers, and a similar measure for the city of Louisville. In 1885 he was appointed by President Cleveland surveyor of customs for the port of Louisville. For this appointment he received the hearty endorsement of the business men of Louisville, as well as warm testimonials from all parts of the State, such as the following from Hon. D. W. Lindsey, of Frankfort: "Since the war Mr. Gathright has been an active and industrious business man in Louisville, Ky., and has always enjoyed, as he was entitled to, the confidence and respect of his community, and of all who knew him, being once elected to our State senate. Mr. Gathright has been, and is, in politics, a consistent Democrat, while the writer has been a Republican." Col. Gathright was married in November, 1864, to Miss Sallie Dunlap, of Shelby Coun-

ty. He is a prominent member of the Presbyterian church, and has been an elder for eighteen years. For the past six or eight years he has devoted much time to the development of the resources of the State; was one of the original promoters of Louisville, St. Louis & Texas Railway, now about completed, and through his efforts, both in the State senate and as a citizen, the attention of many capitalists has been drawn to the rich mineral and timber regions of the State which are now being developed so rapidly, and was always active in measures looking to the advancement of the business and manufacturing interest of the city of Louisville or State of Kentucky.

JAMES C. GILBERT was born at Jackson, Mo., December 12, 1832, but, if not a Kentuckian born, is descended from a good old Kentucky family, his maternal grandfather, James Duncan, having been one of the early settlers of Louisville. His father died when the subject was still quite young, and his mother removed to Salem, Ind. Here James grew to manhood, received a good practical education, and was apprenticed to the printers' trade, and learned to set type under the watchful eye of Mr. Oliver Lucas. He came to Louisville about 1847. He is the practical head of one of the largest printing houses in Louisville, or the South, and one of the sound and enterprising business men of the city. For a number of years he has been an important factor in Louisville politics. He was long a member of the school board, and for nearly two decades has been a member of the council; under Mayor Baxter's administration he was for two years president of the board of aldermen, is now again serving in that position, and succeeded the late Hon. James Trabue as president of the Sinking Fund commissioners. He married Miss Emma B. Hoe, of Louisville.

ADAM GIVEN, M. D., was born in Bath County, Va., October 15, 1829, and is a son of Henry and Nancy (Mustoe) Given, natives of Virginia, and the former a soldier in the war of 1812. The Mustoe family is of English origin, Anthony Mustoe, subject's grandfather, having emigrated from England to



Virginia in an early day. Dorothea Chambers, wife of Anthony, was of German descent. The Givens are Scotch-Irish. The grandmother (Miss Bratton) was Scotch. The subject was reared on a farm, and educated at Little Levels Academy in Virginia, where he took a regular course. He read medicine, and coming West, attended his first course of lectures at Rush Medical College, Chicago, in 1858-59, and graduated at Chicago Medical College in 1864. He located at Woodstock, Ills., in 1859, and practiced there until 1865, when he came to Louisville. At the close of the war he was acting assistant surgeon, U. S. A. Since 1879 he has taken up the practice of homœopathy, and is a member of the American Institute of Homœopathy. He was married July 19, 1853, to Miss Caroline Benson, of Highland County, Va. They have two children—Mustoe Bratton and Elmer Benson.

**WILLIAM E. GLOVER.** A well balanced and well stored mind, a life full of useful purpose, whatever position it may occupy, is of far greater importance than the average respectability of the world; and when the possessor of these qualities has achieved success in the business world by means of them, he is doubly worthy of our appreciative regard. These remarks fitly apply to the gentleman whose name heads this article. For more than half a century he was identified with the progress and prosperity of this city, and we are largely indebted to him for the reputation we still enjoy for the manufacture of superior boat machinery. These considerations, aside from the virtue of his life, his intelligence, public spirit, and philanthropy, fully entitle him to an honorable mention in the industrial history of his adopted city. William E. Glover was born in Mason County, Ky., November 28, 1801. At the age of sixteen he came to Louisville, a poor lad as far as money or education was concerned, but rich in respect to health, mental vigor, and a determination to work out for himself a position in life that would command respect. He apprenticed himself to learn the trade of a blacksmith, and served until he obtained his majority, and having during his term of serv-

ice devoted his spare time to the acquisition of mechanical and scientific knowledge, he now had the satisfaction of passing muster as a competent engineer. Having obtained a situation on one of the boats engaged in the lower river trade, he followed that vocation for several years; and as may be expected from the studious habits that characterized him during his apprenticeship, he diligently applied himself to his calling till he was thoroughly acquainted with combination of excellencies required to make a perfect marine engine; and there is no doubt but the practical experience thus gained made him a successful competitor with the best engine-builders of Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. About 1833 or 1834, Mr. Glover left the river and engaged in blacksmithing on Market street, and soon acquired a reputation for those difficult pieces of forging, etc., which are never offered to inferior workmen; and having successfully conducted this branch till 1836 or thereabouts, he formed a partnership with Messrs. Lachlan McDougall and William Inman, for the purpose of establishing a foundry. Purchasing the foundry premises of Shreve Brothers, on Main, near Ninth street, they commenced on a moderate scale and in a general way, occasionally building an engine. It was not long, however, before the excellency of their work brought them all of this class of business they could attend to. In 1838 they built the engines for the steamboats "Diana" and "Edward Shippin," and although done at a pecuniary loss, these two contracts established the fact that machinery for steamboats could be built at Louisville as well as Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. This may be fairly claimed as the inception of what afterward became a large branch of our industry—the building of large and fast steamboats—and was the means of attracting much trade to the city that hitherto had gone elsewhere. During his connection with the foundry business, which extended through a period of thirty years, he was universally successful, and although many changes took place in the firm he continued to hold his interest till its dissolution. Prominent among those who were associated with him during this



W.<sup>m</sup> GLOVER.





protracted period were Messrs. Gault, Ainslie, and Cochran. Up to 1861 he remained at his old stand where he had done an extensive and lucrative business as a manufacturer in iron. As a historic fact we may mention that the first gas-works for Louisville were built by him, in 1840. At the time referred to, however, he saw that the long threatened storm of civil war had at last burst upon us, and concluding that trade, commerce and manufacturing would be fearfully depressed before the close of the conflict, he closed up his business and converted his work-shops into a tobacco warehouse, known then as the "Boone Warehouse," named after the great Kentucky pioneer and adventurer. As in his previous business, he was successful to a degree little anticipated; and although all his operations were on commission, their extent was such that it brought him a handsome income, and had he not previously laid the foundation of and built up a fortune, he could certainly have done it then. Aside from the benefits accruing to the city from his energy and enterprise, we may truthfully say that he was ever ready to lend his aid for the furtherance of every good work. The soundness of his judgment, the excellency of his management, and the integrity of his conduct pointed him out as a suitable person to be in the direction of almost every corporate body with which he was ever connected. He was for many years a bank director, a member of the city council, a representative in the State legislature, a trustee of the University of Louisville, besides holding other offices of a similar nature. In the summer of 1872 he was attacked with that intractable form of skin disease known as lichen tropicus, and for more than a year he not only suffered an indescribable torture, but was in a great measure deprived of appetite and sleep. This was sufficient to break down a young and vigorous person, and of course at his advanced age it told with rapid and fatal effect. He resorted to the hot springs of Arkansas in search of relief, but although the skin affection was greatly relieved, he had a return of the asthma in consequence of it. This was precisely what he had predicted several

months previously. Rapid inroads were now made upon his otherwise vigorous constitution, and on the first of October, 1873, he died at the residence of his son-in-law, John L. Hikes, Esq., in his seventy-second year. He was twice married, and left five sons and two daughters to mourn the loss of a kind and indulgent parent. In all the relations of his life Mr. Glover conducted himself in a manner that commanded the respect of his fellow-citizens, and it gives us pleasure to record his name among the list of worthies who laid the foundation of our prosperity and now sleep with their fathers.

ALBERT G. GLOVER, the subject of this sketch, is a son of the late William E. Glover, who was a very remarkable man. The elder Glover was born in 1801, at the mouth of the Limestone river, in Kentucky. He is therefore the descendent of "the Maysville man," and the "Maysville man" is known the world over. When the Prince of Wales visited New York he was very naturally well entertained, at the suggestion of the President of the United States. There was some excitement on the occasion about a popular Broadway hotel as Col. R. C. Wintersmith and Col. John Thompson Gray walked up the street that day. Col. Gray said "What's going on?" Col. Wintersmith replied that it was a demonstration in honor of the Prince of Wales. Col. Gray said, "Well, there will be a man from Maysville conspicuous in the demonstration," and sure enough, they found, when they reached the St. Nicholas Hotel, that Gen. "Bull" Nelson was in the carriage with Albert Edward, the Prince of Wales. Kentucky is the birthplace of many great and good men, and Maysville can claim her share of the best of them. Albert G. Glover was born in Louisville, December 14, 1847, and received his education in the private schools of that city. His first venture was with his father in the tobacco commission and warehouse business, until his father retired upon a competency. Albert then became associated with his brothers and Dr. D. P. White in the same business in which he had been engaged with his father, and they were owners of the Boone Tobacco Ware-



house. In 1873 he withdrew from this firm and engaged in the manufacture of chewing and smoking tobacco upon a large scale. In 1877 he abandoned that business and became a handler and transferer of leaf tobacco. Although these have been his well known occupations, he has been engaged in many public enterprises, and has done much to develop the business prosperity of the city. While he has never sought any prominence, he is regarded as a man of the highest and strictest honor, and, in that respect, is a fair representative of the name of Glover, which is the synonym of all that is honorable and upright.

C. C. GODSHAW, M. D., is of French origin, but was born in Louisville, February 9, 1853. He is a son of Morris and Esther Godshaw, natives of Lorraine, France, and who came to this country fifty years ago. The elder Godshaw is one of the old and prominent merchants of Louisville, and was in the queensware and chinaware business for forty years; he is still living and is seventy-eight years of age. The subject, Dr. Godshaw, was brought up and educated in this city, graduating from the Male High School in 1871. He read medicine under the supervision of Drs. Cowling and Cummins, and entered the medical department of Louisville University, from which he graduated in 1874. As a further qualification for the profession he had chosen, he studied in the hospitals of New York for a year, and in 1875 went to Europe, studying in the hospitals of London, Paris, Vienna and Berlin, taking a thorough course in medicine and surgery; also devoting special attention to the diseases of women and children. After about three years spent in Europe, he returned to Louisville. He is a member of the hospital medical staff—and obstetrician to the City Hospital. Dr. Godshaw was married January 31, 1877, to Sidonia Marcus, of Louisville. Three children is the result of this marriage.

JOHN GOODMAN, M. D., was born in Frankfort on the 22d of July, 1837, and is a son of John and Jane (Winters) Goodman, the former a native of Germany and the latter of Maryland. His father came to Kentucky in

1801, and located at Lexington, and five years later moved to Frankfort. He was a music teacher by profession, and died in 1848 at the age of seventy years. Subject was the only son, and was brought up in Frankfort, and in Woodford County. He entered Georgetown College in 1854, and graduated in the junior class of 1856. He came to Louisville the same year, and read medicine with Dr. Louis Rogers; attended two courses of lectures in the University of Louisville; in 1859 graduated from the University of Louisiana at New Orleans, and has since practiced the profession in Louisville. He was for eleven years (up to five years ago) professor of obstetrics in Louisville Medical College, and for four years in the Kentucky School of Medicine. He was one of the originators of the Board of Health; he was one of the charity commissioners for three years, and twenty-one years physician to the House of Refuge. He was married in 1859 to Miss Caroline, daughter of Dr. Henry Miller. She died in 1882, and he was next married, in 1884, to Mrs. Reeseta Jones Kalfus, daughter of R. R. Jones.

E. ALFRED GRANT, JR., general agent of the Imperial Life Insurance Company of Detroit, Mich., was born June 24, 1860, in Louisville, Ky. He is a son of Dr. E. A. Grant, one of Kentucky's most prominent surgeons, who ranks high among the learned men of the country; was one of the founders and now the secretary of the Polytechnic Society of Kentucky. E. Alfred Grant, Jr., the subject of this sketch, was reared in Louisville, and educated in her public schools, finishing at the Male High School. He commenced his commercial life as office boy in the plow factory of Brinly, Miles & Hardy, and in less than a year was traveling in their interest. For several years he occupied the same position with the well known house of B. F. Avery & Sons. He resigned his position with them and took the local agency for an insurance company, and in six months was offered and accepted the general agency of the Imperial Life Insurance Company, with whom he has since been connected. Mr. Grant was married in October, 1883, to Miss

Eloise Hiter, of Woodford County, daughter of D. P. Hiter, and niece of Hon. John M. Harlan of the U. S. Supreme Court.

JOHN W. GREEN was born in Henderson County, Ky., October 18, 1841, and is a son of Hector and Louisa (Reiggles) Green, natives of Fauquier County, Va., and Boston, Mass. The former removed to Henderson County, Ky., and was county surveyor for a number of years, afterwards book-keeper for George Blanchard. Later he removed to Meade County, where he died. The subject of this sketch lived with his father until he was eleven years of age. He was educated in the high schools, and upon graduating became a clerk for A. D. Hunt & Co., bankers, remaining with them until 1861. Early in that year he went to Florence, Ala., where he remained until the fall, when he returned to Kentucky, and at Bowling Green joined Col. Tom Hunt's regiment. After the close of the war he returned to Louisville, and was engaged again in Hunt's banking house, in which he finally became a partner. He afterward became a partner with Morton, Galt & Co. When this firm discontinued business, in 1879, Mr. Green commenced business as a stock and bond broker, with his brother, David L., as a partner. He was married in 1881 to Miss Anna Ames, of Louisville.

JOHN E. GREEN, president of the Second National Bank of Louisville, Ky., is widely known throughout the South and West as one of the most eminently capable and thorough young business men south of the Ohio river. He is the son of Dr. Norvin Green, the distinguished president of the Western Union Telegraph Company, and was born July 8, 1849, on his father's plantation in Henry County, Ky., near the town of Eminence. He came to Louisville at an early age to attend school; was a close student and advanced rapidly, although he was not one of the precocious kind, and got at the subject matter of his lessons only by hard thought and faithful application. His mind was all the time turned to affairs of commerce, however, and it is possible that he gave quite as much attention to the financial departments of the daily papers as he

did to his algebra and Latin grammar. At all events he had not been in the high school a great while before it occurred to him that there was a place in the busy world of commerce for at least one more pushing young man and indicated as much to his father. Dr. Green expressed no desire to keep the youth at his books, which he had mastered long ago, and promised to make a place for him. Very soon after this a syndicate of well known business men incorporated the Louisville Car Wheel Manufactory and John E. Green was elected secretary. It is a fact worthy of observation that the projectors of this enterprise have all become men of eminent distinction. Among them were Dr. Norvin Green, president of the Western Union, Dr. E. D. Standiford, formerly president of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company and afterwards a millionaire (now deceased); Albert Fink, the trunk line pool commissioner; R. S. Veech who owns the famous Indian Hill stud farm near Louisville and who made a fortunate tilt in Louisville, New Albany & Chicago railroad stock several years ago; J. W. Henning, one of the wealthiest owners of real estate in Louisville, and last, but not least, the subject of this sketch. In his capacity as secretary of the concern, young Green became of immense value to the enterprise, and it was not a great while before the management was given entirely into his hands. He had grown rapidly into the estimation of the business community all this time, and in 1881, at the age of thirty-two, he attained, unsought on his part, the distinction of election to the presidency of the Louisville Board of Trade, an organization which was then in its infancy, although supported by all of the old and reliable business men of Louisville. The young president gave hard thought and faithful action to the interests of the institution, and soon worked a solid systematic and useful organization out of a willing but chaotic and unorganized mass of brains and money. As a proof of the high esteem in which the board held him it is merely necessary to state that he was thrice re-elected president without opposition, and was warily



urged to again accept the honor, but declined upon the well-founded plea that private enterprises in which he was largely interested claimed so much of his time and attention that he could no longer perform, with satisfaction to himself, the functions of the office. When he retired from the presidency the board passed flattering resolutions of regret, and pronounced in mass meeting a high and official eulogy upon his prolonged and useful service in the president's chair. In the meantime, in January, 1884, he had accepted a place in the directory of the Second National Bank, and was promptly elected president of that institution, which has since so flourished under his management that the deposits are almost twice as large now as they were three years ago, and the bank, from a comparatively small station, has grown until it now rates seventh, out of twenty-one, in the clearing house. Some of the best known men around the Falls are in the directory of the Second National, which makes Mr. Green's election to the presidency a notable compliment. [The directory is composed of W. C. DePauw, of New Albany, Ind.; James Bridgeford, W. R. Belknap, George H. Hull, E. H. Chase, St. John Boyle, F. D. Carley, and Colonel Thomas W. Bullitt, of Louisville. George S. Allison is the cashier. Mr. Green has been a director in the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company, as well as in the Louisville, Evansville & St. Louis Air Line, and the Pensacola & Atlantic. He was one of the board of managers of the National Exposition of Railway Appliances, which was held at Chicago in 1880, and was counted one of the thinking men of that famous body. It is not generally known, but it is quite true, nevertheless, that Mr. Green had more to do with the organization of the Southern Exposition Company of Louisville than any other man. He called the original meeting at his residence in Louisville, and although some of the gentlemen who were present protested that the enterprise was not practicable, Mr. Green urged that it was, and finally carried his point. The Southern Exposition has since accomplished wonders for Louisville, and is

now just turning into its fourth year, with all Kentucky interested in it. Other examples might be cited of the good and useful things Mr. Green has done for Louisville, but enough has been told. Suffice it to say that no other young man has ever stood higher in the Falls City than Mr. Green stands at present. His fine qualities of heart and head have made him a great favorite in social circles, and his beautiful house on Fourth avenue is always open to his friends. Mr. Green was married before he had attained his majority, and is now the head of a charming little family, his wife being a lady of unusual personal beauty and great amiability. His friends are anxious to have him stand for the office of mayor of the city, but he has heretofore declined. When it comes to the silver question, he is a gold man. Aside from his duties as president of the bank Mr. Green is compelled to give a great deal of thought to several manufacturing companies in which he is largely interested, notably the Car Wheel Works, the Louisville Steam Forge Manufactory, and other similar concerns. He is a busy man throughout the year.

H. J. GREENWELL, JR., was born in Bullitt County, Ky., April 13, 1866, and is a son of Robert Greenwell, who was born in Nelson County, Ky., May 26, 1821, and was married May 18, 1846, to Miss Elizabeth E. Lee, daughter of Robert M. Lee, who was born in Nelson County, Ky., August 8, 1809. The subject's grandfather, Henry Lee, was of the illustrious Lee family of Virginia, being a descendent of Richard Lee, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; he immigrated to Kentucky from that state at a very early day.

GILBERT GRIFFIN, a native of Spencer County, Ky., was born November 15, 1833. His father, William Griffin, was also born in Spencer County, December 19, 1801, and was married to Miss Catherine Ritchey, April 7, 1823, and had born to them six children, the subject of this sketch being the fifth. William Griffin removed to Bullitt County, Ky., and settled on a farm in 1842. Gilbert Griffin was married to Miss Corilla Skinner,

August 12, 1862, and had born to him three children. His wife departed this life, July 22, 1876, and Mr. Griffin was next married November 11, 1880, to Mrs. Ann E. Hall, widow of Dr. D. M. Hall. Mr. Griffin's children are: Jasper, born January 11, 1864; William, February 18, 1867; Minnie, September 2, 1872. His farm of six hundred and forty acres is one of the finest in Bullitt County.

PHILIP HAGER was born in the city of Louisville in 1843, and is a son of Charles and Barbara Hager, both natives of Bavaria, Germany. The subject of this sketch was reared in Louisville and began life for himself as a clerk; later he learned the trade of a jeweler. In 1862 he enlisted in the United States navy, served about thirteen months, and was after engaged on the gun-boat *Conestoga* for about one year during the war; on his return after the war, he engaged in business. In 1878 he formed a partnership with J. R. Hetch, and is now carrying on a good business at 351 Fourth avenue. Mr. Hager was married, in 1869, to Miss Bertha Schuckman, and is now the father of three children: Belle, Addie and Amelia. He is a member of the G. A. R., and adjutant of the George H. Thomas Post.

WALTER N. HALDEMAN, president of the *Courier-Journal* Company, was born in Maysville, Ky., April 27, 1821, and was educated at Maysville Academy along with U. S. Grant, W. H. Wadsworth, T. H. Nelson, R. H. Collins, and others who afterward attained to prominence. He removed to Louisville, when but sixteen years of age, and entered upon a career remarkable for activity and success. In December, 1843, he purchased from an association of printers a newspaper called the *Daily Dime*, which he afterward converted into the *Morning Courier*. The establishment of this paper was problematical. Louisville had been the graveyard of newspapers—the *Journal*, conducted by the brilliant Prentice, only surviving the general mortality. At that day politics almost exclusively engrossed the attention of the people and the talent of the press. Mr. Haldeman determined to strike out on a new

line. He made *news* the chief feature of his paper, and its success and permanent establishment followed, as the fruits of his enterprise and sagacity. The *Courier* thenceforth became a power in the State. Before the civil war was precipitated upon the country, the *Courier* denounced the coercive policy of the Federal government, and as a State's rights journal espoused the cause of the South. When the Federal troops entered Louisville, in September, 1861, the *Courier* was suppressed by orders from Washington. Mr. Haldeman learned of his intended arrest in time to flee for safety. He reached Nashville, and promptly re-established the *Courier*, which was printed until that city was captured by Federals. He removed with the army and published it at several points, or "published it on wheels," as his friends were wont to say. Mr. Haldeman remained in the South during the war, and on the cessation of hostilities again repaired to his Louisville home. Although broken in fortune, and half awed by the enormous advance in paper and printing material growing out of the war and a depreciated currency, he could not resist the earnest popular demand for the re-establishment of the *Courier*. The day it re-appeared, December 5, 1865, it was an evident success. The prestige of the old *Courier* was in its favor, and irresistible. To "make assurance double sure" Mr. Haldeman determined the new paper should *deserve* success. Regardless of the outlay, he arranged as rapidly as possible for special telegraphic and other correspondence from all parts of the country. It was a new era in journalism in Louisville. Within six months, the lively and enterprising *Courier* so far outstripped its local contemporaries, that the latter in spite of editorial strength came to be regarded as second rate-journals. Three years later Mr. Haldeman conceived the bold project of consolidating the *Journal* and *Democrat*, the only other dailies in Louisville, with his *Courier*. His purpose was accomplished, and the leading political and news paper of the West and South-west, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, of which he is the controlling spirit, is the offspring of that union. Perseverance, energy and enterprise



is the secret of Mr. Haldeman's success in life. But besides this, his whole career has been marked by a strong common sense and a comprehensiveness of mind, which made him far-reaching and far-seeing in his aims. When to these qualities are added his genial manners, his diligence, and fidelity to laborious duty, it is by no means strange that he has gathered in the rich fruits of success. There is scarcely one of the profession in the country better known than Mr. Haldeman. What Bennett with the *Herald*, and Greely with the *Tribune*, were to the North and East, Haldeman with his *Courier-Journal*, is to the South and South-west. He is the oldest member of the daily newspaper press in Kentucky, and one of the oldest in the country. He is an able financier, and as much to this as to its brilliant editorial management may be attributed the phenomenal success of the *Courier-Journal*.

ROBERT HARDESTY was born August 29, 1824, in Breckinridge County, Kentucky, and is a son of Richard and Anna B. (Lyon) Hardesty. Richard Hardesty immigrated to Kentucky in about 1818, and died in Bullitt County in 1854. He had two sons who served in the Union army: Henry as a private in the Twenty-first Kentucky Volunteers, and Charles as a surgeon—both dying while out. Henry was born April 15, 1821, enlisted in 1864, and died in Nashville, Tenn., in 1865. Charles was born April 10, 1831. He entered the army in 1862, and died in the Nashville hospital in July, 1863. Robert Hardesty, the subject of this sketch, was married to Miss Isabella Chambers, February 2, 1860. She came with her family from Ireland in 1855. They have four children: Hugh, born November 27, 1860; Robert C., born May 8, 1864; Anna, born November 25, 1871; Letitia P., born September 22, 1880. Mr. Hardesty holds the office of justice of the peace.

SAMUEL F. HARLAN was born in Louisville, Ky., February 16, 1847, and is a son of Eli and Nancy (Casel) Harlan, the former a soldier in the war of 1812. Eli was born in 1793, and was a son of James Harlan, a Revolutionary soldier, a native of the eastern shore of Maryland, and came early to Ken-

tucky. Nancy Casel (the subject's mother) was born in 1797, and her father, James Casel, was a native of Virginia, and among the pioneers of Kentucky. Samuel F. Harlan, the subject of this sketch, was educated in the public schools of Louisville, and for several years after graduating was principal of one of the ward schools. In 1881 he quit teaching and commenced the manufacture of pumps and tube wells, elevators, etc., in which he has been quite successful. He was married in 1884 to Miss Ruth A. Mills, of Louisville.

WILLIAM HUME HARRIS, the subject of this sketch, was born in Franklin County, Tenn., October 28, 1840, and is a son of John and Rosanna (Hume) Harris, natives of Virginia. His father was born in Albermarle County, graduated in the classics and law at William and Mary College, of Williamsburg, and practiced law in Richmond, Va., moved to Franklin County, Tenn., and settled on a plantation. He continued to practice his profession, rose rapidly to prominence and represented his district five terms in the United States Congress; at the end of which he declined a renomination and retired to the shades of private life, honored and respected by all. He raised and educated a family of six boys and four girls. All the boys enlisted in the Confederate cause in the war between the States. Four fell in battle with their faces toward the enemy; two still survive. The subject's grandfather, John Harris, was born near Richmond, Va., graduated in the classics from William and Mary College, read law in his father's office and was admitted to the bar. He served with distinction in the Revolutionary war, having fought at Princeton, Trenton, Monmouth, Brandywine and Germantown. After the war he resumed the practice of law in Albermarle County, Va., was a representative in the House of Burgesses and raised a family of seven boys and three girls. The subject's great-grandfather, John Harris, was born in Swansea, Wales, and was a lawyer by profession. He emigrated with his brothers, Jacob, Daniel and Eli, to America, and settled near Richmond, Va. (from this branch of the Harris family sprang all by that name now in Virginia, and spreading from that State to

every State and territory in the Union), and continued to practice his profession. Being a member of the House of Burgesses a number of terms, he was present and a member when Patrick Henry made that memorable speech which immortalized him and placed his name among the first in the hearts of his countrymen. Mr. Harris served with distinction in the Revolutionary war. After the war he retired to private life, raised a family of eight boys and two girls, and then patiently waited for old Charon and his canoe to ferry him across the Styx. Dr. W. H. Harris was brought up on a plantation, graduated in the classics from Princeton College, studied medicine under Wm. K. Bowling, of Nashville, Tenn., thence went to Paris, France, and continued his studies in medicine under Prof. Trousseau. He is a graduate in medicine of Paris, France, of the Ecole de Médecin. After graduating he returned to Tennessee and entered the Confederate army as a surgeon. After the war he continued the practice of medicine and met with great success. Three medical schools, standing second to none, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Medicine, and his Alma Mater conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. He now has the honor of being the recipient of seven diplomas, viz: A. B., A. M. four M. D.'s and LL. D., all worthily bestowed. He was also admitted to the bar. As a regular practitioner of medicine he has but few equals. He is a gentleman of fine abilities, rare culture and irreproachable moral character, is a Knight Templar and a member of the Episcopal church, also standing among the advanced thinkers in medicine. He was several times offered a professor's chair in medical schools, but declined, thinking the best field for him was that of a general practitioner, which would the better enable him to give battle to disease in every form whatsoever. His acquirements as a physician, and especially as a neurologist, are such as to place him among the first of those who work in the most important department of medical science. We hereby append an extract written by the late W. K. Bowling, M. D., LL. D., to Dr. Harris, to show the in-

timate and friendly relations existing between these two eminent physicians, one as preceptor the other as pupil. Dr. Bowling was one of the best and most distinguished physicians in America. He was not only distinguished in medicine, but in literature, like Oliver Wendall Holmes, of Massachusetts, and had been fifty years known as professor in various medical schools and as editor of medical journals. He had also been president of the National Medical Association, and president of the National Association of Medical Editors of the United States:

"NASHVILLE, Nov. 13, 1883.

*"My Dear Doctor Harris:*

Dr. ——— handed me your letter of the 27th of September last to-day. He showed me your papers, which I like exceedingly. He told me that he had written you that only one honorary degree could be conferred by each college a year, under the law of colleges, and all that, and I said that it was only *one* degree you wanted; that man and wife were one, and that one was the man, and you and I were one in this case, and that you were the one. For really I have made up my mind that you will hereafter appear as the big fish on our string of immortals. \* \* \* And now, dear Doctor, farewell. If alive, I will sign my name to your diploma, if I have to have my arm bandaged to enable me to do it. God bless you.

In the bonds of the brotherhood,

Fraternally and cordially,

Your friend,

W. K. BOWLING."

SAMUEL T. HARRISON, farmer, of Jefferson County, Ky., was born in that county, January 3, 1841. His parents were John and Mary Ann (Kindell) Harrison. John Harrison is a native of Shelby County. Samuel T. Harrison, the subject of this notice, is the sixth born of thirteen children. He was married to Miss Margaret Stinson, December 6, 1866, and there have been born to him eight children: William Miner, born January 6, 1868; Mattie, born January 28, 1869, and died July 18, 1869; Ella, born March 20, 1871; Mary E., December 2, 1873; Lillie T.,

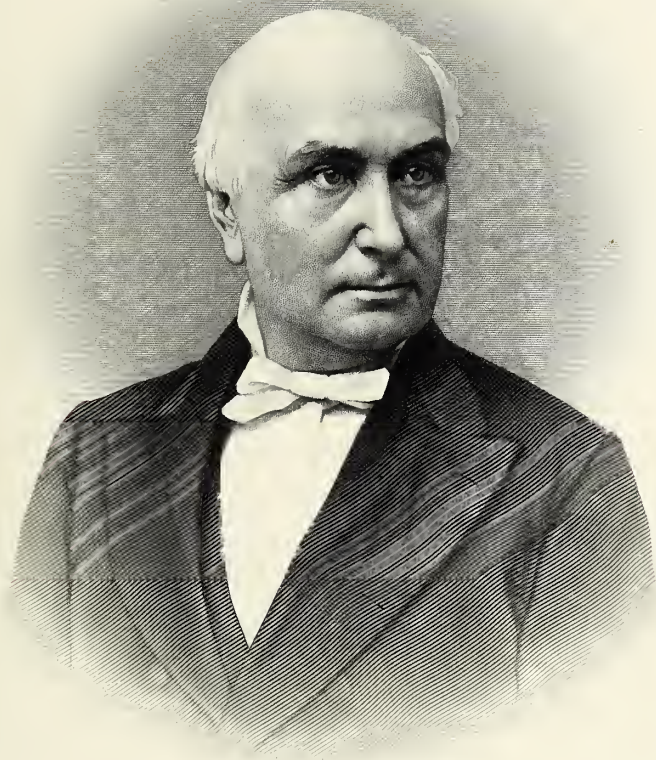


December 3, 1876; Fannie J., June 22, 1880; Albert T., September 22, 1883; Edward, December 26, 1886.

CHARLES A. HENDERSON was born in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, February 22d, 1848, and was the seventh son of James and Sarah McAfee Henderson, the former a native of Westmoreland County, Penn., and the latter a daughter of Jas. McAfee. Charles A. was reared on a farm and received such education as was to be obtained in the public schools. In June, 1861, he enlisted in Company E, Twenty-sixth Ohio Infantry, although but fourteen years old. Owing to his extreme youth, the colonel of the regiment made him the orderly, and afterward he was made picket messenger for Gen. Wood, who commanded the division to which the Twenty-sixth was attached. He was sent home to Ohio as a recruiting officer, and for two months performed that duty faithfully; during the draft, he was appointed postmaster of Camp Morton, Ind., a position he held for seven months. After serving one or two years, he veteranized and continued in the service until the close of the war, participating in a number of severe battles, among which were Shiloh, Stone River, Chickamauga, Mission Ridge and the fighting around Atlanta. After the close of the war he returned home and resumed the duties of life. He was married July 26, 1874, to Miss Rebecca McCoy, a daughter of Joseph McCoy, a native of Kentucky. Two children were born to this marriage, viz: William H., born July 4, 1875, and Harold C., born December 25, 1877. This year (1877), he moved to Kentucky and settled at Bardstown Junction, where he now lives.

ROBERT C. HEWETT, M. D., son of John M. and Sarah (Carson) Hewett, was born in New York City, October 9, 1812, of English parents. Soon after his birth the family removed to Kentucky, and settled finally in Lexington. His academic education was pursued during two years at Miami University, and subsequently at Transylvania University, then in the zenith of its fame. He left Transylvania in the senior year of his college course and in the nineteenth year of his age, to join, as assistant, T. J. Matthews, engineer-

in-chief on the Lexington & Frankfort railroad. Mr. Matthews, after a short service, met with an accident which disabled him, and prevented him from conducting the surveys, when Mr. Hewett was appointed to succeed him, and completed the surveys to Frankfort to the satisfaction of the railroad officials. Soon after this he joined a party of engineers in making surveys for one of the first railroads projected in Indiana, viz: from Lawrenceburg to Indianapolis. On his return to Kentucky he was re-appointed engineer in charge of the Lexington & Frankfort railroad, and it was through the influence of his report and recommendation that existing contracts for constructing this road with continuous stone sills were abandoned, and a wooden superstructure adopted in lieu thereof. He also aided in the surveys of several macadamized roads leading into Lexington, and located the one between that city and Georgetown. He then entered the service of the State, and assisted in the surveys for slackwater improvement of the Kentucky River. Afterward he was sent to the northeastern portion of the State, where he surveyed and located the State road from Owensville to the mouth of the Big Sandy. In a similar capacity he was placed in charge of the road from Elizabethtown (through Bowling Green) to Eddyville. While thus engaged the financial crisis of 1837 occurred, causing the abandonment of all internal improvement enterprises, as well as general prostration in private business affairs, and thus the demand for civil engineers was for the time at an end. Mr. Hewett was now twenty-five years of age, and as there seemed no probability of his services being required as engineer again soon, he determined to study medicine, and in 1838 became a student in the office of his brother-in-law, Dr. Theodore S. Bell, of Louisville, one of the ablest and most distinguished members of the medical profession. After pursuing his studies for a sufficient time he entered the medical department of Transylvania University, from which he graduated in 1844. He then permanently located in Louisville, and has since practiced his profession in this city. His practice is largely of a general character,



*Gerrit Smith*

*R. C. Hewett M.D.*





but of late years he has to some extent made a specialty of obstetrics. Since the commencement of his professional life in Louisville, he has repeatedly been offered professorships in the different medical schools, but has invariably declined them, preferring the practical duties of the profession to those of teaching. For fourteen years he served as a physician to the Kentucky Institution for the Blind, and for seven years he gave gratuitous service as physician to the Protestant Episcopal Orphan Asylum. In 1859-60 he was president of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Louisville, and in 1867 was president of the Louisville Board of Health. Endowed by nature with a strong, practical, comprehensive mind, and a vigorous constitution, Dr. Hewett has, by assiduous study cultivated the one, and by most prudent and abstemious habits so protected the other, that now at a ripe old age he is robust and vigorous both mentally and physically. Honest by nature, and decidedly positive in his character, he can deal with no proposition except with the utmost frankness and sincerity. Fond of his profession, and proud of it as a high science, he is loyal to it according to its highest standard, and a strict observer of its etiquette. Recognized by the profession as one of its ablest exemplars, trusted for his calm discriminating judgment and thorough conscientiousness, his counsel if often sought outside the large circle of his immediate adherents, and his diagnoses and suggestions always command respect. During the late civil war Dr. Hewett was a consistent supporter of the Union cause. He was appointed by the government, "Acting assistant surgeon United States army for giving medical attendance to officers on duty in the city of Louisville." In addition to these duties he took an active part in the organization of several of the government hospitals established in the city during the war, and to which he gave his professional services. He served also as a member of the United States Sanitary Commission, and in conjunction with the late Drs. Lewis Rogers and J. B. Flint, acted as a member of the board of medical examiners for examining surgeons and assistant surgeons for the volun-

teer army. Dr. Hewett's duties, other than those of a professional nature, were that of a member of the board of trustees of the University of Louisville, and for nearly twenty years a director in the Louisville Gas Company. He was one of the directors of the Louisville & Lexington railroad during the construction of the Shortline branch, and has long been a director of the Louisville Insurance Company, and in the First National Bank of Louisville. He is one of the managers of Cave Hill cemetery. He is enterprising and public-spirited; an earnest, intelligent and active promoter of all schemes which look to the well-being and true progress of the community of which he is a prominent, influential and highly honored member. In 1847 Dr. Hewett married Miss J. Sidney Anderson, daughter of James Anderson, Sr. Three children were the result of this marriage, two of whom are still living: Mrs. Mary S. Beasley, of Baltimore, and Edward A. Hewett, cashier of the Bank of Louisville.

PHILIP HINKLE, a native of Louisville, was born in 1846. His parents, Philip and Mary Hinkle, were both born in Germany. He was educated in the schools of this city, and July 10, 1862, when about sixteen years of age, he enlisted in Company G, Twenty-eighth Kentucky United States Infantry, and served until June, 1865, when he was honorably discharged. At the close of the war he returned home, and in 1879 was elected city auditor; was re-elected in 1881, and subsequently was elected to the city council from the eleventh ward. Mr. Hinkle was married to Miss Elizabeth Zink, of Louisville, in 1868, and has two children—Nettie and Arthur. He is a member of the Knights of Honor, and of the G. A. R.

WILLIAM W. HITE was born in Louisville, November 14, 1854, and is a son of William C. and Mary (Rose) Hite, the former a native of Jefferson County; his grandfather was from Virginia, and among the earliest settlers of the county. W. C. Hite (subject's father) was born in 1820, and in early life was a steamboat clerk and captain, and was, all through life, a large steamboat owner. He was president of the Louisville and Evansville



Mail Line Company; of the Louisville and Jeffersonville Ferry Company; vice-president of the Southern Pullman Car Company; and a director in the Bank of Kentucky; in the Louisville Gas Company; in the Union Insurance Company; in the Southern Mutual Life Insurance Company, and was a prominent and successful business man; he died in 1882. The subject was educated in Louisville. He succeeded his father in the Louisville and Evansville Mail Line Company, and in other business associations. The firm of W. W. Hite & Co. conducts a steamboat and railroad supply store, and has a very large and extensive business.

HON. WILLIAM B. HOKE, judge of the Jefferson County Court, Ky., is a son of Cornelius and Jane (Dunbar) Hoke, and was born August 1, 1837. His father was of German descent, was a farmer by occupation, a progressive man, and knew the value of educating his children. His mother was a woman of fine intellectual endowments, and of Scotch-Irish parentage; both of his parents were natives of Kentucky. Judge Hoke spent the early part of his life on a farm and in the schools of his native county of Jefferson. But, displaying a taste for literary pursuits, he was sent to college, where he remained three years. Being impatient to commence the study of the law, his chosen pursuit, he entered the law office of Hon. James Speed, attorney-general under President Lincoln, and after sufficient reading attended lectures in the law department of the University of Louisville, graduating as valedictorian of his class. He was admitted to the bar, in Louisville, before reaching the age of twenty-one years. He commenced the practice of his profession in the office of Hon. S. S. English, an uncle of Hon. William H. English, of Indiana, and one of the old and leading members of the Louisville bar. He rose rapidly to public favor, and in August, 1866, was elected judge of the Jefferson County Court, a position he has filled with distinguished ability ever since—now nearly a quarter of a century. Judge Hoke is a man of fine judgment, of great strength of memory, with a superior faculty for making his knowledge

available on any emergency, and is justly regarded not only one of the first lawyers, but as one of the most clear-headed, upright and able judges of the State. A recent writer said of him: "Full of the milk of human kindness, and always ready to yield to the dictates of humanity, Judge Hoke is firm as a rock against any attempt to swerve him from the path of right and duty. To the appeals of a friend he is like melting wax in the mold, and his heart and hands are ever open to relieve the distressed, but to the threats of any he is as unyielding and intractable as the fortress of Gibraltar." Judge Hoke is a writer of more than average ability, and is a clear and forcible speaker. His bench decisions are rarely reversed, and he gives the greatest interest to the minutest details in his court; he is universally admired for his official courtesy, dignity and conscientious exactness. He was one of the originators of the Knights of Honor, and in 1878 was elected to the highest office in the body, that of supreme dictator, which he filled with honor and credit; when he retired from the important and exalted station, it was the largest benevolent institution in the world. He is a prominent Mason, and has filled many important positions in the order. He is an active Democrat, and, though not a politician in the full sense of the word, takes a strong interest in the political questions of the time. In 1859 Judge Hoke was married to Miss Whartie English, daughter of Hon. S. S. English, a family distinguished in the history of the country.

PHILIP HOLLENBACH was born in Germany, December 4, 1851, and came to the United States in 1869, when eighteen years of age. He located in New York City, where he found employment as a clerk. In 1870 he went to Alabama, where he engaged in horticulture, making a specialty of grape culture, in which he was successful, and the following year he removed to Louisville. In December, 1877, he commenced the wholesale wine and liquor business, handling principally native and imported wines. He took charge of the Glencoe Distillery in 1882, and has been conducting it ever since. His trade is large, and comprises extensive sales in



N. B. Hoke





California, Colorado, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Texas, etc. He was married in 1874 to Miss Carrie Schaich, of Germany. They have three children: Carrie, Louis and Philip.

JOHN CLARENCE HOOD, M. D., is a native of Wheeling, W. Va., where he was born February 1, 1858, and is a son of Samuel and Elsie Hood, natives of West Virginia. He was brought up in Wheeling until sixteen years of age, when he entered Western Reserve University, of Hudson, graduating in 1879 with the degree of B. A. The next year (1880) he entered the Western Reserve Medical College, at Cleveland, Ohio, from which he graduated in 1883. Acting upon the advice of the sagacious editor of the *New York Tribune* he went West, and for three years practiced medicine at Grand Forks, Dakota Territory. In 1886 he entered the University of Louisville, graduating from the Medical Department in 1887, and has practiced here since March of that year. The honorary degree of A. M. was conferred upon him June 4, 1887.

JOSEPH HOOPER is a native of Spencer County, Ky., and was born July 27, 1847. He is a son of Simeon B. and Mary (Foreman) Hooper, natives of Virginia, and of Spencer County, Ky. His mother was a daughter of Joseph Foreman, and a granddaughter of Gen. Cox; his father was an artist, and a fine workman. Joseph Hooper was reared in Spencer and Woodford Counties, and worked his own way up. He came to Louisville in 1882, having previously learned dentistry under Dr. Buckner, of Taylorsville. He was examined by the State Board in 1875, and began practice at Taylorsville. He was married in 1879 to Miss Elizabeth Bowen, of Missouri. He is an enterprising man, and owns stock in several substantial business enterprises.

WILLIAM HOWLETT is a native of Bullitt County, and was born February 8, 1839. He is a son of Luke and Eliza (Lee) Howlett; the former a native also of Bullitt County, born in 1809, and the latter born September 29, 1811. William, the subject, is the second son in a family of ten children. He was brought up on the farm and educated

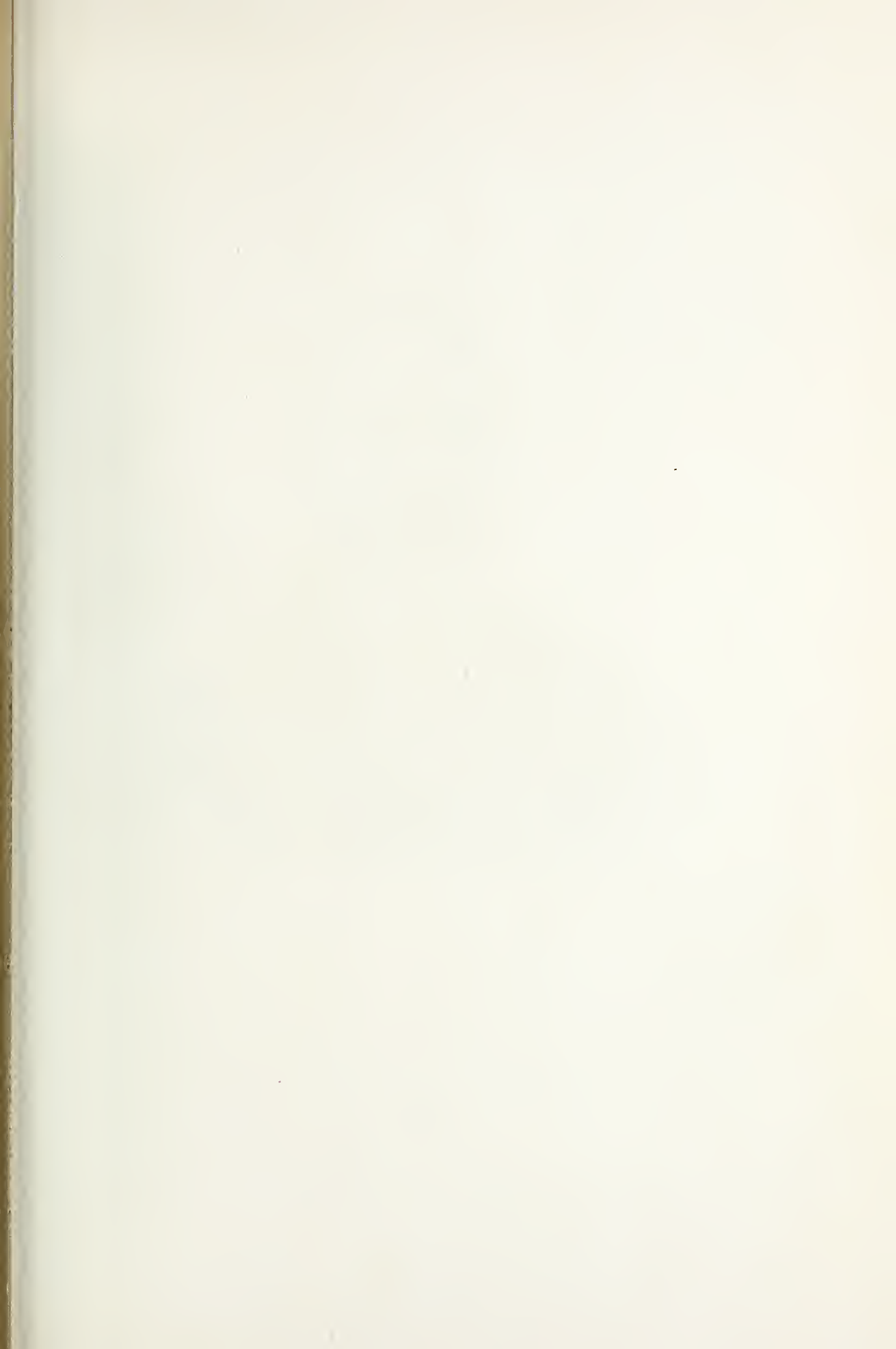
in the common schools, finishing up in the Bradenburg High School, then in charge of Prof. D. C. Cully, an excellent educator of that day. He married Miss Elizabeth Ellen Dawson, November 1, 1867, and at once moved onto his own farm. They have had eight children, viz: Margaret Ann, John L., Charles Wm. Franklin, James Lloyd Standford, boy died without being named, Lawrence Curtis, Eliza Elizabeth and Hallie Cathrian.

EDWARD PORTER HUMPHREY, D. D., LL. D., was the eldest son of Rev. Dr. Heman and Sophia Porter Humphrey, and was born in Fairfield, Conn., January 28, 1809, and died in Louisville December 9, 1886. He was from one of the oldest English-American families. The first of his ancestors in England were those who followed William the Conqueror from Normandy in 1066. Dr. Heman Humphrey, the father of Dr. E. P. Humphrey, was for twenty-two years president of Amherst College. One can trace in his character and in his career marked similarity to the character and career of his eldest son, Dr. E. P. Humphrey. Both were eminently successful in the pulpit and in their services among the people. Both were distinguished teachers, excelling in clearness of mind and in lucidity of statement. Both were wide in their sympathies, counting nothing beyond them when their fellow-men were concerned. Each after retiring from active service lived to enjoy the honors and esteem of those whom they had served so faithfully, and yet each was, to the quiet close of an eventful life, untiring in all the labors of which his constitution was capable. One might write of Dr. E. P. Humphrey as was written of his father, "As the years went on the position accorded him in the town was phenomenal. In connection with very many families his relationship was truly patriarchal. Their homes, their tables, their gardens with all they contained of bounty or fruitage were as open to him as if each had been his own. The sick and the dying watched eagerly for his coming, and for the comfort of his ministrations, and when some heavy sorrow fell with crushing weight upon a household the



most natural cry seemed to be: 'Send for Doctor Humphrey.'" Dr. Heman Humphrey died in 1861, in his eighty-third year. Dr. Edward Porter Humphrey's youth was spent in Connecticut. He was prepared for college at the academy in Amherst, Mass., and in 1828 he graduated with honor from Amherst College. In 1831-32 he was principal of the academy at Plainfield, Conn. During this time he pursued his theological studies, and in 1833 graduated at the Andover Theological Seminary. His inclination led him to begin his ministry in the Southwest, and during the year 1834 he labored in connection with the Presbyterian church in Jeffersonville, Ind. In 1835 he became pastor of the Second Presbyterian church in this city. He gave himself completely up to work in the interest of his church for eighteen years, and his influence was felt, not only in its rapid and permanent growth, but also in a marked degree throughout the city, and in the entire denomination to which he belonged. March 3, 1841, he was married to Caroline Catherine, daughter of Thomas Prather of this city. She bore him one son, Edward W. C. Humphrey, and one daughter, who died in her infancy. Rev. Dr. Humphrey's first wife died September 28, 1844. He was married the next time, April 3, 1847, to Martha, daughter of Alexander Pope. Judge A. P. Humphrey is the son of his second wife. Dr. Humphrey, as early as 1852, was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the then Old School Presbyterian Church, and his sermon, called "Our Theology," preached at Charleston, S. C., as retiring Moderator, is still circulated by the Presbyterian Board of Publication. Dr. Humphrey preceded Dr. Stuart Robinson as pastor of the old Presbyterian church on Third street, between Green and Walnut, which was afterward converted into a theater, and is now known as the Metropolitan building. His eloquence, when pastor of this church from 1835 to 1853, won him great fame. His discourse at the dedication of the Cave Hill cemetery, in 1848, was rich in eloquence and classical learning, and strong in that faith in immortality which he taught at all times.

In 1852 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Hanover College, Indiana. In 1853 he was appointed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, professor in Princeton Theological Seminary. This he declined, but soon after he accepted the professorship of Church History in the Theological College in Danville, Ky. It was during the latter years of his residence in Danville, 1861-66, that the exigencies occasioned by the bitter and disastrous civil strife called into prominence many of his distinguishing characteristics. Among these were his unwavering loyalty to the National Government, together with a magnanimity and conciliation of spirit which were potent influences in hastening the return of concord and amity, both in society and in the church. In 1866, in response to an urgent appeal, he returned to Louisville to take temporary charge of a new church made up of many members of the old Second Church, of which he had been pastor for eighteen years. The new organization was called the College Street church. His health, which had begun to fail, rapidly improved on his return to Louisville, and he became permanent pastor of the new church. Under his ministry it became one of the largest and most influential congregations in the city. In 1871 his Alma Mater, Amherst College, conferred the degree of L.L. D. on him. He continued his labors as pastor and preacher until 1880, when he retired from the active duties of his pulpit and was succeeded in the new and handsome church, which his congregation had built, by Rev. Dr. Christie. After his retirement he engaged in literary and theological work, and spent the remainder of his life among the people to whom he had devoted himself in his early manhood. The positions which Dr. Humphrey occupied demanded rare qualities and gifts, and with these he was peculiarly endowed. His preaching, so distinctive as a simple and earnest presentation of the Gospel, enhanced in attractiveness by convincing argument and impassioned eloquence, made him distinguished as an ambassador of Christ. As a theological teacher his knowledge of history, sacred and profane, and his







*J. A. Ireland, M. D.*

unique methods of imparting truth not only stimulated the imagination of his pupils, but gave them the philosophy of the subject and stores of definitive information. He life covered a period in the Presbyterian church in which great questions of policy and theology were considered, and his power in the discussion of vital subjects, together with the clear and calm judgment he brought to bear upon them, impressed itself with controlling influence upon the great assemblies of the church. His power was always the greater because of his kindly nature. In advocating measures which seemed to him of great importance one felt that his fervor was inspired by the strength and courage of his convictions rather than by any personal considerations. He was a man greatly beloved by his ministerial brethren and all who knew him, and while zealously devoted to the Presbyterian organization known as the "Old School" so long as it remained separate, he was no less earnest in his work for the unity of the Presbyterian church throughout the land, and foremost in promoting it in special crisis in later life. His theology was always conservative and fully deserved the eminence he attained by a long life devoted to a cause he loved. Dr. Humphrey was of slender figure and of about medium height. His face was expressive of high intelligence. His general appearance, in spite of his stature, was striking. His voice, until recently, was strong and clear, but even as he advanced in years he still retained his powers as an orator. His last few years had been spent with the family of his youngest son, but he was ready on all occasions to assist with his knowledge and experience all who applied to him. He took the liveliest interest in the College Street Presbyterian church, of which he had been pastor, and the members of that congregation are among those who will most keenly feel his loss. His last public appearance was at the funeral of the late James F. Huber, when he assisted in conducting the service. Dr. Humphrey's two sons are: Edward W. C. Humphrey, an able lawyer, and Alex. P. Humphrey, of the firm of Brown, Humphrey & Davie,

JUDGE ALEXANDER POPE HUMPHREY, a son of Rev. Edward P. Humphrey, was born in Louisville, January 26, 1848. He was liberally educated, and graduated from Centre College, Danville, in 1866. He studied law, taking his course in the University of Virginia, from which he graduated in 1868, and commenced practice the next year. He was for a short time chancellor of the Louisville Chancery Court. At present he is a member of the firm of Brown, Humphrey & Davie, one of the ablest law firms of the city. He was married in 1879 to Miss Mary Moss Churchill, of Louisville.

JOSIAH ALEXANDER IRELAND, M. D., was born September 15, 1824, in Jefferson County, and is a son of William and Jane (Stone) Ireland, the former of Scotch and the latter of English ancestry. He is the eldest of three surviving children, and received a good English education, with a fair knowledge of Latin and Greek. At the age of seventeen he commenced the study of medicine with Dr. James F. Pendergrast, of Jefferson County; but subsequently continued his studies in Louisville under Drs. Bullitt and Cummins. He attended his first course of lectures in the winter of 1845, in the medical department of the University of Louisville; in 1851 he graduated from the Kentucky School of Medicine, and at once commenced the practice of his profession in Louisville. He was elected, in 1864, to the chair of obstetrics and diseases of women and children in the Kentucky School of Medicine, which position he held until the school was merged into the University of Louisville, and was elected at that time professor of clinical medicine in the University. Upon the re-establishment of the Kentucky School of Medicine, he was again elected professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children, a position he resigned upon being elected to the chair of diseases of women and children in the Louisville Medical College in 1870; in 1875 he was elected to the same chair in the Kentucky School of Medicine. In 1876 he was a delegate to the International Medical Congress at Philadelphia; and at the meeting following of the Kentucky State Medical



Society he was appointed a delegate to the American Medical Association. He is a member of the Medico-Chirurgical Society, and has taken an active interest in the local and State organizations of the profession. Dr. Ireland was licensed to preach in 1848, in the Baptist Church, and for many years was pastor of several churches, in addition to attending to his professional duties. He is a life member of the General Association of Kentucky Baptists, and is regarded as a substantial, earnest and valuable member of his church. During his active professional labors, he has found time for literary pursuits, and has written some for the press, both religiously and in connection with his profession. He is a man of quiet, unassuming habits, and void of any disposition for personal display. Few men in his profession have done more hard and successful labor, and few physicians enjoy a more wide-spread reputation in his section of the State, and especially in that branch of the medical profession relating to the diseases of women and children; and in the church, in which he has been an active member for over forty years, he has been a zealous worker, and a pillar of strength. He is a man of fine personal appearance, above six feet in height, and weighing over two hundred pounds. He is exceptional in all his professional, social and personal habits; agreeable and attractive in manner; broad and liberal in his treatment of men; free from personal and selfish enmities; takes an active interest, not only in everything relating to the good and advancement of his profession and the church, but also to the community at large. He was married in 1846 to Miss Sarah E. Cooper, daughter of Levin Cooper, Esq., of Jefferson County. By this marriage he had one son, Henry Clay Ireland, a graduate of two medical colleges. In 1859 he was married to Susan M. Brown, daughter of the late Furtney Brown, of Louisville. By this marriage he has one son, William F. Ireland. Dr. Ireland holds sacred in memory the names of his teachers while at two medical colleges. While at the University of Louisville, he was taught by such men as Samuel D. Gross, M. D., Henry Miller, M. D., Charles Caldwell, M. D.,

Charles W. Short, M. D., Lansford P. Yandell, M. D., Daniel Drake, M. D., Jedediah Cobb, M. D. While at the Kentucky School of Medicine, he was instructed by Joshua B. Flint, M. D., James M. Bush, M. D., Henry M. Bullitt, M. D., Robert Peter, M. D., Ethelbert L. Dudley, M. D., Samuel Annan, M. D., Llewellyn Powell, M. D., and others, all of whom at that time enjoyed a national reputation as great teachers of the different branches of medicine and surgery. Dr. Ireland's success in life has been largely due to the sound and thorough teaching he received from the above named accomplished gentlemen and scholars.

JOHN I. JACOB, deceased, was born in Baltimore, Md., in 1778, and died in Louisville in 1852. He came to this city about 1807, and engaged in the mercantile business, forming a partnership with Thomas Prather, one of the most prominent of Louisville's early business men. The old house of Prather & Jacob was for many years one of the reliable business houses of the young city, and was the synonym for all that was upright and honorable. After the dissolution of their partnership, Mr. Jacob became president of the Branch Bank of the United States, and after it was closed was made president of the Bank of Kentucky, which position he resigned in 1836. He was for a number of years a member of the city council, and in 1848 he became president of the Louisville & Frankfort Railroad, which was fully completed during his administration; but the infirmities of age compelled him to resign the position and retire from active business. He aided in the establishment of the asylum for the blind, and contributed greatly, in various ways, not only to the growth and prosperity of Louisville, but also to the amelioration of the condition of the poor and needy, displaying a liberal hand in the great charities of the city. From time to time he had purchased property throughout the city, which rapidly increased in value, and, by well conducted, legitimate business, he accumulated a large fortune. Mr. Jacob was twice married: first to Miss Ann O. Fontaine. The children by this marriage were: Mrs. Curran Pope, Mrs. John W. Tyler

and John I. Jacob, Jr. His second wife was Lucy Donald Robertson. They had eight children, of whom there are now living—Mrs. James B. Clay, of Fayette County; Col. Richard T. Jacob, ex-lieutenant governor of Kentucky; Thomas P. Jacob, president of the Kentucky & Louisville Mutual Insurance Company, and Hon. Charles D. Jacob, mayor of Louisville. Of his first wife's children, only Mrs. Tyler is now living.

HON. CHARLES D. JACOB, mayor of the city of Louisville, was born June 1, 1838, and is a son of John I. and Lucy Donald (Robertson) Jacob, Kentuckians. His mother was a daughter of Commodore Richard Taylor, one of the naval heroes of the war for Independence. Mr. Jacob's early education was obtained under the most favorable conditions. After a few years in the best home schools, he went to Cambridge to prepare himself for Harvard. Prof. Reginald H. Chase of that institution was engaged as his tutor, and during the year 1856-57 directed his studies. In the latter year, so diligent had been the work of both, Prof. Chase gave him a certificate which entitled him to admission to the junior class at Harvard, an institution whose standard of scholarship was then as now of the highest order. But here at the very threshold of college life he met with a severe disappointment. An attack of diphtheria compelled his return to Louisville. It was hoped that his illness meant only temporary suspension of his studies, but the physical prostration which supervened necessitated long rest and change of air; hence during the years 1857 and 1858 Mr. Jacob traveled in Europe, returning in September of the latter year in renewed health, and feeling that the advantages of foreign travel had in a great degree compensated him for the interruption to his college course. A few months after his return from abroad, and on the 12th day of January, 1859, Mr. Jacob married Miss Addie Martin, of Louisville. In 1860, and for eight years thereafter, his health was not good, and he was precluded from taking an active part in the affairs of the city, whose welfare he has always had at heart, and in whose history he has since held so prominent a place. In 1870

he was elected to the city council from the seventh ward, and was re-elected without opposition. He became a candidate for mayor in 1872 for the first time, was elected over several contestants, and was the youngest man who had ever before filled the high and important office. In 1875 a call signed by more than four thousand citizens was made on him to offer for re-election. Having scruples against succeeding himself, he at first declined becoming a candidate, but the pressure was so great he was finally compelled to make the canvass. Mr. John G. Baxter, a man of prominence, and a politician of great popularity, an ex-mayor of the city, and a most thorough organizer, was his opponent. After a strong and bitter canvass, Mr. Jacob was elected by nearly a thousand majority. Both Mr. Jacob and Mr. Baxter were Democrats, and their contest, at that time, has since been often cited as the most remarkable local struggle ever known in Louisville, and served to illustrate in a striking manner the influence of the two contestants over their respective factions. Entering upon the duties of his office for a second term, Mr. Jacob continued mayor until January, 1879, when a change in the city's charter rendered him ineligible to re-election. In September of the succeeding year, by the advice of his physicians, he again went to Europe to recruit his health. In 1871 he accepted the presidency and general management of the Central Savings Bank, whose affairs were then considerably involved. But when he resigned the position, some two years later he had the satisfaction of seeing the bank restored to a sound financial basis. In 1881, responding to numerous citizens, he again became a candidate for mayor and was elected without opposition. Under the administration of President Cleveland he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the United States of Colombia, but after holding the position about a year, resigned and returned home. He then accepted the presidency of the Southern Mutual Life Insurance Company, of Louisville. In 1887 he was again elected mayor of Louisville, after a hot and spirited contest, over two of the prominent citizens of Louisville —



Judge W. B. Hoke and Mr. Samuel L. Avery. The best comment on Mr. Jacob's personal character may be found in the manner in which he has been trusted by his fellow-citizens. The tribute which the people of his native city have paid to his intelligence and honesty by electing him four times mayor, the first honor in their gift, needs no comment.

EDWARD W. JAMES, dealer in staple and fancy groceries, and family stores, at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Walnut street, Louisville, is the son of William and Kate James, and was born in Louisville, October 25, 1863. He was educated in the schools of Louisville, and at the age of eighteen commenced in the grocery business at Buckner, Oldham County, Ky., where he continued until 1885, at which time he returned to the city of his birth and opened his present store. Mr. James keeps a full stock in his line, and enjoys a fine trade. He married Ann'e Jarvis May 20, 1886. She is the daughter of William and Olive Jarvis, of Louisville.

THOMAS LEWIS JEFFERSON was born in Baltimore, Md., February 15, 1826. He was the eldest son of Thomas Jefferson, and came of good, strong stock. His father was a blacksmith, and his grandfather was a sailor. His mother was a woman of fine business qualities, and to her, quite as much as to his father, did Mr. Jefferson owe his business sagacity. While her husband was busy in the shop the mother started a little grocery store. This was after the family came to Louisville, in 1831. The little store that his mother started prospered wonderfully. Soon the father had to be taken from his shop. Then Thomas, a lad of sixteen, had to be removed from school to lend his help to attend to the thriving trade. The boy had no time to get a fine education; but what he missed in 'ologies and 'onomies he gained in a practical insight into business affairs. The schooling that he did get, however, was thorough, for he was under such teachers as Noble Butler and John H. Harney. It was in 1842 that he began his long and eventful business life as a clerk in his mother's store. When he was twenty-six

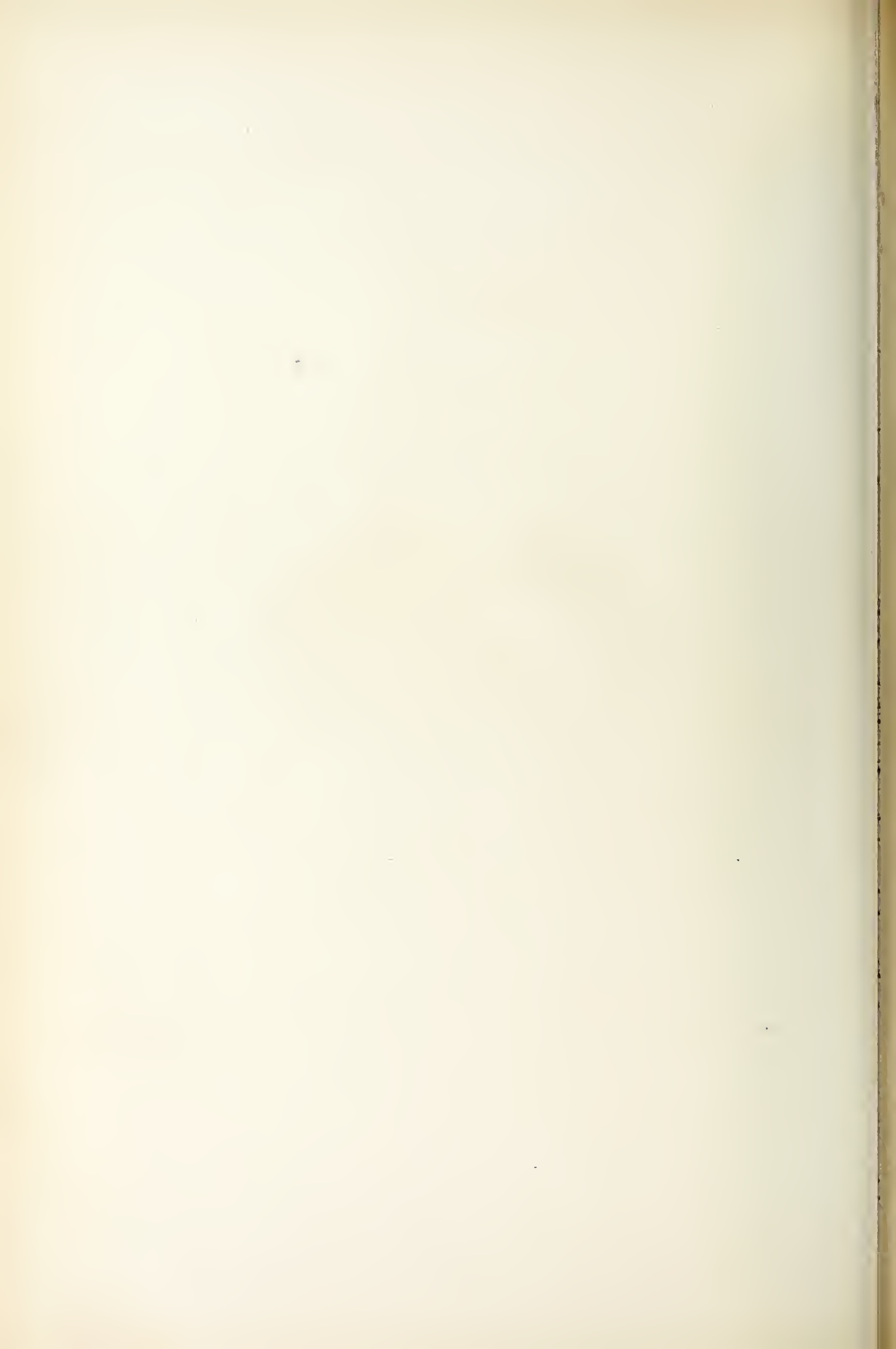
years old he formed a partnership with Mr. Charles Gallagher in the wholesale grocery business. After a few months the firm dissolved by mutual consent, and Mr. Jefferson branched out for himself on Market street, below First, in a wholesale and retail grocery. He was successful from the start, and soon built himself a fine store on the southeast corner of Market and First streets, where he remained twelve years, and established a fine trade. He was the sole agent for the Kanawha salt manufactories during this period. By this time the wholesale feature of the business had grown so enormously that he was forced to open a wholesale house on Main street, with himself, his two brothers, and A. N. Jennison, under the firm name of T. L. Jefferson & Bros. He went along, never dabbling in speculations, never mixing his name up with rings or cliques, and by shrewdness and ability made his business a great success. In 1875 he was appointed executor of John Bull's estate. The interests of this estate were so great that Mr. Jefferson had to devote to its management all his time and energy. He therefore resigned from his Main street house, making room for his eldest son, T. L. Jefferson, Jr., and John W. Day, who had been for years a faithful and trusted clerk. In 1879 he resigned his position as executor, owing to the litigation that grew out of Dr. Bull's will, after which he devoted himself to managing his own estate, and was not afterward actively engaged in business. It is not strange that a man of Mr. Jefferson's active mind should turn to politics. He was not in any sense a politician, but did much to see that the city in which all his interests were should be well governed. In 1851 he was elected to fill a vacancy in the Board of Council. He was re-elected for three consecutive terms; and in 1860 he was elected to the Board of Aldermen. In 1867 he was elected to the lower house of the State legislature, and was re-elected at the expiration of his term. When his second term was over he was elected to the State senate for one term. He refused to go a second time. He was a member of the Democratic City Executive Committee, and



Engr by A.H. 1866

Thomas L. Jefferson.





also a member of the State Central Committee for several years. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention which met in New York in 1868. While a member of the council he was trustee of the Louisville Marine Hospital, the Alms House, the Work House, and the Pest House. He served from 1870 till his death on the directory of the House of Refuge. For a number of years he was trustee of the Louisville Female Seminary. In 1874 he was appointed by Gov. Leslie a trustee of the Kentucky Institute for the Blind. He was re-appointed by Govs. McCreary and Blackburn. Mr. Jefferson was also a trustee of the American Printing House for the Blind, and did valuable service in organizing the method of keeping the accounts at this institution. Mr. Jefferson was one of the incorporators of the Masonic Widows' and Orphans' Home. He was elected director at its organization in 1867, and was president of the board from 1869 until his death. In 1861 Mr. Jefferson took all the degrees of Symbolic Masonry, and afterward of Capitular and Chivalic. He was at the time of his death Past Master, having been elected Master in 1882 of Excelsior Lodge No. 258, Free and Accepted Masons; he was also Master of King Solomon Royal Arch Chapter No. 18, and member of DeMolay Commandery, No. 12, Knights Templar, of which he was also treasurer from 1873 until death. He was known to all the Masons of Kentucky for his untiring and unselfish zeal for the Home. The Board of Directors of the Home adopted the following resolutions on his death: "Resolved, That in the death of our brother the members of this board have lost an active collaborer, ever earnest, sincere and candid, a presiding officer, attentive, courteous and impartial in the discharge of his duty, and the Home a wise, thoughtful, vigilant and faithful guardian of its interest. In everything that he undertook our brother was earnest and devoted, and if there was any object of a public nature he had in life which was nearer and dearer to his heart than all else, it was the welfare and success of our Home. At all times, and on all proper oc-

casions he was its advocate, cheerfully giving time, labor and means to advance its interest. We feel that to him more than to any single individual is due its present and permanent usefulness. He labored for and watched over its material and domestic interests, very often to the exclusion of his private business matters, and gave to it such exertions and patient, thoughtful care as only could have been given by one who loved the Home with his whole heart. Resolved, that the inmates of the Home, with the members of the board, attend the funeral of our brother in a body; that these resolutions be spread upon the minutes and published in the daily papers, and an engrossed copy be sent to his sorrowing family with the heartfelt and sincere expression of our sympathy in their great bereavement." He was also an active member of the Sons of Temperance, and was for a time the presiding officer of his division, and D. G. W. P. of the district. Mr. Jefferson joined the M. E. Church, South, in 1848. He was a member of the Board of Managers of that body in 1854, and remained such until the principal offices were removed to Nashville. He was secretary of the Louisville City Missionary Society of the church for years; for fifteen years he was superintendent of the Bethel Sunday-school, which he organized, and he also assisted in organizing the Senon Chapel, M. E. Church, South. He was a member of its official board, and recording steward and superintendent of the Sunday-school connected with it, which he also organized. Mr. Jefferson was one of the most active business men of Louisville. He had been a member, director and vice-president of the Board of Trade. He had served since 1859 as a director of the Bank of Louisville. From 1872 to 1874 he was a director of the Louisville & Frankfort and Lexington & Frankfort railroad companies. In 1878 he was elected director of the Kentucky and Louisville Mutual Insurance Company, and in July, 1880, was made its president, and held that position until his death. Besides all this, he was ever active in the cause of charity. He was identified with the South-western Relief Commission of 1866, which



helped the Southern destitute. He was chairman of a committee to receive and disburse funds raised by the Masons of Kentucky for the relief of the Chicago fire sufferers in 1871. Mr. Jefferson was married to Elizabeth Ann Creagh, May 28, 1848, by Rev. James Craik. They had nine children, four daughters and five sons, three of whom are dead. Most of their daughters are married to prosperous merchants, and have families of their own about them. This is an out-line of a long, busy and active life. At his desk he was prompt, careful, honest. At his fireside he was cheerful, social, hospitable. He lived to see a large family grow up about him, all of whom have prospered. He felt the full force of the consolation which the Good Book speaks of, for his children "rise up and call him blessed." Mr. Jefferson died March 23, 1884. His fatal illness began in November preceding, and at that time was not considered serious, but it gradually grew worse, until his malady was pronounced cancer of the stomach; nevertheless his stomach resisted the advances of the disease much longer than his most sanguine relatives and friends expected. Thomas Lewis Jefferson represented a class of men who in their day won for England wealth and respect—the honest and industrious merchants. He was not a brilliant man, neither a poet nor an orator, but a plain, steady, common-sense man, who took a deep interest in his adopted city and all that affected it, and who led an active business life. The people of Louisville were so long accustomed to hear his name mentioned first in every enterprise that would benefit the city that his death came to all like a personal bereavement. A man of clear head, of clean morals, of pure habits and of strong friendships; a man of solid worth, of rare business sagacity, and of immense energy and resource, he was as much a loss to the city as he was to his own family. He left a large fortune, and he also left, what is infinitely better, a name that has never been dishonored and a memory that no man will attack. He was so well known, he has gone in and out among this people for so many years, that it looks

almost like an unnecessary work to tell how often and on what occasions his name has figured in public enterprises. He was a model business man, honest, reliable, clear of head and pure of heart; of a temperament at once aggressive and conciliatory, of rare sagacity and wonderful foresight, and above all of extraordinary executive ability.

THOMAS LEWIS JEFFERSON is a son of Thomas L. Jefferson, whose sketch is given above, and is a worthy scion of a noble stock, a fit representative of a name that stands untarnished. He was born in Louisville, April 16, 1854, and was educated in the admirable schools of that city. In growing to man's estate he developed the firmness and systematic integrity of his father, and the kind, good sense of his mother, so that he gained and retained the confidence and affection of business men and those with whom he came in contact. His father instructed him in the science of accounts and while he was yet a lad entrusted him with the duty of looking after the interests of his large property. His reports of this business were as exact and business-like as if it were done by the employed agent of a stranger. Thus did he become habituated to correct business methods, building a character upon the broad and sure foundation of honesty, sobriety, promptness and attention to details, which has placed him in the van of the young business men of the city. It is not, then, surprising that when scarcely twenty-three years of age he was admitted to partnership in the firm of Jefferson & Co., successors of the old firm of T. L. Jefferson & Bros., a large flour and commission house on Main and First streets, with which he remained until April 1880, when he became the senior partner of the firm of Jefferson & Wright, one of the largest wholesale and retail grocery houses in the city, being the successor of the old firm of Hibbitt & Son. On the death of his father, in 1884, he became, with his uncle, executor of the paternal estate, amounting to near half a million dollars. He was the chosen successor of his father as director in the Masonic Widows and Orphans Home, and treasurer of De Molay Commandery of Knights Tem-



*T. L. Jefferson*





plar. This commandery is the "Banner Commandery" of the United States, having won first prize in the national prize contest in San Francisco, in 1883, in this and many other drills the subject of this sketch participated. During the extended tour of the commandery across the continent, he was the unanimously elected financial officer, and his report was a pattern for fiduciary officers. He was also elected director of the Bank of Louisville in 1884, and of the Masonic Temple Company in 1887, and steward of the Broadway Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1884—to each of which positions, and the other positions above mentioned, he has been re-elected at each successive election, and now occupies all of these honorable and responsible places as well as that of director and vice-president of the Excelsior Savings Company. In February, 1878, he was united in marriage with Miss Katie Welman, eldest daughter of Mr. Floyd C. Welman (deceased). The fruit of this union is two sons, Floyd W. and Thos. L. When his brothers, Harry T. and Charles W., became of age Mr. Jefferson took them into partnership, and under the firm name of T. L. Jefferson & Bros. established two branch stores to accommodate his rapidly increasing business. He is also interested in building up our city, and in connection with his two brothers has recently erected a row of magnificent dwellings on Floyd street, occupying half the square from Gray street to Broadway; the property is known as Jefferson Terrace. He also (1885) entered in to another extensive business, that of pickle manufacturing (employing forty hands), under the style of J. M. Clark & Co.; they make the celebrated Hyman Pickles. To all of these interests he gives his skillful attention, and as a necessary consequence all are prospering. The confidence of the business and religious communities in him is clearly evinced by the foregoing, but that confidence is also shown by his serving as Master of his Masonic Lodge for three consecutive years, being first elected in 1878 when he was only twenty-four years of age. The present writer, as head of one of the great demonstrations that has distinguished Louisville during the current decade, had oc-

casional to require the services and co-operation of a skillful, honest and systematic business man to handle the finance which amounted to many thousands of dollars. In seeking for the proper one to fill the place there seemed to be no one in the entire city so eminently fitted for it as the subject of this sketch, and his selection met with the unanimous and most hearty endorsement of the managers. The promptness and thoroughness with which the financial interests were managed proved the wisdom of the choice and has made a demand for subsequent like service, which if accepted would absorb Mr. Jefferson's entire time. As a friend Mr. Jefferson is sincere and faithful; as a companion pleasant and accommodating; as a business man his ability, punctuality and rectitude stand unimpeached. As a man among men he is kind, modest and unassuming to a remarkable degree. He has not been spoiled by his success or inheritance and is agreeable and approachable in every position.

THEODORE S. JENNINGS was born in Greencastle, Ind., June 7, 1850, and is a son of Theodore C. Jennings, a miller, and an early settler of Indiana, who emigrated from Kentucky. His mother was a daughter of Joel and Mary Yager, natives of Jefferson County, Ky. The subject of this sketch was educated principally in the State University at Bloomington, Ind. In 1872 he engaged in a general merchandise business at Utica, Ind., and in 1876 engaged in the drug business, which he followed until April, 1881, when he sold out and removed to Jeffersonville, and took charge of Lewman & Bros.' drug business until 1884, when he came to Louisville, and engaged in the same business with F. Bender, on Shelby and Jefferson streets. Having read medicine for ten years, he began attending a course of lectures in 1885, at the Louisville Medical College, graduating in 1887, and at once commenced practicing. His office is at 909 East Jefferson street, Louisville. Dr. Jennings was married, in 1872, to Miss Maggie Summers, niece of James and Margaret Hobson, of Utica, Ind., by whom he has three children, viz.: Anna, James and Maggie. His wife died May 25,



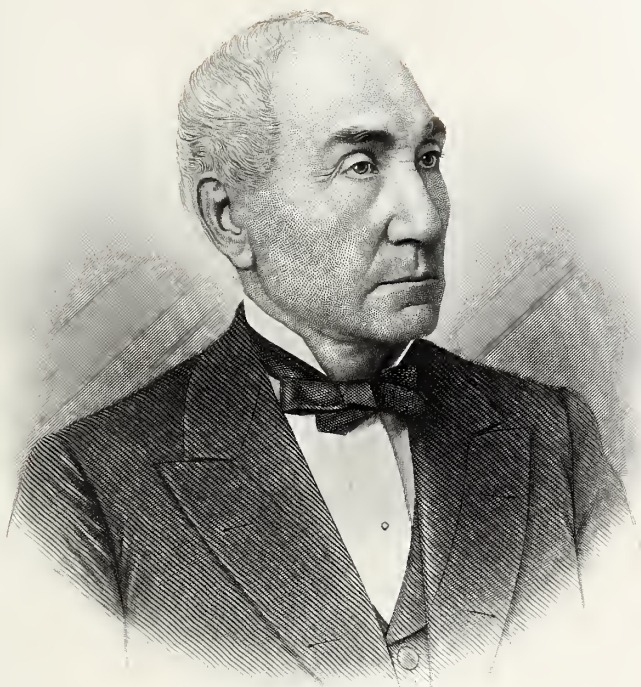
1880. He was next married, October 11, 1884, to Miss Maud Fogle, a daughter of Ebenezer Fogle, of Marion County. By this second marriage he has one daughter, Nellie M. Jennings.

HON. SILVESTER JOHNSON was born October 15, 1813, in Nelson County, and is one of nine children, viz.: Charles, Nancy, William, Thomas, John, Elizabeth, the subject, Ellen and Catherine, born to John and Dorothy (Miles) Johnson, natives of St. Mary's County, Md. They came to Nelson County in 1798, and settled near where New Hope now stands. He married for his second wife Henrietta, a daughter of John B. Hill, by whom he had four children—Priscilla, Hillery, Mary and Sally. The family was of the Roman Catholic faith. Mr. Johnson became a substantial farmer in the county, and died in 1833, at the age of fifty-six years. The subject of this sketch, Silvester Johnson, was brought up on a farm, and received a good English education, finishing off with two years at St. Mary's College, in Marion County. He taught school during the summer months and flat-boated during the winter, a business that had been begun by his uncle. Mr. Johnson was but eighteen years old when he commenced the battle of life on his own account. He flat-boated and merchandised until 1843, when he retired from boating and acted as deputy sheriff for several years, but continued the mercantile business, and in 1853 was elected sheriff, serving one term; afterward acted as deputy sheriff up to 1857. In 1859 he was elected to the Legislature. He has since been solicited several times to offer for the same office, but has always declined. He has drifted into the banking business, which he has successfully carried on for sixteen years. He owns considerable property in New Haven, where he has lived for the last fifty-one years, and is reported to be worth from \$300,000 to \$400,000, and has given away to charitable purposes \$100,000. He still continues to give liberally; for several years he has been clothing the children of St. Thomas' Orphan Asylum. In 1873 he built a parochial school-house in New Haven, at a cost of \$6,000, and donated it to the Roman Catholic

Church. He established two free Catholic schools and pays out of his own funds the teachers for both white and colored schools. He gave about \$20,000 to a new Roman Catholic Church erected in New Haven at a total cost of \$30,000. Mr. Johnson was married in August, 1835, to Mildred, a daughter of Charles and Susan (Howard) Boone, who came from Maryland in 1798, and settled in Nelson county. Mrs. Johnson was born in February, 1816, and died July 29, 1875. She was a most excellent lady, noted for her charitable qualities. Mr. Johnson was originally a Whig, and gave his first vote for Henry Clay for President. At the dissolution of the Whig party in 1855, and the springing up of the Know-nothing party, he joined the Democratic party, and has voted with it ever since without ever scratching the ticket. He has been a member of the Democratic committee for Nelson County for the last thirty years.

HENRY JOHNSON was born in Scott County, Ky., March 3, 1840. He is a son of Henry Johnson, who was also a native of Scott County. Henry Johnson removed to Bullitt County, Ky., and November 10, 1876, was married to Miss Fannie Twyman. He is a farmer, and resides near Huber, Bullitt County.

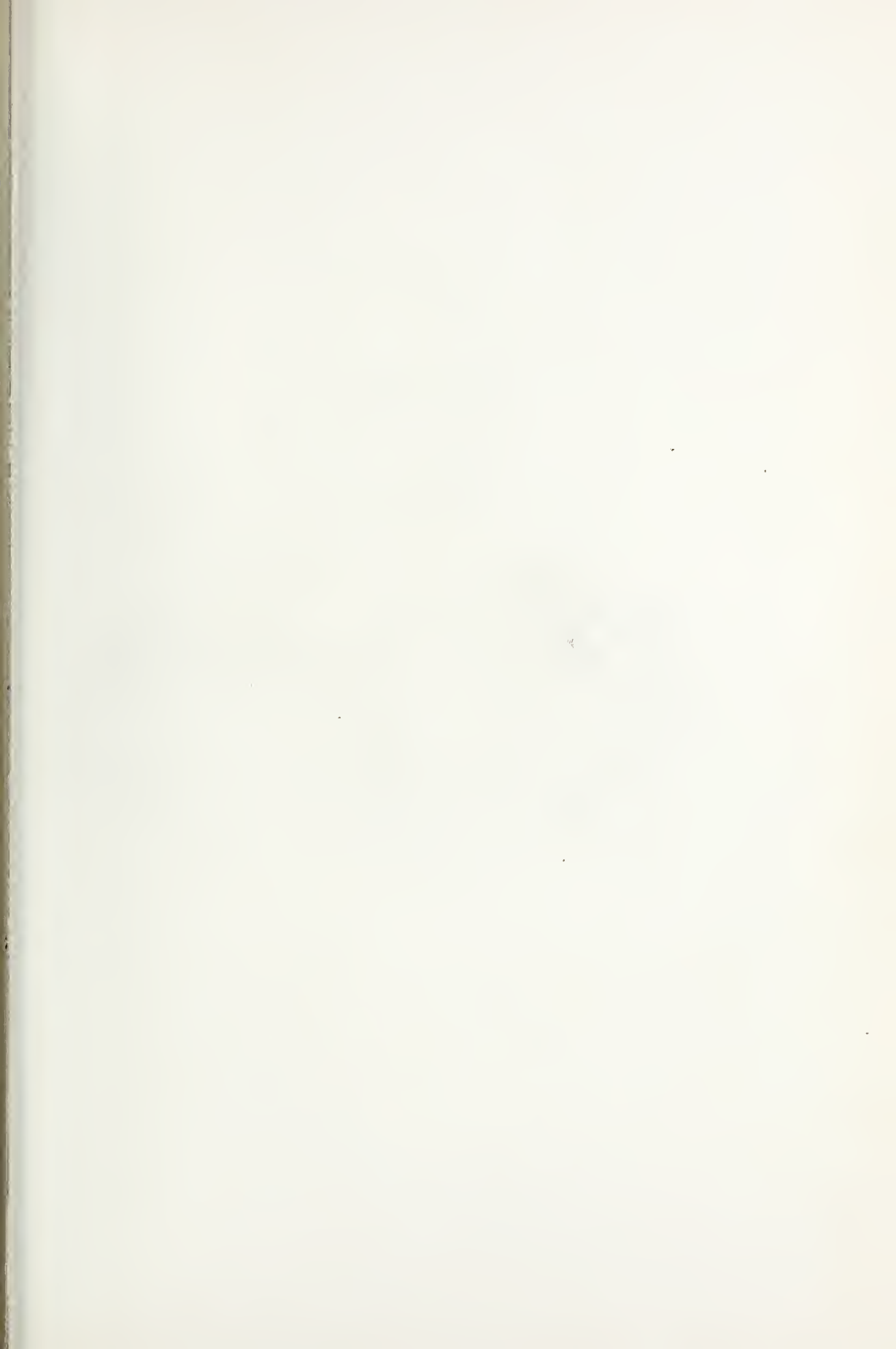
WILLIAM PAYNE JOHNSON was born near Georgetown, in Scott County, August 31, 1851, and is a son of L. L. and Irene (Elley) Johnson. The Johnsons are a prominent family in Scott County, and very early settlers there. Our subject is a grand-nephew of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, Vice-President of the United States under Van Buren. He was liberally educated. In 1867 he entered Washington-Lee University, Lexington, Va., where he remained two years, having spent two years previously in the Kentucky Military Institute. In 1870 he began reading law under Madison C. Johnson, at Lexington, Ky. He was licensed to practice by the Court of Appeals in 1872, and at once came to Louisville, where he practiced until 1876, and for a part of the time was a partner of Judge A. T. Pope. In the latter year, he, with his brother-in-law, Judge S. B. Toney, took charge of R. Burge's estate, which they



Silvester Johnson











yours Truly  
Green, L. Fay

wound up satisfactorily. The subject has been for some time in the tobacco business with Theodore Schwartz, Jr., his partner. The firm at present is William P. Johnson & Co., and they are the proprietors of the Enterprise Tobacco Warehouse. Mr. Johnson was married on the 5th of April, 1876, to Emma Moore Burge, daughter of the late R. Burge, Esq., long a prominent and well known citizen of Louisville.

HENRY F. KALFUS, M. D., was born in Shepherdsville, Bullitt County, Ky., April 14, 1832, and is of German extraction. His mother was a sister of the distinguished Burr Harrison, of Bardstown, Ky. He received a good education, which he completed at Hanover College, Indiana, in 1852. He studied medicine in his native town, and after practicing five years, graduated at the Kentucky School of Medicine, Louisville, in 1860; he also received a diploma from the medical department of the University of Louisville. He was a candidate for State treasurer in 1863, on the ticket with Hon. Charles A. Wickliffe, but was defeated. When the civil war broke out he raised a company for the Fifteenth Kentucky Infantry (Union) commanded by Col. Curran Pope, of Louisville. He was promoted major for gallant conduct at the battle of Perryville, and was afterward promoted to lieutenant-colonel, and then to colonel. After the battle of Stone River, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the war, he resigned his commission, and after spending some time in Canada, at the close of the war, he returned to Louisville, and resumed the practice of his profession. He is secretary of the Board of Regents of Kentucky School of Medicine, and has held the position for several years. Dr. Kalfus has two children living—Joseph L., now of California, and Mrs. Anna D. Jarnette, of Florida.

GREEN L. KEY, a prominent farmer of Bullitt County, Kentucky, was born in that county April 22, 1824, and is a son of George L. Key, who was born in Jefferson County in 1797. Thomas Key, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, came from Virginia, and was among the earliest pioneers who settled in the State. Green L. Key's mother

was Avarilla (Alexander) Key. Green L. Key was reared on the farm and has always been engaged in that pursuit, and is now one of the substantial farmers in the county. Of late years he has been devoting his time to the growing of fine fruit, etc.; and he has also fine deposits of granite on his farm. He was married March 17, 1844, to Miss Minerva Chappell, a most estimable and Christian lady, having been a life-long member of the M. E. Church, as has also Mr. Key. She died in 1887. Mr. Key, with the exception of a few years' residence in Louisville, has always lived in Bullitt County; while in the city he was extensively engaged as a stock dealer. Mr. Key has had born in his family eight children: Cordelia Ann, Roxunna, Sarah M., Corban M., Baxter, Marcus L., John T., Clarence E., George W. and Hallie H., deceased. Mr. Key owns in his home farm 300 acres.

JOHN KIEFER is a native of Germany and was born March 3, 1849. He came to the United States in 1872, and located in Louisville. Before he left the "fatherland" he served in the German army under the Crown Prince, and was a corporal when discharged from service. When he located in Louisville he engaged in the grocery business, first running a delivery wagon. He filled different positions with different firms until 1875, when he engaged in the business for himself, which he still carries on, and in which he has been very successful. In 1881 he was married to Miss Josephine Weiman, of New Albany, Indiana. They have two children: John A. and Herbert G. Mr. and Mrs. Keifer are members of the Prot stant Church.

HENRY W. KOHNHORST, city tax receiver, is a native of the German Empire, and was born in Prussia, July 21, 1844. He is a son of Henry H. and Christina (Strak) Kolmhorst, who came to the United States, and to Louisville, in 1846. Henry H. was a brick mason, and for twenty-five years carried on the business here—the latter part of his life very extensively; he died in 1870, leaving a considerable fortune. The subject is the eldest of six living sons, and was reared and educated in Louisville. He was deputy

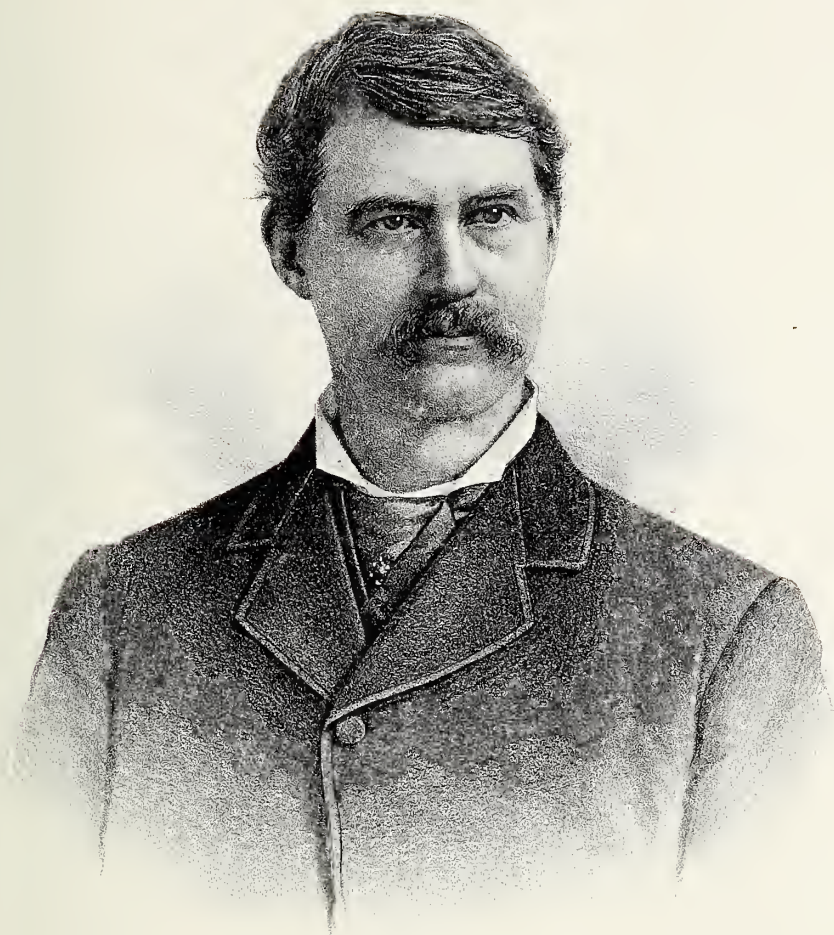


sheriff about seven and a half years, and in 1880 was elected to his present position as city tax receiver, which he has since held, and the duties of which he has faithfully and satisfactorily discharged. He was married in 1868 to Miss Malinda Kriel, of Louisville; five children have resulted from this marriage.

JACOB KRIEGER, Sr., is a native of Rhenish Bavaria, and was born August 23, 1826. While still a mere lad he became imbued with the revolutionary ideas then agitating Germany and France, and in the Revolution of 1848-49, took such a part as made his further residence at home uncomfortable, to say the least, being subjected to police surveillance and frequent annoying arrests. Consequently he came to America. After a few months spent in New York, he went to Zanesville, O., where he got employment at \$6 a month. He was there but a short time when he came to Louisville, where he obtained a place at \$9 a month; then went into a dry goods store at \$15 a month, which was shortly raised to \$25. A man who offered to put up the money induced Mr. Krieger to go into business on his own account. This gentleman, however, did not put up the capital, and the firm failed. The creditors insisted on Mr. Krieger taking entire charge of the business, though they knew he had no money. He compromised with his creditors, but finally paid \$2 for every dollar he owed. He afterward took a clerkship in the dry goods house of Anderson, McLane & Co., and then with Leight & Barret, which place he left to keep books three years for Thomas & Anderson. The war was coming on and the business of this house began to grow slack. Mr. Krieger foresaw the result of the war, and resigned a position worth \$1,100, to take one in the Merchants' Bank at \$25 a month. He remained here four years, making his way rapidly. At the end of that time the Western Bank was organized, and he was elected its first cashier. It was then called the Western Insurance Company. In 1868 Mr. Krieger reorganized the Masonic Savings Bank, of which he was elected president in 1871. He was mainly instrumental in effecting a coup which was one of the most successful pieces of financier-

ing ever known in this city. The Louisville, Cincinnati & Lexington Railroad—the Cincinnati Shortline—failed in 1874, and the holders of second mortgage bonds, of whom Krieger was one, were left with little chance of being able to recover their money. He and others formed a pool of second mortgage bond holders, and on October 1, 1877, the managers of the pool bought the road, taking stock in payment for their bonds, and issuing common stock for all debts that came in. The bond holders elected directors and soon made Mr. Krieger vice-president of the new company; he was then elected president, and in less than a year effected a sale of the road to the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. Thus all who went into the pool got \$1.22 6-10ths for their stock, and instead of losing money made some. Mr. Krieger is one of the self-made men of Louisville, and has worked up to his present position as one of the solid business men, from the bottom of the ladder. He is always ready to foster any business enterprise that adds to the growth and prosperity of his adopted city. He is the largest stockholder in the Masonic Savings Bank, owning one-eighth of the stock. He also owns one-seventh of the Galt House Company stock, and is president of the Shelby Railroad, and the Maysville Water Company. Mr. Krieger was married, in 1868, to Miss Caroline Egelhoff, of Louisville. They have ten children. He is a leading Mason, both in York and Scottish rites.

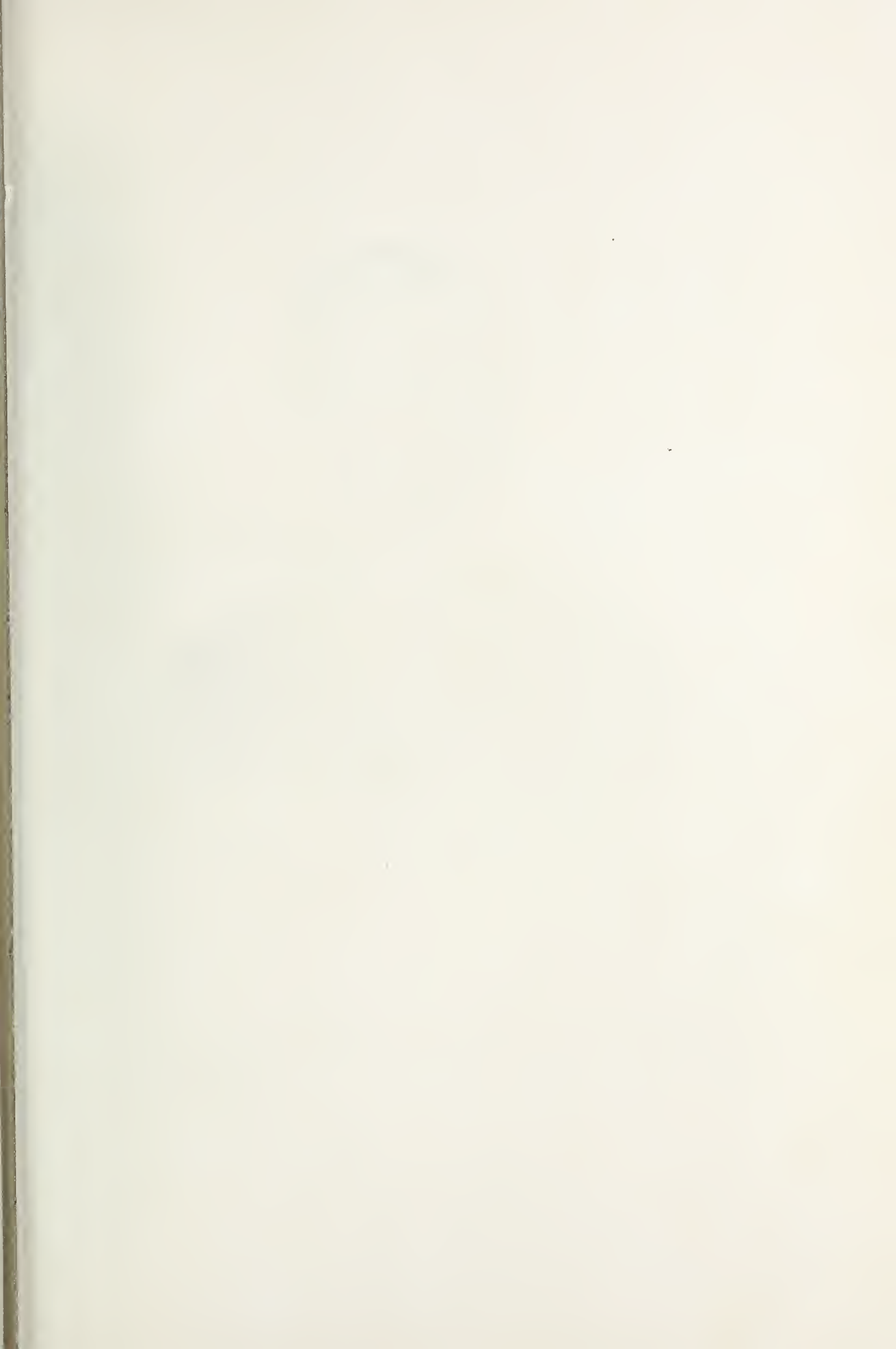
GEORGE LANG is a native of Germany, and was born August 15, 1842, in Klingenberg, Bavaria. In 1853 his parents emigrated to United States, locating in Louisville, where they resided until their death. Our subject was reared in Louisville, where he learned the cooper's trade. He enlisted in May, 1861, in Company E, Second Kentucky Federals, under Col. W. E. Woodruff, and served in all engagements of that regiment, being twice wounded, once at Stone River and again at Chickamauga, where he was taken prisoner and confined in a rebel prison at Danville and Libby for over nine months, when he was fortunately exchanged, being barely alive. He was mustered out of service



*Oliver Lucad*











*John A. Larrabee M.D.*

in 1864—expiration of service—the regiment having been mustered out before he was exchanged. His health being precarious, he engaged as a clerk in a grocery and continued until 1867, when he embarked in the grocery business for himself and has continued since, his present location being 215 First street. He is a member of the G. A. R. He was married in 1867 to Anna Glahn, of Louisville, but a native of Germany.

JOHN ALBERT LARRABEE, M. D., came of an old French family which traces its advent into this country to the edict of Nantes, in the year 1685, when 400,000 protestants called Huguenots quitted France and found homes in other countries. He was born at Little Falls, Gorham, Me., May 17, 1840, and is a son of John R. Larrabee, who was a prominent manufacturer of cotton fabrics. He received his academic education at Gorham, Bethel Hill and Brunswick academies. He graduated with honor at the Maine Medical School of Bowdoin College in 1864. In the late civil war he served first as medical cadet, entering the United States army by examination, and reported for duty under orders of the secretary of war at Louisville; afterward as acting assistant surgeon, serving on land and sea in the department of Virginia, at Fortress Monroe and at Louisville, Ky. While still in the United States service he was married, on the 30th of March, 1865, to Miss Hattie Bulkley, a daughter of William H. Bulkley, of Louisville. The Bulkley family traces its origin back to William the Conqueror, 1066. The Larrabee and Bulkley arms adorn Dr. Larrabee's residence in the Highlands. On retiring from the army Dr. Larrabee located in Louisville, and soon became an earnest worker in medical societies. He was one of the founders of the Medico-Chirurgical Society, of which he has been both secretary and president; he was for several years secretary of the Kentucky State Medical Society; a member of the International Congress meeting at Philadelphia in 1876; also a member of the Ninth Congress of 1887, and is a member of the American Medical Association. As a medical writer he has contributed

largely to the medical journals of the day. Conspicuous among his contributions are: "Summer Complaints of Children," "Epidemic Cerebro-spinal Meningitis," "Rickets," "Scarlet Fever," "Chorea Rheumatism," "Infantile Therapeutics." His specialty is children's diseases. He was elected to the chair of Materia Medica and Therapeutics and clinical lecturer on diseases of children in the Hospital College of Medicine in 1874, which chair he still holds.

WILLIAM THOMAS LEACHMAN, M. D., is a native of Boyle County, Ky., where he was born May 15, 1834, and is a son of Harrison and Ellen Mary (Childs) Leachman, the former one of the pioneers of Virginia. He was a man of considerable local prominence, and came to Kentucky in an early period of its history, locating in what is now Boyle County, where he became a prosperous farmer. Dr. Leachman, the subject of this sketch, was liberally educated, receiving the advantages of the best institutions of learning, and instruction from some of the best teachers of the State. He chose the profession of medicine and commenced a course of study, and at the early age of twenty-one entered the medical department of the University of Louisville, in which, after a thorough course of two years, he received the degree of M. D. in 1857. After graduating he opened an office in Louisville, and by devotion to his profession soon won a large practice. He made a specialty of obstetrics and became widely known as a successful practitioner. In 1872 he was elected a member of the school board, and later of the city council, but finding that it interfered with his professional duties he resigned his seat in the council and turned his attention exclusively to his practice. He was married November 15, 1859, to Letitia, a daughter of Silas F. Field, a prominent merchant of this city. They have eight children, viz: Silas F. William T., Bessie B., Theodore H., Harry M., Letitia E., Roman B., and Georgia. Dr. Leachman is still in the prime of life and is a most exemplary citizen.

W. B. LEATHERMAN, dentist, is a native of Jefferson County, and was born



October 7, 1852. He is a son of Joseph L. and Sarah Jane (Shadburn) Leatherman, also natives of Jefferson County. His grandfather Leatherman was a native of Germany, and came to Virginia when quite young, but remained there only a short time, when he came to Kentucky, at a period when he could have bought the land upon which Louisville stands at \$1 per acre, but not liking the swampy nature of it, went out to what was called the Oak Hills, where he paid \$10 per acre. His voyage to this State was on a raft of logs, down the Ohio river. The subject of this sketch commenced practice of dentistry in this city in 1876. In December, 1887, he married Miss Ella A. Wolfe, a daughter of Hon. S. K. Wolfe, a prominent lawyer of New Albany, Ind., and at one time member of congress from the New Albany district. Dr. Leatherman is a zealous member of the Christian Church, and his father was instrumental in first bringing Rev. Alexander Campbell to Jeffersontown. Mr. Campbell established a church there then, which still exists.

MILES T. LEE was born in Bullitt County, Ky., May 28, 1833, a son of James Lee, who was a native of Nelson County, Ky., and was born July 14, 1806; the subject's mother, Sarah Lee, was born in Bullitt County, and to her were born three children: H. C., John and the subject of this sketch. Miles T. Lee was married to Miss Elizabeth Ann Greenwell, November 12, 1867, a daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Greenwell, all of Bullitt County. To this union were born two children: Doss G., born March 13, 1870, and Robert, born November 2, 1868, died February 23, 1869. Mrs. Lee died September 9, 1881.

K. LEGGETT, M. D., was born in Scotland Neck, N. C., September 6, 1852, and is a son of W. R. and Lucinda (Nelson) Leggett, natives of North Carolina. He received an academic education, and began to read medicine in 1882, graduating from the Kentucky School of Medicine in 1883. He commenced practice in North Carolina, but in 1886 went to Chicago, and in 1887 came to Louisville.

He married Miss Wright, a daughter of Edward Wright, Esq., of Louisville.

HON. JAMES S. LITHGOW, ex-mayor of Louisville, and for many years one of the city's most prominent business men, was born in Pittsburgh, Pa., on the 29th of November, 1812, and is a son of Walter and Francis (Stevenson) Lithgow. In December, 1837, he came to Louisville, and commenced the battle of life for himself. For more than half a century he has been identified with the interests of his adopted city, laboring earnestly and energetically for its welfare and prosperity. He formed a partnership under the firm name of Wallace & Lithgow in the manufacture of stoves, copper, tin and sheet-iron. This partnership continued twenty-five years and was only dissolved by the death of Mr. Wallace, in 1861. Continuing the business alone for one year, Mr. Lithgow took his sons-in-law, Messrs. Clark O. Smith and Jacob L. Smyser, into partnership. But it is superfluous to follow the house of J. S. Lithgow & Co.—it is one of the landmarks of Louisville, familiar to all who are acquainted with the city. The factory of the firm is one of the largest in the West, fronting on Main street and extending from Hancock to Clay. Mr. Lithgow has held many high and important positions, both business and political, viz.: mayor of the city, a member of the Charter Convention, a director in the Louisville & Frankfort, and in the Elizabethtown & Paducah railroads, president of the Northern Branch Bank of Kentucky, etc. etc. He is an exemplary Christian man, and a zealous member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in which he has held many important positions.

CLINTON McCLARTY, a prominent business man of Louisville, was born and reared in Breckinridge County, Ky., and is a son of John and Jane (Allen) McClarty, both members of leading families of that county. The latter was a daughter of John Allen, Esq., who for fifty-six years was county and circuit clerk of Breckinridge County, and a niece of Colonel John Allen, who commanded a regiment in the war of 1812, and fell in the disastrous battle of River Raisin.



Clinton W. Clardy.











*Jr. J. M. Donnelly*

John McClarty was a merchant, and for many years a prominent citizen of Hardinsburg, the capital of Breckinridge County. Clinton, the subject of this sketch, was born July 14, 1831, and was educated in Breckinridge and Hardin counties; at the age of sixteen he became deputy clerk of Hardin County, and afterward of Nelson County. In 1851 he settled in Owensboro, and entered upon the practice of law. In 1857, when the Democrats came into power, he was elected chief clerk of the House of Representatives, serving until 1861. When the civil war broke out he joined the Fourth Kentucky (Confederate) regiment, and was afterward assigned to General Breckinridge's staff. He was afterward transferred to the Trans-Mississippi Department, where he served until the close of the war. In 1866 he came to Louisville and engaged in the banking business, as teller of the Western Financial Corporation, now the Bank of Commerce. He severed his connection with it on being elected cashier of the Bank of America. When the latter went into liquidation he was elected (in 1876) manager of the Louisville Clearing House, which position he now holds. Major McClarty is a man of unblemished integrity and fine business energy; he is courteous, gentlemanly, polite and obliging to all with whom he comes in contact. Major McClarty was elected to the lower house of the State Legislature for the session of 1879-80, where he was a working member, and served on several important committees. He was married in 1858 to Miss Lucinda B. Elliott, an excellent lady of Nelson County, Ky. They have three children living—Clinton, Jr. — and Anna.

DR. HUGH M. McCULLOUGH was born in Louisville, July 17, 1858, and is a son of James and Rebecca (Seay) McCullough, the former of Scotch origin, but came from the north of Ireland to Louisville in 1810. He is in the wholesale and retail furniture business on Main street, and is one of the oldest living merchants west of the Alleghenies. Mrs. Rebecca (Seay) McCullough was born in Lynchburg, Va., and came to Kentucky with her father's family when very young. Her father opened the St. Cloud Hotel in Louis-

ville. He was a colonel in the war of 1812, and died many years ago. He was of English extraction. The subject is the third of four sons, and was educated principally in Edinburgh and Dublin, graduating in medicine in the latter city, having studied there for three years, and then came back to Louisville, and graduated in 1878 from the University of Louisville. He makes surgery a specialty, and has a special diploma for that branch of practice. He practiced medicine in Louisville for a year, then went West; returned two years later, and resumed practice. He was married in 1879 to Miss Minnie Smith. She died in 1881. He held the position of county physician while in Kansas.

WILLIAM PRESTON McDOWELL was born in Louisville, Ky., May 28, 1838, and at the beginning of the late Inter-State war was engaged in the study of law in the Commissioner's office of the Chancery Court of his native city. Before the President called upon Kentucky for her quota of troops, he, thinking that his State would not furnish any soldiers for the Federal army, proceeded to Washington City and offered his services to President Lincoln. While in Washington he received a telegram from Col. Curran Pope, stating that he (Pope) had received authority to raise a regiment for the Union army, and that he desired his (McDowell's) assistance, and tendering a position as field officer. On the advice of President Lincoln this offer was accepted, and he returned to Louisville and used all his energy in filling the Fifteenth Regiment Kentucky Infantry Volunteers, to facilitate which he resigned all pretension to a field office and accepted the position of adjutant, receiving commission as such September 15, 1861. He served with the regiment until August 3, 1862, when he was detailed on the staff of Major General Lovell H. Rousseau, then commanding the Third Division of the Army of the Ohio. At the battle of Chaplin Hills (Perryville) he served as aide-de-camp, and received much praise for his gallantry. After this battle he was appointed acting assistant adjutant general of the division, and served in this capacity until the battle of Stone River. In the first



day's engagement he was wounded severely in the left arm; but although the wound was painful, he refused to leave the field until loss of blood compelled him to retire. On the 15th of March, 1863, he was commissioned by the President, assistant adjutant general, with the rank of major, and continued in the service as such until near the close of the war, when, by the re-opening of his wound, he was compelled to resign. After the war he engaged in business in Louisville until 1871, and then accepted the position of treasurer of the Louisville Water Company, which he has held for the last fifteen years. His parents were Dr. William Adair and Maria (Harvey) McDowell, natives of Virginia. His father came to Louisville in 1837, and practiced till just before his death in 1854. He was a regular graduate of college; read medicine at Danville, and was some years professor in the University of Louisville. Subject was educated in the city schools of Louisville, and was deputy commissioner of Louisville Chancery Court when the war broke out. He was married in 1865 to Miss Kate G. Wright, daughter of John H. Wright, an old merchant of this city. He is the father of six children living.

ENOCH E. McKAY was born April 7, 1835, at Bloomfield, Nelson County, Ky., and is a son of Enoch and Amanda McKay. His early education was acquired at the country schools, and in 1855 he entered Centre College, at Danville, from which he graduated in 1857. Selecting the legal profession he commenced the study of it in 1859 with Chief-Justice Robertson, at Lexington, was admitted to the bar in 1860, and commenced practice at Bardstown. In May, 1875, he removed to Louisville, which afforded a broader field for his talents. His career there has been successful and brilliant. In politics he is a Democrat, firm and unyielding, and in his own county where he is best known has always been a successful candidate. In 1874 he was pitted against J. Proctor Knott, in the Congressional election, but was defeated by a small majority. He was married in October, 1863, to Miss Ophelia

Wilson, of Bardstown. To this union have been born four children.

JOHN MACLEOD, chief-engineer of the Louisville Southern Railroad, was born in the District of Columbia, July 21, 1836, son of George MacLeod, who was also a native of the District of Columbia, and was one of the most prominent civil engineers of his day and was, during his life-time, for a few years receiver for the Louisville Short-line, and was chief engineer for the L. & N. R. R. and its branches. His death occurred in 1877 having been born in 1813. The mother of the subject of this sketch was Amelia (Deakins) MacLeod, a native of Maryland. John MacLeod entered railway service October 13, 1853, and until March, 1855, was rodman and levelman in the engineer corps of the Fredericksburg & Gordonsville Railroad. March, 1855, to October, 1865, was on the location and construction of the Louisville & Nashville Road, successively leveler, surveyor, resident and division engineer; October, 1865, to April, 1869, he was principal assistant engineer on the Louisville, Cincinnati & Lexington Road; April, 1869, to January, 1872, principal assistant engineer on the Elizabethtown & Paducah Road; January, 1872, to July, 1874, chief-engineer and superintendent of maintenance of way, same road; July, 1874, to August, 1876, was general superintendent of the Louisville, Cincinnati & Lexington Road; August 4, 1876, to July 15, 1878, receiver; and July 15, 1878, to January, 1880, general superintendent of the same road, January 1, 1880, to July, 1884, general superintendent of the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago Railway; in 1881, chief-engineer of the Kentucky & Indiana Bridge Company; January, 1886, chief-engineer of Louisville Southern Road, and since October, 1886, has been president of the New Albany & Eastern Railway Company. Mr. MacLeod was married to Miss Mary L. Doone, of Nelson County, Ky., and has four children.

JOHN T. MACAULEY was born in Newport, Ky., on the 4th of February, 1846, and is a son of John and Bridget (Smith) Macauley, natives of Ireland; the former came



Very Truly Yours,  
E. E. McKay.





to the United States about the year 1830, and was a carpenter by trade. John T. was reared in Buffalo, N. Y., and was attending the high school at the beginning of the war. In 1861 he enlisted in the Eleventh Indiana Volunteer Infantry, being but fifteen years old at the time. He was made adjutant of the regiment in 1863, and captain in 1864. He served all through the war, and was wounded at the battle of Cedar Creek. At the close of the war he went to Indianapolis, and was in business there until the panic of 1873, but afterward traveled for the *Indianapolis Journal*. In 1879 he came to Louisville, and acted one year as manager of the theater, and in February, 1881, he became the proprietor of it, and has so remained to the present time. He was married, November 18, 1868, to Miss Annie A. Kirlin, of Indianapolis.

GEN. HUMPHREY MARSHALL, second son of John J. Marshall and Anna Reed Marshall (nee Birney) was born at Frankfort, Kentucky, January 13, 1812, and graduated at West Point Military Academy in June, 1832, in the twenty first year of his age. His great-grandfather was Col. Thomas Marshall, of Virginia, who served with distinction as an officer of the Virginia Line in the war of Independence, and is known to history as a friend of Gen. Washington, as appears from Washington's letters. This was the father of Chief Justice John Marshall, of the Supreme Court of the United States, whose sister, Mary, was the grandmother of our subject, and who was celebrated in Kentucky as a lady of strong intellect and fine culture. Humphrey Marshall, the historian of Kentucky, and among the earliest United States senators from that State, the person who shot Henry Clay in a duel fought opposite Louisville in 1807 or 1808, was the grandfather of our subject, and was a Revolutionary officer in the Virginia Line. He had been adjutant of Col. Marshall's regiment through the war; married his daughter at its close, and emigrated to the district of Kentucky while it was yet part of Virginia. He was a man of great force of character, powerful intellect and much learning. He was an accomplished scholar, and a bold, fearless

writer. Even to this day daws pluck at his lines in the vain hope that they may be erased, but, like the damned spot in Lady Macbeth's hand, they will not "out" at the bidding. John J. Marshall, the father of our subject, was born in Woodford County, Kentucky; graduated at Princeton, N. J., with the first honor; was distinguished as one of the first intellects of the country, and for fifteen years before his death (which occurred in June, 1846,) held the office of circuit judge at Louisville, Kentucky. The Judge is yet remembered as a lawyer of singular learning, and a man of most genial disposition. The maternal grandfather of our subject was James Birney, an Irishman, who emigrated to Kentucky before it was separated from Virginia. He was the father of James G. Birney, the first abolitionist candidate for the presidency, who was the only brother of Mrs. Anna Reed Marshall. The maternal grandmother of our subject was Miss Martha Reed, who died early after her marriage, leaving only two children, those above named. Mrs. Anna R. Marshall died at Louisville in 1859, after her son Humphrey had acquired the maximum of his fame in congress. Of the boyhood of Humphrey Marshall we have but few incidents worthy relating. He was self reliant and firm in his convictions of right, as will appear from the fact that at seventeen he committed a contempt of a court martial at West Point, before which he was summoned to testify against his room-mates. Col. Hitchcox (afterwards Maj. Gen. Hitchcox) presided. Young Marshall said he did not consider that he could disclose the secrets of his room without dishonor to himself, and therefore he would not give the evidence desired. In vain the court essayed to convince him of the error of sentiment. He adhered to his own views and was sentenced to dismissal from the academy; his room-mates were acquitted for want of testimony. Gen. Jackson, then president, reinstated Cadet Marshall to his rank and place at the academy, complimenting his fidelity to his own sense of duty, though he had erred in his estimate of it. After graduating at the academy Marshall served as a lieutenant in



the army, in a campaign against Black Hawk and the Sac and Fox Indians in 1832, before he visited his relations in Kentucky. Gen. Winfield Scott persuaded him that the occasion presented a chance for active service and quick promotion. The Asiatic cholera attacked the detachment to which Lieut. Marshall was assigned; it lost very heavily, and was halted where Chicago now stands; and afterwards marched across the country to the Mississippi. The fortitude and endurance of the young lieutenant were conspicuous among dangers sterner than those of the battle field, and Gen. Scott noticed him in his correspondence with the war department in most favorable terms—the old chief frequently, in after life, referred to the bearing of young Marshall through those trying scenes in terms of high praise. Mr. Marshall married in January, 1833, when he was but ten days past twenty-one years of age, Miss Frances E. McAlister, of Franklin, Tennessee, and in May, 1833, resigned his commission in the United States army, without visiting the post or regiment to which he was assigned. It was a period of profound peace. Military life seemed to open no prospect for enterprise or ambition, still Mr. Marshall deemed himself to be under obligations to render military service, should the country be in need of soldiers. He was licensed to practice law in the spring of 1833, and spent the rest of that year in Tennessee, but settled in Louisville, to pursue his profession, in November, 1834. In 1836 he was elected by the people of the Fifth ward of the city of Louisville to represent them in the city council, but resigned this place to accept a captaincy of a troop of volunteers, raised under Gen. Jackson's call to march to the Sabine frontier to protect the border of Louisiana from the intrusion of the Mexican army then over-running Texas. The battle of San Jacinto rendered the movement of the Kentucky volunteers unnecessary; they were disbanded, and Capt. Marshall returned to the law. In 1837 he became a candidate for the legislature, but was defeated and then, for the first time, really devoted his time to his profession. He rose rapidly at the bar,

and was employed in cases of the first-class, making his name known in the forum in competition with such men as James Guthrie, Garnett, Duncan, Pirtle, Thruston, Loughborough, Nicholas and others. This close pursuit of his profession was interrupted in the spring of 1846 by a call from the governor of the State upon Mr. Marshall to take command of a Kentucky regiment of volunteer cavalry, called to march to Mexico, and to serve for twelve months in the war then existing between Mexico and the United States. Marshall did not hesitate to obey the call; but at once closed his law books and assumed command of his regiment. At this time Judge John J. Marshall died, and Col. Marshall's wife suffered a stroke of nervous apoplexy. Affairs at home were in a terrible condition when the regiment moved, but Col. Marshall thought that he could not then resign with credit, and he went forward to the theater of war. Debarking opposite Memphis, in June, 1846, Marshall marched his regiment through Arkansas and Texas to Camargo, thence to Saltillo in Mexico. Active service indeed he performed in Mexico, for he passed over the country from Panas to Victoria in discharge of the duties devolved upon him. He participated in the battle of Buena Vista as the ranking colonel of cavalry in the American forces, where it was said of him, "that he faced danger, trod with undaunted step the field of death, and coveted the place of desolation," referring to a brilliant charge made by him at the head of his command. His gallantry endeared him to his soldiers. His conduct was warmly commended by his superiors in command, by all of whom he was mentioned in their official reports. Ever afterwards Gen. Taylor, Gen. Wool and Gen. Lane, and indeed the field officers who were at Buena Vista, held Col. Marshall in warm regard. At the end of the twelve months' service the war had shifted to the gates of Mexico, where Gen. Scott, with the regulars and volunteers, was finishing it, and Col. Marshall, with the survivors of his regiment, returned to Kentucky, mustered out of service, and with nothing before him but to commence again the

practice of law. His pay had not supported him by some \$1,500, and he had lost the run of his practice. The people proposed a seat in the State Senate, but this he promptly declined. County meetings nominated him for the office of governor, and he published a card at once declaring his thanks, but definitely declined the honor. He sought retirement, and applied himself to the opening of a farm upon a tract of land he owned in Henry County; but the people did not let him indulge in this fancy long. In 1849 he was nominated for congress as the Whig candidate, in the Louisville District, and was elected over Dr. Newton Lane, the Democratic candidate, after a warm and spirited contest. He was re-elected in 1851, over Gov. David Meriwether, (who was afterwards appointed to succeed Mr. Clay, in the U. S. Senate) and took an active part in the great "Compromise Measures," which postponed the war for a decade. His course was enthusiastically sustained by his constituency. In 1852 the President nominated Col. Marshall to the senate as Commissioner to China, and the nomination was immediately confirmed. The Democrats had a majority in both Houses of Congress. After this nomination was confirmed Congress raised the mission to the first class, so as to place Col. Marshall on the same footing as to pay emoluments and authority with the Ministers of Great Britain and France; a step which was a graceful compliment to the appointee, from political opponents. Col. Marshall departed from New York on his mission in October, 1852, and having fulfilled it with great honor and credit, both to himself and the country, returned to the United States in 1854. In a brief biographical sketch like this no attempt will be made to review the manner in which this mission was filled. Congress published Col. Marshall's despatches and it has been years since a single copy of them could be obtained out of the Congressional Library. Col. Marshall certainly brought to the public a duty with which he was charged a power of thought, which has made his name remembered in China to the present time. Some of the views he then urged are now being carried

out by this country as useful expediciencies, if not novelties. In 1855 Col. Marshall was again elected to Congress, by a very large majority, over Col. William Preston, who had filled the seat from the Louisville district during his absence in China. Col. Marshall was elected by the "Know-Nothings," as the party was then called. In 1857 Col. Marshall was elected to Congress over Hon. Joe Holt. In 1859 he was nominated by acclamation, but he firmly declined a re-election because he disliked the platform upon which the party convention placed him. He returned to the practice of law to repair his fortunes which had suffered during his congressional service. But in 1860 he was again called into politics and took the field as elector for Breckinridge and Lane, Presidential candidates. When Lincoln was inaugurated President, Col. Marshall left Washington, determined to do all in his power to preserve the Union, and to this end he commenced anew the canvass of the State; but the secession of the border States stopped him in his praiseworthy efforts. He retired to his farm in Henry County, but the turbulent times would not permit him to remain in peace; and being threatened with arrest, though he had committed no offense against the laws of his country, in September, 1861, he mounted his horse and rode to Nashville, Tenn. He was invited to Richmond by President Davis, and was tendered a commission of brigadier-general with the independent command of a department, which he accepted. His services in the field is a part of the history of the war. He retired from the Confederate army in June, 1863, but was immediately thereafter elected to the Second Congress of the Confederate States. He was re-elected, and was a member when the armies surrendered the country. He practiced law in New Orleans from the fall of 1865, until the summer of 1867, with good success; while there, he was invited by President Johnson to Washington, and shortly after his visit to Washington (which was made in December, 1865,) he was pardoned by the President and relieved of all disabilities imposed upon him by the laws of the United States by reason of his having been in the



Confederate army. In 1867 Gen. Marshall returned to Kentucky and resumed the practice of law at Louisville. He at once commanded a large and lucrative practice. Gen. Marshall was an educated soldier of large experience, and great ability; he was a statesman of broad and enlightened views, with the power to grasp and master any subject; he was an orator; if he but spoke, no matter whether to a crowd in the street, in court, to a popular assembly or in our legislative bodies, he was listened to with attention. He was a subtle, astute, and profound lawyer, an able advocate—often eloquent—but his eloquence did not consist of conned phrases—of tropes and figures, but of thought. He could enforce his ideas equally well by his speech or his pen. Decended from ancestors of great distinction and renown, he did not content himself therewith, but labored and built a monument for himself. He held many places of distinction and conferred honor upon them all. He had few peers, and no superiors. He was of the most amiable disposition, gentle, generous, benevolent, humane; kind to all, and particularly to the young; he was easy of access to everybody, but no one could be in his presence without feeling that he was in the presence of a man; even a stranger passing by him could but feel it; all the children of the street did him reverence. In private conversation he was instructive and entertaining, and there was a charm about him that attracted both young and old. Gen. Marshall died March 28th, 1872, in the sixty-first year of his age. His remains are buried in the cemetery at Frankfort, Kentucky.

DAVID MARTIN is a native of Louisville and was born June 9, 1849; was married to Miss Anna Speck, May 18, 1875, and has been born to him four children, all of whom died in infancy. David Martin is a son of Matthias Martin, who removed from Pennsylvania many years ago to Louisville, and died when our subject was an infant. Since eight years of age the latter has made his own way in the world. His wife was also born in Louisville, and is a daughter of David and Frances Speck, both born in Germany. Mr.

Martin is a thrifty farmer and a highly respected citizen.

THOMAS A. MASON was born in the city of Newport, Ky., September 16, 1845, and is a son of John Mason, who was born in England in 1812. He married Mary Williamson, also of England, and came to the United States in 1844, settling in Newport, and died there in July, 1858; his wife died September 16, 1868. There were three children born to this couple, two of whom died in infancy. Thomas A. Mason, the subject of this sketch, is one of the leading and substantial farmers of Bullitt County, and was married to Miss Rebecca Jeans February 17, 1864. In connection with his farming interests he is also engaged in the saw-mill business. He has had ten children, of whom eight are living.

MASON MAURY was born May 1, 1849, and is a native of Louisville. He is a son of Mathew Henry and Sally (Mason) Maury; the former a native of Virginia, was a farmer, and at one time owner of the well-known "Pumpkins Patch" harbor, near Jeffersonville, and died in 1886; the latter is a niece of Lowell Mason, the Boston composer and publisher, and a daughter of Johnson Mason, who was the inventor of the first rope-making and bagging machine, and was brought out here by Henry Clay. He established a factory at Covington, Ky., and later in the thirties came to Louisville to take charge of the old rope and bagging factory at Twelfth and Chestnuts streets. He would have made a great fortune out of his invention if he had patented it. The subject's mother has been a teacher in the public schools of Louisville since 1861, and is a remarkably intelligent lady. Mason Maury, the subject of this sketch, graduated in the Male High School of Louisville, and afterward took a course in civil engineering, and after serving in that branch two years, went to Boston to study architecture with a leading firm of architects in that city, after which he returned to Louisville, when he introduced some new features in architecture. Indeed, in the dozen years he has been engaged in the profession, he has to some extent, revolutionized residential archi-

ecture. He has received recognition from the highest authorities for resident and office architecture—the Kenyon Building being a monument to his perfection of taste in the latter class. He was married in November, 1885, to Miss Gertrude Vaughan.

WILLIAM H. MEFFERT, Secretary and Treasurer, and Business Manager of Masonic Temple Company, was born in Louisville, June 1, 1840, and was a son of William and Elizabeth (Sabel) Meffert. The former was born in 1807, came to Louisville in 1837, and for many years kept a boot and shoe store. Subject was educated in Louisville, and for a number of years, like his father, was in the boot and shoe business. He became deputy sheriff in 1873 and continued in the position until in 1880, when he was offered and accepted the position he now holds. Mr. Meffert is a prominent Mason, and was grand master of the Order for Kentucky in 1881–82. He is at present Grand Captain General of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar of the State. He was married, in 1860, to Miss Emma Troutman, of Louisville, a daughter of William Troutman, of German origin, but who came here a great many years ago. He was a ship-builder, and a man of some local prominence.

WILLIAM A. MERIWETHER is a native of Jefferson County, Ky., and was born May 26, 1825. He is a son of Hon. David Meriwether, a native of Virginia, who came to Kentucky in an early day and located on a farm near Louisville, where he still lives. In 1832 he was elected to the legislature, and re-elected in 1835,–36,–37,–38,–39,–46,–59,–61, and the last term was speaker of the House of Representatives and was re-elected in 1879, 1881, and 1883; he was a member of the Constitutional Convention that framed the present Constitution of the State; in 1852, was appointed to the United States Senate by Governor Powell, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Henry Clay, and in 1853, was appointed by President Pierce Governor of New Mexico. After his last term in the Legislature (1883) he retired from politics and is still a well preserved man of his age. William A. Meriwether

received a good practical education in the schools of his native county, and in 1845 he commenced farming in Floyd County, Ind., in which he continued until the breaking out of the Mexican war, when he enlisted in the army under Gen. William O. Butler. At the close of the war he resumed farming, and in the meantime studied law and medicine. From 1861 to 1864 he was Deputy United States Marshal, and from the latter date until 1869, was appointed United States Marshal for Kentucky by President Lincoln. From 1870 to 1876 he was Clerk of the United States Court at Louisville, since when he has been actively engaged in the real estate business. Mr. Meriwether was married, in 1856, to Lillie Morsell; she died in 1860, and he married, in 1864, Julia D. Tryon. One child was born to his first marriage—H. Travilla, and three by his last, viz: Frank T., living in Asheville; N. C., David L. in Louisville, and Julia.

CHARLES E. MERIWETHER, M. D., is descended from old Virginia families, who came to Kentucky many years ago. He was born in Christian County, Ky., May 27, 1857, and is a son of Charles E. and Eliza (Golden) Meriwether. His paternal grandfather came to Kentucky in 1801, and settled in what is now Christian County. The father of our subject, at the beginning of the civil war, raised a company of cavalry, joined Forrest's command, and was killed in a skirmish at Sacramento, Ky., in 1861. After the death of his father, subject went to live with his grandfather in Todd County; in 1875 he entered Kentucky University at Lexington. He remained there until the fall of 1876, when he went into the tobacco trade at Clarksville, Tenn., but the next year came to Louisville, and took charge of James Clark's tobacco business for one year. In 1879 he entered the medical department of University of Virginia, graduating in the spring of 1880. The following fall he graduated in the University of New York. He remained in that State in 1881, taking a special course in medicine, and returned to Louisville one of the best read physicians of his age in the city. In 1884 he located at Twelfth and Broadway,



and has been there ever since. He is city physician in charge of public dispensary in Western district. He is a member of the Louisville Medical Society, and of New York State Medical Society.

SAMUEL M. MILLER was born in Nelson County, Ky., January 27, 1856, and is a son of Irvin Miller, also a native of Nelson County, born January 13, 1834; his wife, the mother of the subject, was Judith W. Ross. Samuel M., the subject, was educated in his native county, and removed to Bullitt County, where he was married, December 20, 1877, to Miss Cora Bell Greenwell, a daughter of Robert and Elizabeth E. Greenwell. They have two children, viz.: Harry M., born September 15, 1878, and Ollie Lee, born July 25, 1882. Mr. Miller is one of the young and enterprising farmers of Bullitt County.

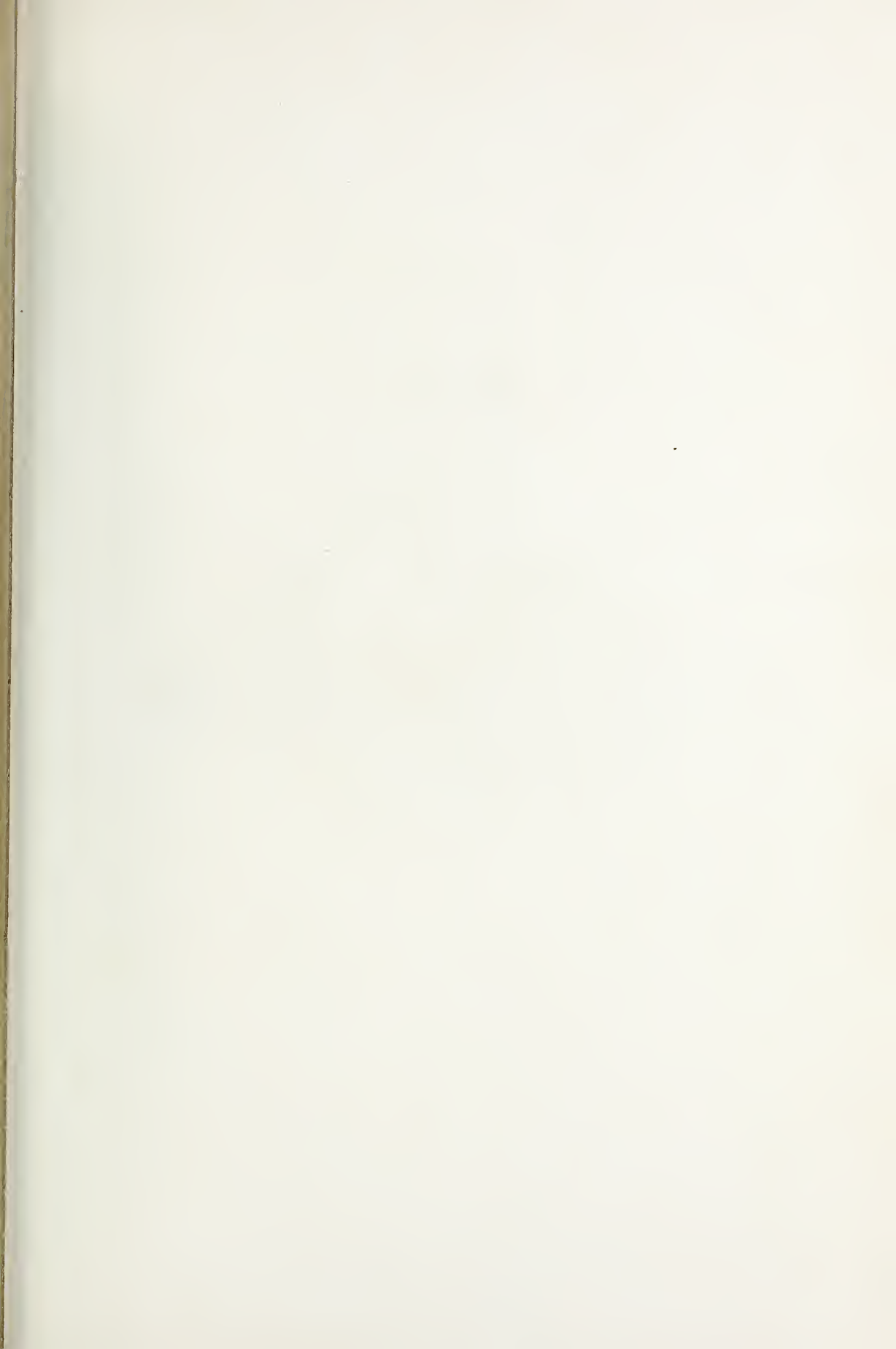
SHACKELFORD MILLER was born near Springfield, Mo., February 29, 1856, and is a son of John A. and Barbara (Neville) Miller, the former a native of Jefferson County, Ky., the latter of Montgomery County, Tenn. His maternal grandfather, Solomon C. Neville, was born near Chapel Hill, in North Carolina, but came early to Kentucky, and was one of the first tobacco merchants in the State; he died in 1882. His grandfather, Robert Miller, came from King and Queen's County, Va., to Kentucky, in 1796. The subject of this sketch was educated in the schools of Louisville, and graduated from the Male High School in 1877. He studied law under Hon. Isaac Caldwell, and graduated from the law department of the University of Louisville in 1879. He was assistant presidential elector in 1884, on the Democratic ticket, and is elector for the same district in 1888. For eight years he was associated with Judge Pirtle in the practice of law; is a member of the Filson Club, and devotes considerable attention to historical research. He is a good writer, a fine speaker, and making a good record at the bar as a lawyer. His paper prepared for the Filson Club on the "Life and Times of Governor Garrard," received the most flattering commendation from the Club.

J. SEL. MILLER was born in Jefferson County, and is a son of John and Mary S.

(Seaton) Miller, also natives of Jefferson County. His grandfather came from North Carolina about 1780, and settled near Louisville. His maternal grandfather, Seaton, came from Virginia about the same time. When subject was four years old his father moved into the city. He was educated in the city schools. In 1864 he enlisted in the Fifth Louisiana Cavalry, and was captured at Cuba, Ky., soon after his enlistment. In 1880 he was appointed Commissioner of Louisville Chancery and Law and Equity Courts. He is an active politician of the Democratic school, and has been a delegate to all important conventions for the past fifteen years. He was married in 1868 to Miss Mollie T. Melone, of Jefferson County.

JOSEPH A. MILLER, M. D., is a native of Nelson County, Ky., and was born March 11, 1861. He is a son of Irvin Miller, also a native of Nelson County. His great-grandfather, George Miller, came from Virginia, and settled in that county, among the earliest settlers. The family is of German origin, but came to America before the Revolutionary war. The subject was reared on the farm and educated at Greenwell College, at Bardstown. He read medicine with Dr. F. A. Barnett, and graduated from the Kentucky school of medicine in 1885. He also took an unofficial course at the Medical University of Louisville. In the meantime he has been offered an assistant surgeon's position in the Kentucky School of Medicine. He is one of the rising young physicians of Louisville, and stands deservedly high; he is also a deacon in the Twenty-second and Walnut Street Baptist Church.

HENRY C. MILLER, M. D., coroner of Jefferson County, was born September 9, 1842, and is a son of John and Mary S. (Seaton) Miller, natives of Jefferson County. He was educated in Louisville, and after completing his studies read medicine under Dr. John Hardin, and graduated from the old Kentucky School of Medicine in February, 1862; was resident graduate one year of the City Hospital. In 1764-65, he became assistant surgeon in the Forty-ninth Kentucky Infantry, remaining in that capacity about six months,







*William Mix.*

when he was promoted to surgeon. When the war was over he began practice in Louisville. In 1878 he was elected coroner of Louisville and Jefferson County, which position he has since held by successive elections. In 1877 he was married to Miss Clara Means, a daughter of Presley Means, an old and well known citizen of Louisville. There has been born to him one child—Pearl S.

FRANCIS M. MILLER was born in Shelby County, Ky., February 19, 1834, and is a son of Fleming and Susan (Holloway) Miller, natives of Virginia. He was brought up on the farm and received such an education as could be obtained in the public schools of that county. Upon attaining his majority he came to Bullitt County, and after remaining here a few years he removed to Illinois and settled in Christian County, but a few years later he returned to Kentucky, and located upon the same farm that he left on going to Illinois, convinced him that Kentucky is the best State in the Union after all. Mr. Miller was married in December, 1862, to Miss Mary Jane Miller, born December 10, 1843, and a daughter of James H. and Louisa Miller. They have one child, born February 16, 1864.

JAMES MILLER, a prominent farmer of Bullitt County, Ky., is a native of Jefferson County, Ky., and was born April 29, 1860, and is a son of Thomas Miller, who was also born in Jefferson County, November 29, 1831, and married Miss Narcissus Jeans, April 6, 1856. James Miller, the subject of this sketch, is the second born of eleven children. His ancestors, who first settled in Kentucky, were from North Carolina. He was liberally educated in the country school, and was married to Miss Alice Furganson, daughter of Hamilton Furganson, July 8, 1880, and has two children living—Mattie Lee and Henry Thomas, born respectively September 24, 1883, and February 14, 1886.

JOHN MITCHELL is a native of Cornwall, England, and was born November 8, 1833. He is a son of John and Mary Ann Mitchell, also natives of England. He was educated in the schools of his native country, and commenced learning the trade of boiler-maker at the age of twelve. He is the eldest

of six children, and came to the United States when twenty years old, and located in Louisville. He began work at his trade, and in 1872 engaged in business for himself, manufacturing boilers, tanks, etc., and does the most extensive business in that line of any house in the city. He married Miss Elizabeth Mitchell (also a native of Cornwall, England,) in May, 1864. She came to the United States two years before her marriage. They have seven children, viz.: John H., Joseph, William, George, Edgar, Mattie and Mary. John Mitchell is one of the solid business men of the city.

WILLIAM MIX is a native of Jefferson County, Ky., and was born March 18, 1833. He is a son of William and Catherine (Snead) Mix, the former of New Haven, Conn., and the latter of Jefferson County. The maternal grandfather, James Snead, came from the eastern shore of Maryland to Kentucky, crossing the mountains on horseback to Pittsburgh, thence down the Ohio on a flat-boat. His wife belonged to one of the prominent families of Maryland. William Mix, the father of subject, engaged in the wholesale queensware business on Main street, but in 1831 commenced farming in Jefferson County, a pursuit he followed until his death, which occurred March 9, 1859. He was a prominent and successful farmer, and was long secretary of the County Agricultural Society, to which he contributed largely. William Mix, the subject of this sketch, received a liberal education. After the benefit of the common-schools he entered Wabash College, at Crawfordsville, Ind., from which he graduated in 1854. He read law, and graduated from the law department of the University of Louisville in 1855, and commenced practice in Louisville. He held the office of county attorney, by appointment, in 1862-63, during the stormiest period of the civil war, the duties of which he discharged satisfactorily. He is a director in the Mutual Life Insurance Company of Kentucky, of which Hon. Charles D. Jacob is president, and is attorney for the company; he is president of the Oakland Plank Road Company; was elected a director of the Kentucky National Bank at its organi-



zation, when Hon. Bland Ballard was elected its first president, and remained in the board of directors for ten years thereafter, and has always been an active business man. Mr. Mix was married in 1866 to Alice A., a daughter of D. H. Davies, Esq., a prominent merchant of Louisville before the war. They have four children—Elizabeth, Davies, William and Loraine.

AARON MOORE is a native of Pendleton County, Ky., and was born September 17, 1842. He is the son of John F. and Nancy (Smith) Moore, the former a prominent minister of the Methodist Church for many years; the mother was the daughter of Amos Smith before marriage. John F. Moore was the father of sixteen children. Aaron Moore, the second child of John F. Moore, was brought up in a country home. When the war broke out in 1861 he chose the Union side of the matter, and enlisted in Company B, Fifty-ninth Ohio Infantry, and participated in many of the hard-fought battles of the war, among them Shiloh, Stone River, Chickamauga, Rocky Face Ridge, Perryville, etc. He was married to Miss Annie Hockersmith, a daughter of Judiah Hockersmith. Aaron Moore removed to and is now living in Bullitt County, Ky. He is also a minister of the Methodist Church.

JOHN T. MOORE, banker, is a native of Jefferson County, and was born March 7, 1827. His parents, Thomas D. and Margaret (Frederick) Moore, were natives of Delaware, and came early to Kentucky. The former was a prominent merchant of Jeffersontown, Ky., and died in 1831, when subject was but four years old. Margaret (Frederick) Moore was a daughter of August Frederick, and an early resident of Jefferson County. Upon the death of his father the subject of this sketch was taken and educated by Gov. Willard, of Indiana. After completing his education he became a clerk in a clothing store for one year, and afterward in a fancy dry goods store of J. Raphael, where he remained for four years. In 1849, when the gold fever broke out in California, he crossed the plains to the gold regions, where he was successful in accumulating wealth, but later

he lost heavily by a fire that took place in Sacramento. He returned to Louisville in 1855, and engaged in the wholesale grocery business, and is of the firm of Moore, Bremaker & Co., having remained without the change of a member of the firm or location of the house of twenty-six years. In 1882 he was elected president of the Falls City Bank, of which he had been for several years a director and vice-president. The bank is one of the substantial institutions of the city, and was organized in 1865, with L. L. Warren, as president. Mr. Moore has been president of the Falls City Fire Insurance Company since 1884, the year it was organized; he is a stockholder in the Bremaker, Moore Paper Company, is a director in the Louisville Safety Vault Co., a director in the Union Warehouse Co., and is prominently connected with other business enterprises of the city. He was married in June, 1856, to Miss Emma Applegate, a daughter of Elisha Applegate, one of the first tobacco inspectors of Louisville, who was born in Fort Nelson, and lived to be ninety-two years old. Mr. and Mrs. Moore have five children, viz: Robert B., Patti M., Emma Belle, John T., Jr., and Margaret.

WILLIAM E. MONTZ, marshal of the Chancery Court of Louisville, was born in Jefferson County, Ind., February 1, 1842, and is a son of Jeremiah and Ellen (Cain) Montz, the former a native of Pennsylvania and the latter of Virginia. They came to Louisville about 1845, and he is now a government storekeeper. The subject was brought up in Louisville and received a common school education. When still a mere boy he became a deputy clerk in the chancery court clerk's office, under Harry Stuckey, remaining one or two years. He afterward obtained the post of shipping clerk for G. Spratt & Co.'s tobacco warehouse, where he remained for five years. He was made deputy marshal of the chancery court, which position he held for eleven years, when he was elected to the office of marshal, which office he now holds. He is a fine business man, a popular and accommodating official, and stanch Democrat.

JOHN S. MORGAN, a highly respected

farmer of Jefferson County, is a native of the county, was born May 22, 1857, and is a son of Elias G. Morgan who born in the same county, and was married to Miss Mary Ann Kendall in September, 1834. He held several positions of trust, was elected to the office of Justice of the Peace, and for twenty years was county assessor. He died September 5, 1887. John S. Morgan resides near Deposit. He was married to Miss Mary A. Harrison, a daughter of John Harrison, who was born August 4, 1809, in Shelby County, Ky. To Mr. and Mrs. Morgan have been born four children: Albert, born September 17, 1879; Bessie B., born July 29, 1881, and died November 10, 1881; Lola Adala, born Seember 17, 1883, and Myrtle, born May 25, 1886.

GEORGE W. MORRIS, son of John and Elizabeth Morris, was born in Gloucester, England, January 27, 1823. The family came to the United States in 1831, and settled in New York State, where the mother died in Troy, in 1861. His father, who had been a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church for fifty years, died in the same city, in 1881, at the age of eighty-seven. The subject of this sketch had very limited advantages of education in school. At the age of fifteen years he commenced mercantile life in a country store near Troy, N. Y., but was subsequently thrown out of employment, and in 1846 left his home for the West, stopping at Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, in the hope of finding a situation, but failing, he arrived in Louisville in June, 1846, where he found it as difficult to find work as where he had come from; but, after spending six weeks, going daily from store to store in every business street in Louisville, he succeeded in obtaining a clerkship at a salary of \$200 per annum. From that day to this he has never been idle. In October, same year, he received the position of book-keeper in the wholesale dry-goods house of Emery, Low & Co., remaining two years, then resigned to engage in the wholesale grocery business as a junior member of Fonda, Moore & Co. In July, 1848, he was married to Miss Caroline A. Wallace, of Western New York. The firm of Fonda, Moore & Co. was organized in

September, 1848, and in July, 1851, was succeeded by the the firm of Fonda & Morris, which continued until 1858, when it was dissolved by the senior member retiring from business. Mr. Morris prosecuted the business on his own account till 1867, when he engaged with George S. Moore in the iron business, and in 1885 Mr. Morris withdrew from this partnership in order to give his entire attention to the presidency of the Louisville Gas Company, a position to which he had just been elected, and is at present acting in that capacity. In 1851 Mr. Morris advocated, before the people and through the press, the necessity of a new charter for the city, the adoption of which contributed so largely to the prosperity of Louisville. He was elected a member of the first "Board of Trustees of the University and public schools of the city of Louisville," under the charter of 1851. He was connected with this board for about twelve years, and for five consecutive years was elected its president without opposition. In 1865, by the recommendation of the alumni of the university of the public schools the degree of A. M. was conferred upon him. For several years he was one of the directors of the Kentucky Mechanics Institute, and delivered the fifth annual address before that association in 1857. In 1860, as a representative of the commercial interests of the city, he was elected from its members president of the Board of Trade, and served two years. In 1864 he was a member of the common council; in 1866 was the democratic candidate for mayor. In 1870 he was unanimously chosen by the people of his ward a member of the convention to form the present city charter, and by the convention was elected president. In 1873 he was elected to the lower house of the legislature. Soon after the election the panic of 1873 came, and his business affairs forced him to resign this trust. For twenty-five years he has been one of the directors of the Franklin Fire Insurance Company (the oldest fire insurance company in the State); for several years its vice-president, and in 1886, on the death of its president, Mr. James Trabue, was unanimously elected its president, which office he



now holds. He is also president of the Indiana Cotton Mills at Cannelton, Ind. He was one of the organizers of the Southern Mutual Life Insurance Company of Kentucky; for ten years a member of the board of directors of the Bank of Louisville, and for the past fifteen years a director of the Bank of Kentucky. In the I. O. O. F. organization he has held the exalted position of Grand Master of Kentucky, and has been unanimously elected Grand Treasurer of the Jurisdiction of Kentucky, and has held this position for twenty-five years. Mr. Morris is a prominent member of the Second and Broadway Presbyterian Church.

GEORGE C. NORTON, merchant, was born in Lawrenceville, Ga., September 15, 1836, and is a son of Reuben and Ruth M. (Smith) Norton, of English extraction, and natives of Vermont and Massachusetts. The former immigrated to Georgia about the year 1825, and located in Lawrenceville, where he followed Merchandizing, removing to Rome, Ga., in 1847, where he still lives. The subject received an academic education at Rome, Ga., an after leaving school entered his father's store. When the civil war broke out in 1861 he enlisted in the Eighth Georgia Infantry, commanded by Col. Francis S. Bartow, who was killed at Bull Run. He served on the staff (with rank of captain) of Generals Anderson, Hood and Longstreet, and was in the field until the closing scene at Appomattox. He came to Louisville in September, 1865, and as a salesman entered the dry goods house of J. M. Robinson & Co., now one of the largest in the South. In 1870 he became a partner in the house, which does business annually amounting to two million dollars, all through the South. Mr. Norton is a director in the Board of Trade, and a trustee of Bellewood Female Seminary at Anchorage. He was married in 1863 to Miss Mary a Billups, of Rome, Ga. They had one child, Charles B., who died in 1873. In 1879 Mr. Norton was married to Miss Jessie Swope, a daughter of B. L. Swope, of Louisville. They have five children.

CHARLES BOOTH PARSONS. In the space allowed by the plan of this work it is

impossible to do justice to the memory of this remarkable man. Yet we have deemed it appropriate that a record of the salient points of his life should be made in the biographical portion of this volume. Charles Booth Parsons was born in Enfield, Conn., July 23, 1805, of humble, but respectable parentage. He was the eldest of four children, and having the misfortune to lose his father when fifteen years of age it became necessary for him to leave home in search of some means by which he could maintain himself. He went to New York, where, being of an active temperament, he soon found a situation as store boy in the lower part of the city, whereby he obtained his board and occasionally a trifle besides. He learned that his companions in the store were members of an amateur dramatic society, and was early induced to enroll himself as a desciple of the Muses. In the hall, where the juveniles performed, regular actors were often present to witness their efforts. On one occasion, when young Parsons had been "cast" to appear as Sir Edward Mortimer, in the play of the "Iron Chest," some one in the city papers compared the acting of the chief character to the elder Kean, who was then esteemed great in the part. This fired the ambition of our subject to become an actor. Accepting a position in a company being formed for a Southern theater, he embarked on a little coasting schooner that had been engaged to take them to Charleston, South Carolina. After a perilous voyage he made a successful *debut*, and by dint of hard study, and the unceasing cultivation of the talents with which nature had favored him, he continued on a course of almost unparalleled success for about fifteen years. At the time when his fame in the world of histrionism was at its height a change took place which revolutionized the whole course of his life and turned his eminent talents to account in another field of labor. We quote an account of these events from that gentleman himself in "Pulpit and Stage": "There was to be a communion in a Presbyterian church where I had been attending meeting in the afternoon of the Sabbath, to which the preacher invited all to



*C. B. Parsons*





attend who felt interested in that ordinance, whether they were professors or not. They might show by their presence that they desired to honor the feast, though they might not be entitled to participate in it at the present time. It was a stormy afternoon, but I determined to attend. When I arrived at the church I took a seat back and by accident on the left hand. It might have been providential. It so happened too that I was the only person present who was not entitled to partake of the sacred elements. The preacher very touchingly alluded to the circumstance in his prayer, the full force of which fell upon my heart—the isolated stranger who was on the left of the fold, who had come through the storm to be a spectator to the feast. He prayed that the stranger might be converted and be admitted to the fellowship of the righteous through the spirit of God. My heart said ‘amen’ while a flood of tears I could not restrain attested to myself at least the sincerity of my feelings. I retired to the hotel after service, and, locking myself in my room, knelt down by my bedside overwhelmed with agony of mind and almost the victim of despair. The prayer of the poor publican was uppermost in my mind, and I exclaimed aloud: ‘Lord be merciful.’ What was that? Did some one speak? A voice close to me seemed to say: ‘Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou hast eternal life.’ I raised my head and gazed around the room, but saw no one. I then looked under the bed, thinking some one of my friends perhaps in order to play me a trick had concealed himself there. But all was vacant and silent. Again I addressed myself to my prayer, and again seemingly the same response was made. ‘Surely,’ thought I, ‘this is the Lord and so I will receive it.’ My heart beat heavily and seemed to labor within me as if difficult to keep life within me. My tongue faltered, but faith helped me to ejaculate: ‘Lord, I do believe; help thou my unbelief.’ A flood of light flashed through the room; I sank down in rapture upon the floor, my head grew joyous, and I was a converted man.” Having traced this great and good man to the point of conver-

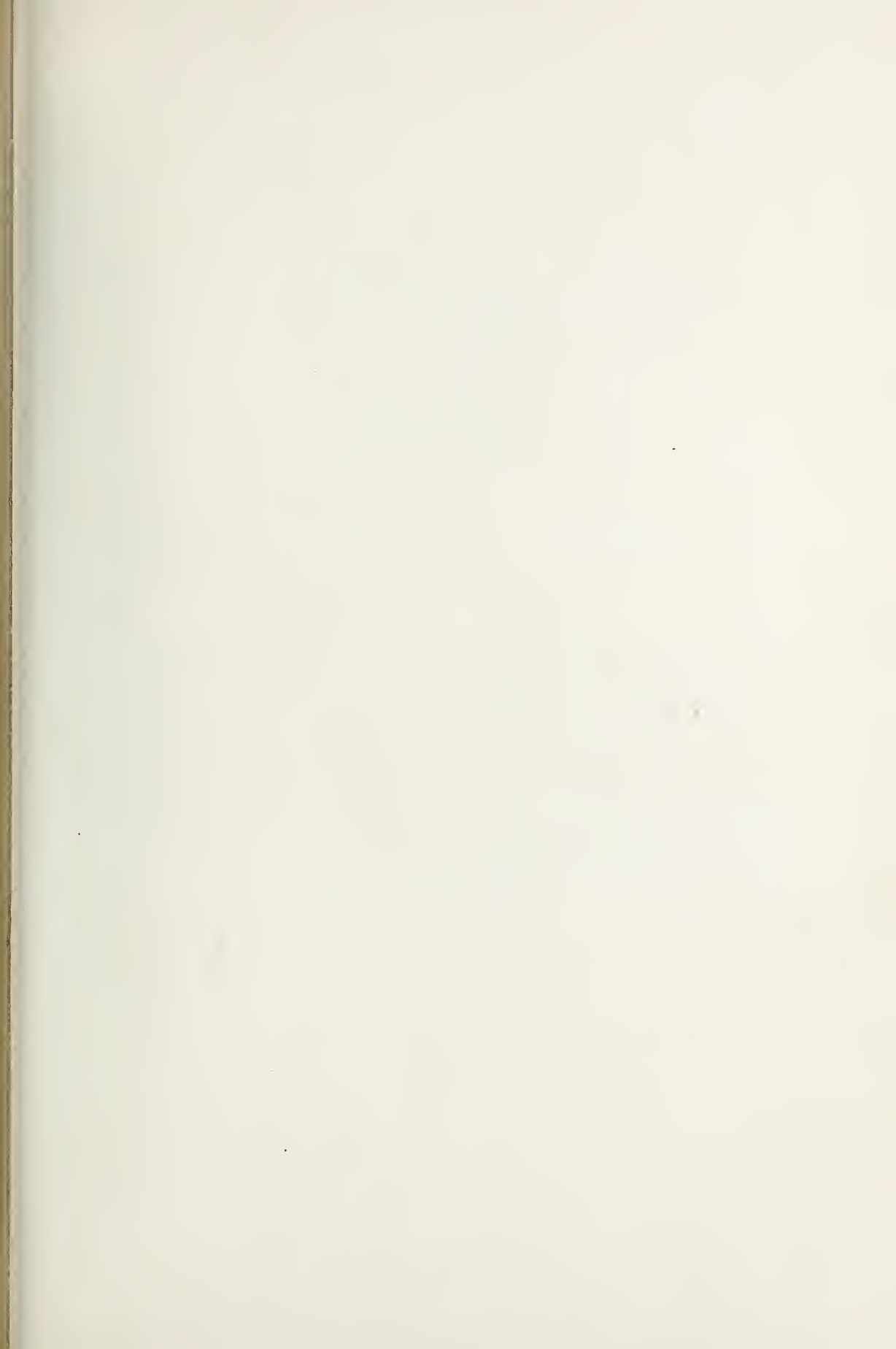
sion we may remark that he had previously perfected professional engagements for nearly a year ahead, which, after much anxious thought and earnest prayer, he concluded it was his duty to fulfill, although he knew it would subject him to the uncharitable criticisms of many in the religious world. At length he bade farewell to the stage forever, and as he was possessed of new objects and aims, he devolved himself to the study of the scriptures with an earnestness that bespoke his gratitude. He soon became a local preacher in a Methodist Episcopal Church, and after a probation of one year, dating from June 1, 1839, the probation was renewed, and on the 15th of September, 1841, he was admitted on trial to the traveling connection. In this position he remained two years, preaching with happy effect in the Jefferson Circuit. In 1843 he was admitted into full connection, and during the conference was ordained a deacon, in accordance with the rules and usages, by Bishop Morris. He was then sent to labor in Frankfort, Kentucky, where he remained two years with much acceptance. At the conference of 1845, on the 14th of September, he was ordained elder by Bishop J. Soulé, at Frankfort. He was clothed with the full power of a minister and sent to St. Louis, Missouri, to become the pastor of the Fourth Street Church. This was October, 1846. Here he was unusually successful and gathered numbers into the fold. During his term of two years at this station the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by this board of curators of St. Charles College, Missouri. In 1854, after his return to Kentucky, he was requested to return to St. Louis to preach the dedication sermon of a large and magnificent church, and in 1855 he was pressingly called to become the pastor of the same. Here, having at first but few members, he labored with such effect that at the close of his administration they numbered over five hundred souls. His name was again registered upon the roll of the Louisville conference in 1857 or 1858, and he was made presiding elder of East Louisville District, comprising several churches and circuits. Subsequently to this



he was appointed by the conference regular pastor of the Walnut Street Church. It may be observed that this church was erected under the administration of Dr. Parsons, and that he was at different times its pastor, greatly beloved by the people. We believe he was again called to St. Louis and served the third term in that city, but at precisely what date we have been unable to ascertain. In the celebrated church difficulty among Methodist brethren Dr. Parsons was appointed one of the peace commissioners for the settlement of the same, and after adjustment of the matter by a division between the North and South he cast his lot with the latter branch, where he remained till the breaking out of the war; but always true to his manhood when affairs assumed such shapes as produce unpleasant feelings with his brethren, he severed his connection therewith and returned to the mother church, where his views were in harmony with those with whom he was associated. The latter portion of his life was therefore spent in the ministry of the original Methodist Church. About the middle of the year 1868, while suffering from disease of the heart, he went to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to dedicate a church. This was more than his system could endure, although he completed the object of his visit and took passage for home without any perceptible injury. But on reaching the Louisville wharf early in the morning he found he had become paralyzed in his lower limbs. During his protracted affliction every available means was resorted to and frequently encouragement was given to himself and friends, at least to hope for a partial restoration of health. But all was in vain; the disease progressed until it became too evident that it would soon terminate in death. He died December 8, 1871, his last hours being marked by a confidence in Jesus Christ as his all in all. Dr. Parsons was married to Miss Emily C. Oldham. Mrs. Emily C. Parsons is still living. She was born in 1813, and has five children living. She is a daughter of William and Elizabeth (Field) Oldham, both born in Jefferson County, Ky. Her maternal grandfather, Captain

Reuben Field, a native of Culpeper County, Va., immigrated to Kentucky before the close of the last century; was a prominent pioneer and served as captain in the war for American Independence. Hon. Edward Y. Parsons, who was elected to congress in 1875, and died the following year, was a son of this eminent divine, the subject of this sketch, as is also Mr. Frank Parsons, a brilliant young lawyer at the Louisville bar. All through life Doctor Parsons maintained a most honorable character. Even when engaged as an actor it was impossible to know him without being struck with the marked propriety and dignity of his conduct. As a minister he was one of the most able and eloquent in the pulpit. Possessing in an eminent degree all the requisites of a true orator in happiest combination, great emotion and passion, with correct judgment of human nature, genius, fancy and imagination, gesture and attitude, intonation and countenance, his whole nature blended to accomplish the mighty purposes of his heart. He was a good citizen as well as a successful minister. He was a devoted husband and an affectionate father, and in fact faithfully discharged all the duties of the various stations in life which he was called to fill. *Requiescat in pace.*

FRANK PARSONS, lawyer, was born in this city January 2, 1850, and is a son of Charles Booth and Emily (Oldham) Parsons, natives of Enfield, Conn., and of Jefferson County, Kentucky. The subject received a liberal education in the high schools of this city, and at the State University at Bloomington, Indiana. He read law with Jackson & Parsons and was admitted to practice at the Louisville bar in March, 1874, and did a general law business up to August, 1887, when he was elected commonwealth's attorney by 7,000 majority over General Alpheus Baker, which was the first office ever solicited by Mr. Parsons. As a lawyer at the bar Mr. Parsons is quiet, and even in his temperament, courteous and polite to his witness; has a penetrating manner, and is making a remarkable record. Added to this he has a polished address, and is one of the most finished speakers at the bar. He was married in 1873







*L. S. Parsons*

to Miss Minnie Dent, a daughter of Col. Henry Dent, of Louisville.

LAWRENCE S. PARSONS is a native of Massachusetts, and was born August 3, 1854, at Belchertown. He is a son of T. J. S. and Margaret (Weston) Parsons, also natives of Massachusetts, and purely English stock. He received a liberal education, graduating from the High School at Belchertown in 1872. He came to Louisville in October, 1872, and received employment with the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis Railroad, as a common laborer at the freight depot, but was shortly promoted to a clerkship in the auditor's department. He arose by regular gradation through his own merits to chief clerk in the general freight department. In 1883 he accepted the position of general agent for the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago Road at Louisville. He remained in this position for two years, then resigned it for that of general freight agent for the "Air-line" road—the Louisville, Evansville & St. Louis. In addition to his railroad duties he is a director in the Louisville Transfer Co., the Louisville Bagging Manufacturing Co., and secretary of the Louisville Magnetic Water Co. He was married, in 1877, to Miss Ida Grainger, a daughter of Colonel W. H. Grainger, of Louisville. She died in 1878, and he next married, in 1880, Miss Mary F. Tapp, a daughter of William J. Tapp, Esq., formerly of Alabama, now of Louisville, and president of the Louisville Bagging Manufacturing Co. Mr. Parsons is one of the progressive young business men of Louisville, popular, clever and accommodating, and a fine railroad man.

ROBERT N. PFEIFFER, M. D., was born in this city June 25, 1859, and is a son of Peter Pfeiffer, a native of Germany, who emigrated to the United States in 1840. The subject of this sketch was educated in the schools of Louisville. He read medicine with Dr. John T. Williams, demonstrator of anatomy in the College of Medicine, and graduated in Hospital Medical College in the class of 1883, and has been engaged in active practice ever since. Soon after graduating he practiced for a time in Bartholomew County, Ind.,

but came to Louisville, and established himself at 931 East Main street.

CHARLES PFEIFFER is a native of this city, and was born November 20, 1837. He is a son of Henry and Magdalene Pfeiffer, natives of Germany, who came to the United States in 1828, locating in New York State, and after remaining there for several years came to Louisville. He received his education in the public schools, and then learned the trade of stove molding in the factory of Wallace, Lithgow & Co. In April, 1866, he formed a copartnership with some of his fellow workmen under the name of Hare, Leaf & Co., which continued until 1870, when the firm was changed to Fisher, Leaf & Co., which name it still bears. They are manufacturers of stoves, mantels, grates, etc., and have a large establishment on High street and Portland avenue, employing about 160 people. The factory has never stood still ten days at a time since first started, and the firm ship their goods all over the United States, and occasionally to Germany. Mr. Pfeiffer was married in 1861 to Miss Julia Gould, of this city, daughter of Jacob Gould, a native of Boston, Mass. They have four children living, viz.: Robert, Mary V., Katie Belle and Norbet Lee. Mrs. Pfeiffer died in 1876.

JAMES SHIPP PHELPS, long one of the prominent tobacco warehousemen in Louisville and president of the J. S. Phelps House, at the southeast corner of Main and Eleventh streets, is a native Kentuckian, born at Hopkinsville, March 8, 1828, and was the third child and third son of John H. and Caroline (Shipp) Phelps. His father was born in July, 1790, and came from Virginia with his brother when a young man. Some years before he had taken his wife from the well-known Shipp family near Hopkinsville. The Phelps stock is probably English, though it is not known when it made its advent into this country. James, the subject, lost his mother while less than two years old, and his father married again in October, 1830, this time taking to wife a sister of Gov. James T. Morehead. She proved an excellent mother to the little family and brought them up carefully. James



had two elder brothers, Hiram Abiff, an attorney at Hopkinsville, and Laban Shipp, deceased at twenty-six years of age. The elder Phelps died in 1842. His widow married Augustine Webber, of Hopkinsville, in February, 1846, and survived him about eighteen months, dying in 1875 at the residence of her stepson in this city. Young Phelps was educated mainly by Mr. James D. Rumsey, of Hopkinsville, and in a school of a venerable Baptist minister near that place. He was in this school from the age of fourteen until he was ready to enter into active life. At the request of his father, who had in his lifetime been circuit court clerk of Christian County under the old system of appointment for a long series of years and died at his post, James entered the office of his successor while a very young man, as a writer and manager of the office, in the absence of his superior, who was in failing health. This was an important position for a youth, and fulfilled his father's expectation of the place as a capital means of education for him. So well did he improve his opportunities of legal study in the office that within a year after leaving it he was enabled to receive from the Circuit Judge a license to practice law. He opened an office with his brother (though not as a partner) in Hopkinsville; but at the end of another year he wearied at the slow and drudging character of the profession, and determined to embark in the mercantile business. He entered into partnership with Mr. Joseph K. Grant, of the same place. It was in 1853 when the two young men started in the dry goods business. The times were prosperous, and Christian was then the richest county in the State outside of Jefferson and Fayette. A great many slaves were held in the county, and the negro trade was especially lucrative. The partners made money every year, selling to the amount of \$115,000 the last year they were together. In 1856, however, Mr. Phelps retired, selling his interest to Mr. Grant. In the summer of 1862 he came to Louisville, and built the well-known Louisville warehouse the same season, at the northwest corner of Main and Tenth streets. Mr. Phelps embarked in the tobacco

business as a warehouseman, and as the head of Phelps, Caldwell & Co. This warehouse was sold about 1867 to Ray & Co., and the superb building now occupied by Messrs. Phelps & Co., and known as the Planters Tobacco Warehouse, at the corner of Main and Eleventh streets, was erected by Mr. Phelps in 1875. The firm of Phelps, Caldwell & Co. was dissolved at the time of the sale and removed, and that of J. S. Phelps & Co. was formed, composed of J. S. Phelps and John C. Durrett. The present stock company, bearing the same name, was formed in 1881, and embraces Mr. Phelps and his four sons, John H., James S., Jr., Laban and Hiram O., and capital stock \$150,000. Zach Phelps, another son of Mr. Phelps, is a lawyer, and a member of the firm of O'Neal, Jackson & Phelps. Mr. Phelps was an old line Whig before the war, and a sympathizer with the Union cause when the great struggle came, and during its continuance. Many years he was much attached to Odd Fellowship, and served for several years as deputy grand master of the State. He is a member of the First Baptist Church of Louisville, in the faith of his parents and of a past generation. He was married in Hopkinsville, July 25, 1849, to Miss Mary Jane, second daughter of Zachariah and Mary Jane Glass.

JOHN R. PIRTLE, M. D., belongs to one of the prominent families of Louisville, a family that has produced some very eminent men. He was born May 20, 1830, and is a son of Henry and Jane (Rogers) Pirtle, natives of Washington and Boyle Counties. The former was born in 1798, and died in 1880. He was circuit judge when but twenty-six years of age of the Louisville district, and when the judiciary was appointed. He served for years, and afterward was Judge of the chancery court, serving in that capacity for two terms. He served in the State Senate from 1840 to 1843. He continued his law practice until within a few years of his death. He was a zealous Union man during the late war, and was one of the commissioners sent to the Border State Convention in 1861. The subject of this sketch is the eldest of three sons, all of whom are living in Louisville.

After receiving his education he began reading medicine with his maternal grandfather, Dr. Coleman Rogers, one of the eminent surgeons and physicians of this city, and of a very large and distinguished family. Dr. Pirtle, the subject, graduated from the medical department of the University of Louisville in 1852, and commenced practice with his uncle, Dr. Lewis Rogers, which he continued until 1861, when the storm of war called him to the defense of his country. He enlisted under General Rousseau (Federal), and was mustered into the service as major. He served as colonel in rank; afterward resigned and accepted the post of surgeon. He resigned in December, 1862, on account of ill health, but acted as assistant surgeon throughout the war. He served as head of a dispensary in 1857, when it was first established. In 1865 he adopted the medical view of homeopathy.

JUDGE HENRY PIRTLE, one of the ablest lawyers and jurists that ever practiced at the Louisville bar, located in that city in 1826, from Hartford, Ohio County, Ky., where he had been admitted to the bar some five years before. He was born in 1799, and was not yet thirty years old when he came to Louisville, yet so quickly did his professional brethren recognize his great abilities that within a few months he was unanimously recommended to the Governor for the appointment of Circuit Judge. He was accordingly appointed, and again in 1846. In 1850 he was appointed chancellor of the Louisville Chancery Court, and appointed again in 1862. He was for twenty-seven years professor of constitutional law, equity and commercial law, in the law department of the University of Louisville. He compiled a Digest of the Decisions of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, and was the author of a valuable historical introduction to the journal of Gen. George Rogers Clark, published in Cincinnati some years ago, as a number of the Ohio Valley Historical series. He took no active part in politics; his only office outside the judicial service was that of State Senator, being elected in 1840, and serving one term. His influence, however, upon politics and legislation

was great. To a letter of his, addressed to the Secretary of the United States Treasury, about 1850, is attributed the building of the Marine hospitals at Louisville and elsewhere on the Western waters. He was an active promoter of historical, literary and scientific societies, and was regarded as a walking encyclopedia. He died March 28, 1880, aged eighty years.

JOHN B. PIRTLE was born in Louisville, May 17, 1842, and is a son of the late Dr. Claiborne and Eliza J. (Barbee) Pirtle. Dr. Pirtle was a man of high standing in this city and was a brother of the late Judge Henry Pirtle, and his wife, the mother of John B. Pirtle, is a sister of the Hon. John Barbee, and is a most estimable lady. John B. Pirtle is the only surviving child of his parents and was educated in this city at the Male High School. He volunteered as a private in the Confederate States army in September, 1861, and served until the close of the war in 1865, participating in almost every battle of the army of Tennessee. Soon after the battle of Shiloh he became attached to the staff of Brigadier General Hawes, but in a short time was ordered to duty as the acting adjutant of the Thirty-first Mississippi Regiment, commanded by Colonel Orr, and at the battle of Baton Rouge, August 5, 1862, he commanded the right wing of that regiment. When Bragg was in Kentucky, in the fall of that year, he obtained authority from the Secretary of War to raise a regiment in Kentucky, and started to that State, but on reaching Barboursville, Ky., he met Bragg's army, leaving the State after the battle of Perryville. Under the act of Congress, authorizing the President to make appointments for "valor and skill," he was commissioned a lieutenant in Company D, Fourth Kentucky Regiment, and immediately thereafter appointed aid-de-camp and provost marshal on the staff of Brigadier General Ben Hardin Helm, and served with that general until he was killed at Chickamauga. General Helm was giving an order to Lieutenant Pirtle at the time that he was shot. While the army was at Missionary Ridge, Lieut. Pirtle was adjutant of the post at Chickamauga Station, and when



the army fell back to Dalton and went into winter quarters, there he became adjutant of the post at Dalton. On the opening of the Dalton and Atlanta campaign he was ordered to duty on the staff of Major General Bate, and served with that general as assistant adjutant general until the close of the war. He surrendered at High Point, N. C., May 3, 1865, and returning to Louisville in 1866, was made the general agent of the Travelers Insurance Company, of Hartford, Conn. The territory now controlled by him for that company embraces the whole South, east of the Mississippi River. He was married in 1874 to Miss Mary Belle Thomas, the second daughter of John H. Thomas, one of the leading merchants of Louisville, who died in 1877, and has two living children.

**WORDEN POPE.** Pope's Creek is situated in Westmoreland County, Virginia. Here, in the year 1772, Worden Pope, who was the son of the Hon. Benjamin Pope, was born. It was here also that Gen. Washington was born. Irving, in his life of that great man, states that he was born at Bridge Creek. In this, it is submitted with great reverence, he was betrayed into error. It seems clear from Hower's History of Virginia, that Washington was born on Pope's Creek, where G. W. Custis has placed a stone, with a simple inscription, to commemorate this interesting event. The spot is one of great natural beauty, commanding a charming view of the shore of Maryland, and of the Potomac River for many miles in its majestic course towards the Chesapeake Bay. There are many other associations connected with Pope's Creek which would be of interest, but they are not within the scope of this little sketch. John Washington and his brother Andrew arrived in Virginia in 1657, and settled in Westmoreland County. John married Miss Anne Pope, who was the near kinswoman—probably the daughter of Nathaniel Pope, and by this marriage she became the great-grandmother of Gen. Washington. One of the many evidences of the friendship and intimacy which arose from the kinship between the Washington and Pope families is found in the will of Thomas

Pope, executed in 1684, and now on record in Virginia.

The Popes of North Alabama also emigrated from Pope's Creek. They first went to Petersburg, and from there LeRoy Pope emigrated to Louisiana, where he established the first bank organized in that State. Subsequently he was in North Alabama, where, being impressed with the beauty of the country, he acquired a large tract of land, upon which he laid out a town, naming it Twickenham, after the villa of the poet Pope on the Thames. Afterwards, by a vote of the people, the name was changed to that of Huntsville, and so remains to this day. LeRoy Pope was the grandfather of LeRoy Pope Walker, (an eminent lawyer and the first Secretary of War in the cabinet of Jefferson Davis,) and of Richard W. Walker, a Senator from Alabama in the Congress of the Southern Confederacy.

It appears from Dr. Brock's Extract from the Land Office of Virginia that Nathaniel Pope, in the year 1654, three years before the arrival of the Washingtons in the colony, settled upon the banks of the creek which has just been mentioned, and to which he gave his name. He seems to have been a man of great vigor of character and strength of mind.

It is needless to trace from father to son the descent of Worden Pope, the subject of this sketch, from Nathaniel Pope. It would be tedious and uninteresting to do so. In 1779 three brothers, Benjamin Pope, William Pope and Alexander Pope, having disposed of their estates in Westmoreland County, emigrated from Pope's Creek to Kentucky County, then a County of Virginia. In 1780 Kentucky County was divided into Jefferson, Fayette and Lincoln Counties. The brothers crossed the mountains of Virginia, reached the Ohio River and came down with the current of that beautiful stream to the Falls, where the city of Louisville now stands. It was then a most dismal spot, full of swamps and ponds, and quite unhealthy. Not a house was to be seen. Nothing was visible but a fort, which was built in the



*Alfred Thurston Pope*





early spring of 1779, and known as Patton's Fort, situated at what is now the corner of Main and Seventh streets, and in immediate proximity to the Union Depot of the Chesapeake & Ohio and other railroads.

The Popes were camped outside the fort and narrowly escaped massacre (by taking refuge in the fort) from the Indians, who crossed from the Indiana side and made a determined attack upon the little garrison. At this time Worden was in his eighth year, and witnessed the onslaught of the savages. His elder brother, Nathaniel, for a time was missing, and it was feared that he had fallen a victim to the tomahawk, but happily no such fate had overtaken him. The depreciated value of Continental currency at this period is shown by the fact that the Popes paid \$150 for a bushel of corn. About this time General Clarke took the British Forts of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, which checked the incursions of the Indians and afforded to the country about the Falls comparative security. In 1779, or early in 1780, Benjamin Pope removed with his family to a fort which stood on the north bank of Salt River, now a part of Bullitt County. It was here and on the path leading to the ferry, about to be mentioned, that George May, a surveyor of Jefferson County, and a party of followers, excepting one, were waylaid and murdered by the Indians. The escape of the one man, whose name was Hardin, would furnish a thrilling episode, but it would perhaps be a digression to insert its details in this narrative. It was in the midst of such stirring scenes that Worden Pope passed his boyhood and early manhood. Benjamin Pope resided here with his family for several years, and in 1787 bought a tract of land on Salt River, opposite the Fort, which is now owned and cultivated by James Y. Pope, one of the first citizens of Bullitt County, and a cousin of Worden Pope. Benjamin Pope established a ferry at his house, which carried passengers across Salt River, and was much traveled by persons going to Bardstown and other points. Worden Pope was put in charge of the ferry.

In those days lawyers of reputation, living at Louisville, found lucrative employment at

Bardstown and similar places. Among these was Stephen Ormsby, then clerk of the Jefferson Courts, a lawyer of distinction, and who later on in life adorned both the bench and a seat in the Federal Congress at Washington. At this period, in the history of the State, the clerks of the important courts, generally speaking, were fine lawyers; and although not permitted to practice in the courts of which they were clerks they could practice in all other courts in the Commonwealth. Now a clerk of the court is rarely or never a lawyer. Among those who regularly attended and practiced in the courts at Bardstown was Stephen Ormsby, and in going and returning between that place and Louisville, he was ferried across Salt river by Worden Pope. In this way he became acquainted with the young helmsman. Judge Ormsby was endowed with a profound insight into character, and he soon discovered that Worden was no ordinary youth, clad, as he was, after the manner of the pioneers, in his leather breeches and coon-skin cap. He saw that there was a career before him for future usefulness and eminence, and conceiving for him an affection and friendship, he induced Worden to come with him to Louisville, where he at once installed him as deputy in his office.

Worden soon acquired a knowledge of its duties; and on the resignation of Ormsby, he was appointed clerk of the Circuit Court, also of the County Court. The former he held until 1834, when he resigned, and his third son, Edmund Pendleton, was appointed; but the county clerkship he held until 1838, when he died, and his fourth son, Curran Pope, succeeded him. In the commencement of his career as clerk, Worden Pope studied law, and to the day of his death was always an ardent and methodical student of jurisprudence. Being forbidden to practice in Jefferson County, the county of his office, he practiced in Oldham, Nelson, Hardin, Bullitt and Meade, but, as he grew older, he confined his practice to Oldham and Bullitt.

The Hon. J. R. Browne, of Washington County, says when Ben Hardin was a candidate for congress, he was rebuked by his



clients for his consequent inability to defend large ejectment cases brought for their lands in Washington County; he replied: "I have asked my friend Worden Pope, who is the greatest land lawyer in Kentucky, to represent me." Mr. Pope justified the high estimate of his distinguished friend by successfully defending all of the actions. His practice in the federal courts was large and lucrative, and after his resignation of one of the clerkships was also large and lucrative in the Chancery Court at Louisville. Mr. Pope's contemporaries at the bar often spoke in terms of the warmest praise of the masterly ability and the profound learning he displayed for the defense in the well known case of Beard vs. The City of Louisville, and others, in which was an array of counsel rarely exceeded at any time or in any place.

It was Mr. Pope, Wm. Pope and Alexander Pope that brought out Gen. Jackson for the presidency. The meeting at which Jackson's candidacy was initiated by the Popes was held at the house of Alexander Pope on the south side of Jefferson, between Sixth and Seventh streets, in Louisville, Ky.; where, also, for many years Edmund Pendleton Pope resided, and where his second son, Judge Alfred Thruston Pope, was born.

Governor John Pope, a man commanding talents, who had served with distinguished ability a number of terms in the lower house of congress from 1837 to 1843, and in the senate of the United States from 1807 to 1813, was a close kinsman of Mr. Pope. He had made the race for congress in the Ashland district against Henry Clay. It was a tilt of giants. Governor Pope, being a man of stubborn convictions, refused in that canvass to bend to the popular will. He was defeated and burnt in effigy at Lexington. Worden Pope, whether he was right or not, believed the great Clay could have prevented this outburst of popular feeling. And it was the indignation which Worden Pope and his family felt at this insult to their kinsman, as well as the warm and devoted attachment which Mr. Pope cherished for Gen. Jackson, that led him to urge upon the country the name of the latter for the office of chief exe-

cutive. In the canvass which followed Mr. Pope gave Jackson a most loyal and devoted support. The *Advertiser*, then the oldest and most influential newspaper in the West, was edited by Shadrach Penn. In the columns of this journal Mr. Pope furnished a series of articles, over the nom de plume of "Publicola," advocating the claim of Gen. Jackson, which created something of a stir and sensation, and excited widespread comment and discussion. Judge Little, in his life of Ben Hardin, states: "To the Pope family, in Kentucky, Gen. Jackson owed his majority in that State in 1828. When Gen. Jackson became President, he tendered any office within his gift to Worden Pope, but Mr. Pope, whilst appreciating the action of his friend, declined to accept any appointment, for the reason that he was quite near-sighted and not able to see at night. Gen. Jackson, however, appointed John Pope governor of Arkansas; and Curran Pope, who afterwards with heroic valor fell at the head of his regiment at Perryville, as a cadet to West Point."

The contest which took place between the old and new court parties was one of the most able, bitter and determined controversies which has ever occurred in this country. With his characteristic frankness and boldness Mr. Pope without hesitation threw the whole weight of his ability and personal influence on the side of the old court party. Again the productions of his pen were a feature in the canvass. He was in the very front of the fight and helped lead the forces with consummate ability.

In a historical sketch of the "Pope Family," by the Hon. Wm. R. Thompson, that admirable and forcible writer says: "Worden Pope was an eminent lawyer—but few his equal in Kentucky—a great politician, and the life-long and unswerving friend of Gen. Jackson, and though he acquired an immense property, he died by no means owning a fortune. His munificent liberality and generosity, which is a trait of many of the Pope family, caused him to give away in his lifetime several fortunes. The Pope family, taken all in all, is one of the most distin-

guished families in the history of Kentucky from the day Boone passed the Allegheny gap to the present time."

Mr. Pope's death came unexpectedly to his friends. He was making an argument in an important land suit in the court house at Louisville when he was seized with a sudden illness. Judge J. J. Marshall immediately adjourned court. Mr. Pope, however, rallied and went to his home, which then embraced what is now between Fifth and Tenth and Walnut and Broadway streets, in Louisville, Ky. He never recovered, and after a brief illness he passed peacefully away.

Dr. Nat. Field, of Indiana, in his interesting little volume on "The Pope Family," states that "The name of Worden Pope was a household word in Jefferson and adjoining counties. His name was a synonym of honesty and benevolence. He died in a good old age, laden with the honor and esteem of all who knew him. His funeral was the largest ever seen in Louisville. It was an outpouring of all classes of people to do honor to a great and good man." The late Coleman Daniel, a stanch Methodist, one of the purest citizens of Louisville, used to say that when he would hand the box around in his church for charitable purposes, Worden Pope would empty his purse, not knowing what he gave, and that for the sake of curiosity Daniel would count it, and the contribution "would amount to hundreds of dollars." A writer of a recent sketch of Worden Hope, who knew him well, does not employ the language of exaggeration when he states: "His home was always open to the poor and needy and his ear to the cry of distress. He was, it may be said, the adviser of his county, and in the advice he gave the utmost confidence was placed. He never charged a widow, orphan or minister of the gospel or a young lawyer. He adjusted difficulties amongst his friends and prevented litigation by his counsel. In his practice he aided young lawyers, devoting his abilities to them, rejoicing in their success, but refusing fees they insisted on sharing with him."

The Hon. John Rowan, a Kentuckian whose biography should be written, eloquently said

of Worden Pope that "he was the oldest member of the bar. . . Endowed by nature with a good constitution and a vigorous mind, he improved the former by manly exercise and enriched the latter by zealous and unremitting devotion to the attainment of solid and useful information. Without the aid of classical learning he acquired a very thorough and accurate knowledge of English literature. He was temperate in all his enjoyments, patient of labor and research in whatever he was engaged; benevolent and charitable in a high degree, of high moral firmness, of sincerity in his friendships, his enmities were slow in forming and swift in fading. His moral habits were exemplary; his manners were neither gracious nor repulsive. He had an habitual aversion to artificial or fictitious mannerism. His manners and morals were founded in the old school, where the solid was preferred to the showy, and where simulated courtesies were rebuked by honesty and sincerity of sentiment. Influenced through life by sentiments of that school and the inherent benevolence of his own heart and feelings, his powers and attachments were devoted more to the benefit of society than of himself. As clerk of the courts of Jefferson County he was in a position to be consulted by the widows, the orphans, and the indigent; and his knowledge of law enabled him to obey the kind impulses of his nature most beneficially to the applicants. The young men who officiated as deputies under the influence of his example and benign instructions went hence into society with good habits and qualified for usefulness . . . but the deceased was as remarkable for his exemption from sordid and selfish influences as any man of the age in which he lived. As a clerk of the County Court he had the custody of the books, papers, and records of the trustees of Louisville from its origin, which afforded him an opportunity of becoming blamelessly rich. He resided in the town from its first establishment, with but little exception, until his death, without speculating in town property, while other men by such means under his eye were acquiring great wealth. Although he possessed the facilities for such speculations beyond



anybody else, he never touched them; so that it might be said of him emphatically that he lived for others, not for himself. The facts of his life constitute his best eulogy, and the more they shall be known the more his loss will be deplored and his memory revered. A pocket edition of the Bible was his constant companion. His daily life was controlled by its precepts, and he tried to live and be governed by its beneficent teachings. It was his daily habit to turn to its pages and he seemed to be supported and sustained by its comforting words.

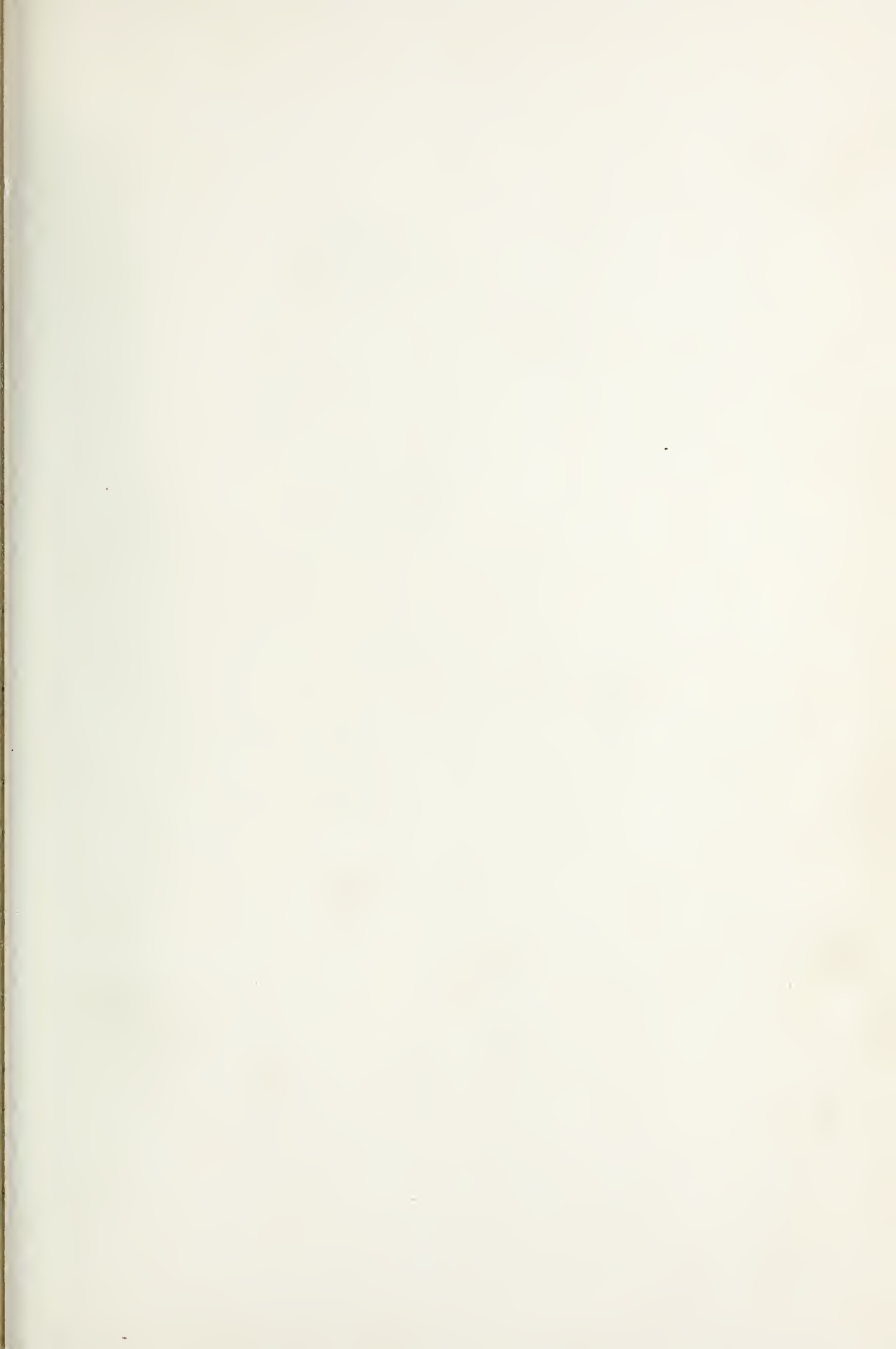
In 1804 Worden Pope married Elizabeth Thruston, a lineal descendant of the Thruston of the revolution, an eloquent divine who left his pulpit and fought gallantly in the Colonial ranks against Great Britain and who in consequence of his courageous service has ever since been known by the sobriquet of "The Warrior Parson." She was a daughter of John Thruston, who represented Kentucky in the Virginia Legislature before the former became a State, and also the niece of Judge Buckner Thruston, who was one of the first two United States Senators from Kentucky. She was also the sister of Charles M. Thruston, of Louisville, a great lawyer and a speaker, who, when in the mood or aroused, was the equal of any one.

The fruit of the marriage of Worden Pope with Elizabeth Thruston was a large family. Of all the children, thirteen in number, Hamilton Pope alone has reached an old age. He has enjoyed a long, successful and most honorable career at the Louisville Bar, and is a man of decided ability and marked characteristics. Averse to public life, he has never sought office; indeed, he has declined several times the nomination for Congress tendered him by the Whig party, although in early life he was induced to serve the people of Louisville in the Legislature and in the Senate at Frankfort. Had he chosen to follow the paths which lead to public honor, he would have achieved a national fame and been eminent in the councils of the Nation. Standing six feet and four inches high, he is a man of commanding presence, of the very purest private and professional character, of an in-

tegrity that has never been sullied, and is possessed of a magnetism which has made his personality potent in its influence with all those with whom he has come in contact. In the fall of 1855 he was married to Mrs. Prather, of Washington County, Kentucky, the daughter of Mr. Samuel Booker, and a woman of many personal attractions, of brilliant attainments and gifted with rare conversational powers.

PATRICK POPE, the eldest son of Worden Pope, died in his thirty-fourth year. Graduating as valedictorian from St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Kentucky, he began the practice of law in the city of his birth, in 1827. He speedily rose to distinction in his profession. By his ability and eloquence he overcame a Whig majority of one thousand, being elected to the Legislature over the beloved and talented Henry Crittenden. When he made this brilliant canvass he was not yet twenty-five years of age. He ably co-operated with his father and the other members of his family in bringing out General Jackson for the presidency. Declining the place of Secretary of State, tendered him by Governor Breathitt, he was elected in his twenty-eighth year to Congress, which position he filled with credit and reputation to himself and with acceptance to his electors. He died May 4, 1840. Notwithstanding his premature death Mr. Pope had attained an enviable public rank. His conversational powers, integrity of character and eloquence, made him one of the first lawyers of his time.

EDMUND PENDLETON POPE, who was generally known as Pendleton Pope, was the third son. He was tall and slender, with a strong and most pleasing face, and graceful person; graduated with honor in the regular course at Transylvania University; was, like his brother Patrick, gifted with rare conversational power, and inherited the constitutional intrepidity of his father. He was for fifteen years clerk of the Circuit Court, and afterwards practiced law with great success to the day of his death, which occurred in his forty-seventh year. More than thirty years ago the writer heard his argument in defense of Johnson, who killed Lawrence; and so great was the impression







*Amos Pope*

then made, that the more eloquent parts of his speech remain in the memory of the writer to this day. He married Nancy, the daughter of Colonel James Johnson, of Scott County, Ky., and has three sons—Judge Alfred Thruston Pope, Captain James Worden Pope and Hamilton Pope, Jr., who survive him.

CURRAN POPE, the fourth son, graduated at West Point in 1836, and after a short service in the army he resigned to take one of the clerkships made vacant by the resignation of his father. He held the office for seventeen years, the last four of which were by election by the people. He was a citizen of much public spirit; one of the original projectors and directors of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad; one of the main promoters of the Louisville Water Works; devoted much of his time as trustee of Danville College, and as trustee of various educational institutions of Louisville, especially to a seminary organized and established by himself and others in the old homestead of his father; served for eleven years in the General Council of Louisville; and on the breaking out of the late war he espoused the cause of the Union. He raised the Fifteenth Kentucky Regiment, which, after a varied service, was decimated in the battle of Perryville, which, for the number and length of time engaged, is said to have been the bloodiest battle of the war. Early in the action Colonel Pope's horse was killed under him, and towards the close of the engagement he was shot through the shoulder. E. P. Humphrey, D. D., LL. D., the scholarly author of "Sacred History from the Creation to the Giving of the Law," who was the co-laborer in many fields of usefulness with Colonel Pope, and who was his life-long friend, thus writes of him a short time after Colonel Pope's death: . . . "through his father, the late Worden Pope, Esq.,—in his day one of the foremost citizens of the commonwealth—and through his excellent mother and amiable wife as well, he was allied to some of the most influential families in the country. . . . His ample private fortune released him, in a large measure, from professional labor; so that he was able to devote the last twelve years of his life to the general interests of society.

As an office-bearer in one of our largest city churches, and in many other positions, he rendered the most important services. He brought to all his trusts a fine capacity for business, public spirit, unwearied diligence, habits of system, order, and punctuality, and a nice sense of duty. Few men of his generation here have performed as much gratuitous and arduous labor for the common good. It happened to him to be of the number of those in whom all the great issues of life flow together in a single hour of supreme necessity and peril; when the high qualities, which have been for nearly fifty years slowly maturing within them, are brought to a final and fiery test, and suddenly emerge all aglow with consummate splendor. Colonel Pope met that hour on the bloody slopes of Perryville, and took the crown. The writer of these lines was during the whole day within hearing distance of the artillery and musketry; was at one time on the outskirts of the field, and before the dead were all buried he carefully surveyed the ground on which the battle was fought. The carnage over, the whole field was frightful, and Colonel Pope stood in one of its hottest positions. His regiment was posted upon the brow of the hill; the enemy was arrayed in two lines on the slope below him, one of these lines being partially concealed in a field of standing corn, the other protected by a substantial stone-wall. The positions of the rebels being down the hill gave them this important advantage. They would not be likely to fire too high, while Pope's troops, being so much above them, could hardly avoid that mistake. Besides, the foremost rebel line had the stone-wall in their rear, to the cover of which they could at any time retreat, and to which, in point of fact, they did retreat under the fire of our gallant Fifteenth. Furthermore, the right of the regiment rested on a barn, which, early in the action, was set on fire by a shell from the enemy, so that our troops on that wing were nearly roasted by the flames. And, more than all, the brave Jouett and Campbell were shot down in the very beginning; the noble McGrath, who went to Jouett's assistance, was instantly killed, Pope's horse was



shot under him; he himself was wounded, and his men were falling in heaps around him. Colonel Pope stood near the center of the column, about four feet from the line of battle, giving direction to every movement. Just in front of the position was a low rail fence; further down the hill are two trees, the trunks of which are about the size of a man's body. The bullet marks in the trees and in the rails leave us in wonder how any human being standing in that line of battle could have escaped death. Yet such was the intrepidity of the regiment and of its commander that they held their ground, until ordered to another position, when they filed out into the road and marched off in perfect order. Colonel Pope, on reaching his new position, ordered his men to lie down under the brow of the hill as a protection from the enemy's shells. General Rousseau, observing some change in the field, rode up and suggested to Colonel Pope the propriety of showing his forces to the enemy. Colonel Pope instantly gave the order; the men sprang to their feet and marched in line to the battle, to the top of the hill. The General was so much struck with their promptness and discipline, that he put his cap on his sword and waved it with the cry, 'Hurra for Kentucky!' Night soon set in; and, of the Fifteenth, seventy-two slept in death, about a hundred and seventy staunch, as best they could, their bleeding wounds, and the others rested on their arms. Colonel Pope remained with the army a few days and joined in the pursuit of Bragg, who fled to the mountains; but, finding himself utterly exhausted, he returned to Danville, where he lingered three weeks and died. He looked forward to the eternal world with pious composure, and expressed his unwavering confidence in the Saviour. But for this opportunity on the field of battle, none, not his most intimate friends even, would have known the man. In him we have an instance pointing out the fine distinction between a certain brutal ferocity, which sometimes passes by the name of courage, and that more humane and exalted sentiment which springs out of a nice sense of honor, the love of country and the fear of God. Such was Colonel Pope's quiet, and amiable,

and even diffident manner in society, that no man, not even he himself, knew what a brave and gallant heart was hidden in his bosom, patiently waiting the hour of his grand manifestation. The hour came; the man was fully revealed to the homage of his countrymen, and his life was finished, wearing "the beauty of a thing completed," a good work well done. His name is enrolled with the dead heroes of the Commonwealth. She will never suffer his memory to perish."

Wm. R. Thompson, in his "Historical Sketch of the Pope Family," thus speaks of Colonel Pope: he "was the idol of the men he commanded. Though of a very gentle and inoffensive disposition, he was one of the bravest, most resolute men in the Union army, equally ready to oppose and smite a giant, or to soothe and protect a child, and many a tear was shed by his brave and scar-covered soldiers when he had to leave them. The writer of this, who saw Colonel Pope Monday after the battle of Perryville, has heard many of his soldiers say that after a long and tiresome march, when night came and they went into camp, other officers sought a house to sleep in, but Colonel Pope laid down upon the ground with his men, and took their fare. He looked upon them as a father looks upon his children, and he said it was his duty to be with them and take care of them. He never sought or claimed any better fare than his soldiers got; hence his immense popularity with his men, who revere his memory to this day with the affection of a child for its father. When you meet one of the Fifteenth Kentucky who fought at Perryville, ask him what he thinks of Colonel Curran Pope, and he will give you a better eulogy than I can write, more graphic and to the point; he can tell facts I know not in his undying praise, and he will love to talk to you about him. The writer of this article was well acquainted with Colonel Curran Pope before the war, and saw him several times in his camp after he entered the army, and he can bear witness to his great worth as a man, citizen and soldier. The slaughter of Pope's regiment at Perryville was so great, that afterwards it was given the sobriquet of the 'Bloody Regiment.'"

General Sherman succeeded General Anderson to the command in Kentucky in the earliest stage of the war. His headquarters were at Louisville, and there he often met Colonel Pope, who had already determined to enter the army of the Union. General Sherman had abundant opportunity to form a correct estimate of Colonel Pope's character, both as a soldier and as a gentleman. A few days after he learned through the public prints of the death of Colonel Pope, although he was burdened with the absorbing responsibilities of a great military command, he wrote Colonel Pope's widow the following letter:

"HEADQUARTERS, MEMPHIS, TENN.,  
November 10, 1862.

DEAR MADAM:—

. . . . I know you will pardon me, as far off, if, at this your dread hour, I come to bear my feeble show of honor to him whose name you bear and whose child will in after years look back upon as one of those heroes who labored and gave his life to his country. Well do I recall the soft and gentle voice of Curran Pope, the peculiar delicacy of his approach, the almost unequal courtesy of his manner and the first faint doubt that one so gentle, so mild, so beautiful in character, should be a warrior; but another look, and his eye, the plain direct assertion of a high and holy purpose, with the pressure of his lips, told that he was a man; one to lead; one to go where duty called him though the path led through the hail storm of battle. Among all the men I have ever met in the progress of this unnatural war, I cannot recall one in whose every act and expression was so manifest the good and true man; one who so well filled the type of the Kentucky gentleman.

He died not upon the battle-field but of wounds inflicted by parricidal hands on Kentucky's soil and his blood is the cement that will ever more bind together the disjointed parts of a mighty nation. Though for a time smitten down by the terrible calamity, may you and your child soon learn to look upon his name and fame as encircled by a halo of glory more beautiful than ever decked the victor's brow. Curran Pope is dead, but

millions will battle on, till from his heaven-home he will see his own beloved Kentucky the center of his great country, regenerated and disenthralled from the toils of wicked men.

I fear that in trying to carry comfort to an afflicted heart, I do it rudely, but I know you will permit me in my blunt way to bear my feeble testimony to the goodness, braveness, and gallantry of the man who more nearly filled the picture of the preux chevalier of this age, than any man I have yet met. I know you are in the midst of a host of friends, but should in the progress of years any opportunity come by which I can be of service to any of the family of Curran Pope, command me.

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

W. T. SHERMAN.

Maj. Gen. Vols."

Curran Pope was married to Matilda Prather, a daughter of John I. Jacob, by whom he was blessed with one daughter, Mary Tyler Pope, who is possessed of many accomplishments, great force of character and intellect, and of much beauty, and who still lives in the home of her heroic father, the happy wife of Judge Alfred Thruston Pope, and the devoted mother of an interesting family.

JUDGE ALFRED THRUSTON POPE was born July, 22 1842, on Jefferson street, between Sixth and Seventh streets, Louisville, Ky., in the house where his grandfather and other members of the family first suggested Gen. Jackson for the Presidency. He was reared at his father's country place, which commands a beautiful view of the Ohio River and is situated three miles west of Louisville.

He was educated at Bethany College and Indiana University; graduated at the Louisville Law School under Chancellors Logan and Pirtle and Judge Bullock; was admitted to the bar before attaining his majority, speedily acquired a lucrative practice and took high rank in his profession. In 1867, three years after graduation, he was unanimously chosen as the orator and delivered the Alumni address



of the Law School. He was elected without opposition a member of the General Council of Louisville, and, declining a re-election, was nominated in 1869 by the Democrats for the Legislature, to which, after an exciting and interesting canvass, he was elected over the Hon. Lewis M. Dembitz. The following year he was elected without a dissenting voice by the delegates to the State convention as elector for the Congressional District, which embraced the City of Louisville and the counties of Jefferson, Henry, Oldham and Owen, and his speeches in that canvass enhanced his reputation. In 1871 he was unanimously elected to a seat in the Kentucky Senate. After two years' service in the Senate, which merited and received the approval of his constituents, and where, although the youngest member of that body, being barely eligible when elected, he served upon the most important committees, and took position with the oldest and most influential members. His repugnance, however, for politics and political methods and his aversion to public office was so intense that he resigned an unexpired term of two years in the Senate and returned at once to the practice of the law.

Judge Pope has always taken a warm interest in all matters pertaining to the educational interests of the city, serving as a trustee of the Louisville Public Schools, of the Kentucky School for the Blind, and in other like capacities.

In 1878, at the age of thirty-six, his friends announced him as a candidate for the Louisville Law and Equity Court, and although his opponent was a most worthy and popular gentleman of mature years, then holding an office of the greatest political power and patronage under the City government and who is now serving a second term as Chancellor of the Louisville Chancery Court, Judge Pope was elected. At the time of his election he was the youngest Chancellor who ever sat upon the bench in Kentucky. He discharged each and every duty of the high position with unquestioned probity, courage and ability for a period of four years, when, being upon a prolonged tour on the Continent with

his family, he resigned the unexpired term of two years, and also retired from the practice of law.

Judge Pope being no longer in public life, is quietly enjoying that domesticity congenial to his tastes, surrounded by the refinements which travel and affluence command and the respect and esteem of the community in which he was born and in which he has passed his life.

On the 26th of September, 1865, he was married to Mary Tyler Pope, the daughter of Col. Curran Pope, by whom he has three sons, Curran Pope, Pendleton Pope and Alfred Thruston Pope, Jr.

VERNON D. PRICE was born in Cincinnati, June 9, 1848, and is a son of James P. and Frances (Dana) Price, of Richmond, Va., and Ohio. His father moved from Virginia to Cincinnati, where he was for a time a hardware merchant. In 1846 he raised a company in Kentucky for the Mexican war, and was major of the regiment at the close of hostilities. He died in 1884, at the age of eighty-one years. Subject is the only son, and was brought up in Washington County, Ohio, where his parents removed when he was a boy. He was liberally educated, and graduated at Bowdoin College, at Brunswick, Me. After leaving college he went to Europe, and upon his return, he, in 1871, started in his present business, the manufacture of cider and vinegar, in which he has been very successful, having at the present time fifteen men on the road. Mr. John W. Lucas was associated with him a few years after he began the business—the firm being Price & Lucas. In August, 1877, Mr. Price was married to Miss Mary Cramblitt, of Des Moines, Iowa. They have had four children, three of whom are living, viz.: Vernon D., Florence and Helen. Mr. Price is one of the young and energetic business men of Louisville. He is a stockholder and director in the Louisville Southern Railroad; is a director in the Louisville Banking Company; a director in the Commercial Club; director in the Polytechnic Society of Kentucky, and in the Kentucky and Indiana Stock Yards, and director in the Louisville & Madison Woolen Mills.



Vernon D. Price





HENRY K. PUSEY, M. D., Superintendent of the Achorage Insane Asylum, was born in Meade County, Ky., January 2, 1827, and is a son of Joel and Ann (Roope) Pusey, natives of Maryland. He was reared on a farm and educated in the schools of Meade County. He read medicine, and graduated from the Medical Department of the University of Louisville in 1849. He commenced the practice of medicine at Garrettsville, Meade County, and successfully practiced there until 1882, when he went to Louisville, remaining until 1844, when he was appointed by Gov. Knott superintendent of the Insane Asylum at Anchorage, which position he still holds. He was married in 1851, to Miss Sarah McCarty, of Marion County. The Pusey family is of English origin, and can be traced back eight and a half centuries in Berkshire, England. Running through all these years, the name has undergone many changes of orthography, having been spelled Pesey, Pesie, Pesye, Pose, Pusye, Pyssey, Pusey, Pewte, Pewsey and Pecote. In the celebrated Doomesday Book, completed in 1086, and embodying the results of the survey ordered by William the Conqueror, the name is registered "Pesie" or "Pesei." Here the family have resided from the time of the Danish King Canute, fifty years before the Norman Conquest. From this family, Dr. Pusey, the subject of this sketch, traces directly his lineage.

W. T. PYNE, one of the prominent and successful business men of Louisville, was born in 1838, in Mount Vernon, Ind., and is a son of W. B. and Eliza (Thomas) Pyne, the former a native of Philadelphia, Pa., and the latter of Virginia. The father was of English and Scotch ancestry. He was a millwright, an expert mechanic, and brought up his son to the same business. He removed West in 1829, and built the first mill put up in St. Louis, Mo., for a man named Chouteau. He also built the first flour-mill in the territory, now the State of Illinois. He finally located in Mount Vernon, Ind. W. T. Pyne, the subject of this sketch, is a natural mechanic. At the age of thirteen years he began to learn the trade of a mill-

wright under his father's instruction, and continued with him until he was nineteen years old. During his apprenticeship he attended school about three months each winter, and by careful reading obtained a good practical education. Upon leaving his father he served one season at Shoals, Ind., with John Sloan, a millwright from this city, and the following year, 1859, he apprenticed himself to J. T. Wilder, at Lawrenceburg, Ind., for two years. He operated as foreman until the breaking out of the civil war, when his apprenticeship terminated, and he began business for himself. Since having mastered his trade, and launched out for himself, Mr. Pyne has never worked a day as journeyman for any one. His personal success from the first has been marked. Going at once to Indianapolis, he began his millwrighting business, and carried it on until 1864, when he accepted a situation as superintendent of the flouring-mill of T. & J. W. Gaff, at Columbus, Ind., retaining that position for about two years, when ill-health compelled him to resign. Mr. Pyne's next business enterprise was the establishment of a foundry and machine shop, which was carried on under the firm name of Kerr, Pyne & Co., changing to Pyne, Bush & Co., and later to Columbus Machine and Millwright Co. He left the business, and in 1871 established himself in Louisville, Ky., where he still carries on an extensive and constantly growing mill furnishing business. The continual development of the "New South" owes much to such men as Mr. Pyne, who with a firm belief in the great future of the country South of the old "Mason's and Dixon's line," have settled there and bent their energies toward hastening its advancement. Already they begin to see the fruits of their labors. Mr. Pyne is in the full vigor of life, with a fair prospect before him of living many years to enjoy the returns to which his energy and integrity entitle him. He was married in 1862 to Miss Laura L. Brown, of Jeffersonville, Ind. She died in 1886. Mr. Pyne has two children living: Harry B. and Ella M.

E. G. QUICK was born in Bullitt County, Ky., December 11, 1860; his father was Wm.



Quick, who was born in Bullitt County also, September 15, 1815, and married Elizabeth Baxter, January 2, 1845. Wm. Quick was a farmer all his life, and died in Bullitt County August 9, 1885. To William and Elizabeth Quick were born nine children, viz: Remina A., born December 19, 1838; Richard E., born August 6, 1840, died May 21, 1879; Preston H., born August 12, 1846; W. T., born August 26, 1849; Mary A., born November 29, 1851, died August 10, 1871; Sarah, born March 24, 1854; Elizabeth C., born August 28, 1855; Johnathan, born June 30, 1858; Ephraim G., born December 11, 1860; Emily A., born November 9, 1866; Elizabeth C., born November 9, 1866, died July 29, 1867. Wm. Quick was first married to Mary Ann Farguson, February 25, 1838. Remina A. and Richard E. were children of this marriage. Mrs. Mary Ann Quick died in April, 1841.

JAMES S. RAGSDALE was born May 23, 1845, and is a son William J. and Emma (Tilleson) Ragsdale, natives of North Carolina and Virginia. He has been in the tobacco business since he was fourteen years old. He came to Hopkinsville in 1885 and engaged in tobacco as a broker. He was without experience in that line of the trade, but had extraordinary good luck last year. He bought more tobacco during 1887 than any one buyer in Hopkinsville market, handling over 4,000 hogsheads. He came to Louisville the 26th of December, 1887, and engaged in the broker's business here, starting with flattering prospects. He went into the late war in Woodward's Independent Cavalry, but being only fifteen years old did not remain long in the army. He was married in 1865 to Frances M. Hester, of Christian County. They have five children, viz: Frank, Lottie, Allen, Louise and Nellie.

WILLIAM R. RAY, one of the enterprising and substantial business men of Louisville, was born in Decatur County, Ind., August 15, 1828, and is a son of Sigismond and Charlotte (Roe) Ray, natives of Estill County, Ky., and Ohio. The Ray family is originally from Virginia; the grandfather of subject settling near Lexington, where he

took up a large tract of land in an early day, but being fond of hunting, when game became scarce returned to Estill County. The subject was reared mostly in Indiana. He is wholly a self-made man—never went to school a day in his life, but through his own energy and perseverance managed to pick up a good practical, business education. He commenced work for himself, cutting cordwood for a pork house, peddled ice, and did anything else he could, or that came in his way. He was placed on the police force in 1854, and became chief in 1858, serving as chief under mayors Pilcher and Barbee, and for a time under mayor Thomas H. Crawford. He bought an interest in a small saw-mill in 1859, and some years later bought a larger one, which he operated for seventeen years. He has held many prominent and important positions in business circles, and for eighteen years has been a member of the Board of Sinking Fund Commissioners. Upon the death of president John B. Smith, he became president of the board; he is vice-president of the Citizen's National Bank, and has been a director in it almost since its organization. He is a thorough business man, and in all his work and public positions has labored zealously for the city's welfare and prosperity. Mr. Ray was married, May 14, 1848, to Miss Mary A. Neal, of Indiana. They have three children living.

WILLIAM REINECKE is a native of Hanover, Germany, and was born January 23, 1842. He is a son of Adolph and Wilhelmina (Wagner) Reinecke—the former a Lutheran clergyman, and a writer of great prominence. The subject was reared and educated in Germany, and graduated at the age of eighteen. He then spent one year in a university, studying theology. At the commencement of the civil war he came to America, and engaged as a reporter on a Baltimore German paper; then went to Chicago, and became editor on the staff of the *Staats Zeitung*, where he remained until 1864, when he was prevailed on to come to Louisville, and take charge of the *Union Press*, a Republican newspaper—two daily editions, one in English and one in German. After the death of President Lin-







*Bridley S. Reynolds*

coln he returned to Chicago, where he remained until 1836, when he came to Louisville, and became cashier of the Western Bank, which position he held until 1870, when he was admitted to the bar, and has since practiced his profession. His specialty is corporation and insurance law, and he is attorney for some of the largest corporations of the city and State. He has attained distinction in legal circles beyond Kentucky by his able advocacy of a general codification of all the laws. Since 1886 he has been manager of the Kentucky State agency of the Germania Life Insurance Company of New York. Together with Bishop Dudley, he edits *The Church Chronicle*, the organ of the Episcopal Church in Kentucky. He was married in 1881 to Miss Alvina Marekworth, of Cincinnati. He is a prominent Mason, being the Grand Master of the Grand Consistory of Kentucky, of Scottish Rite Masons, and having attained the thirty-third degree. He was also Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows, Grand Patriarch of the Grand Encampment of Odd Fellows, and served a number of years as Grand Representative of both grand bodies in the Sovereign Grand Lodge of that Order.

DUDLEY SHARPE REYNOLDS, A. M., M. D., Fellow of the Medical Chirurgical College, Philadelphia, was born near Bowling Green, Ky., August 31, 1842. He is the only son of the Rev. Thomas Reynolds, whose father, Dr. Admiral Reynolds, was one of the early settlers of Warren County, Ky. The subject of this sketch received a liberal education in the common-schools, at the Trimble High School, the private institution of Professor Allman, and at Irving College. He studied medicine in the office of the late Professor Paul F. Eve, of Nashville, and graduated at the University of Louisville. He was actively engaged as a general practitioner of medicine and surgery until the first of January, 1872, when he abandoned the general practice, and has ever since devoted himself to the practice of ophthalmology and otology. He attended courses of instruction at the Wills Ophthalmic Hospital at Philadelphia, the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary,

and the clinics at the Royal London Ophthalmic Hospital, and Guy's Hospital in London; at the Sorbonne, and the private clinics of De Wecker, Sichel, Ed Meyer, Fournier, Fremy, Charcot, and Galezowski at Paris. Deeply impressed with the labors of Professors Donders and Snellen at Utrecht, Dr. Reynolds has twice visited Utrecht. He was chief surgeon to the Western Dispensary, where he had a large clinic, and gave private instruction in surgery and ophthalmology in 1869, 1870 and 1871. In 1874, when the curators of Central University of Kentucky undertook the establishment of the medical department of that institution at Louisville, Dr. Reynolds was appointed to the chair of ophthalmology and otology. He took an active part in the establishment of the Hospital College of Medicine; and in 1882 the title of his chair was changed to that of "*general pathology, public hygiene, and diseases of the eye and ear.*" Dr. Reynolds is fond of sanitary science, and has devoted considerable time to its experimental study. He does a great deal of laboratory work, and has devoted considerable attention to microscopical research. In 1879 he established the *Medical Herald*, a monthly magazine, which soon attained a wide circulation, and proved a profitable venture. Being dissatisfied with the business management, he sold his interest in the *Herald*. Soon afterward he re-entered the field of journalism as editor-in-chief of a medical magazine called *Progress*, which was established by Mr. D. W. Raymond. It is published by Rogers & Tully, and circulates in every civilized country. Dr. Reynolds was one of the founders of the Polytechnic Society of Kentucky, which was organized under a special act of the Legislature of Kentucky, by the terms of which it assumed control of the Public Library property. Dr. Reynolds has been a member of the directory continuously since 1879, and has had much to do with the management of the Public Library, being chairman of the special committee of directors, appointed to prepare rules and overlook the general management of the library, which now numbers about forty-five thousand volumes. He is a member of the Louisville



Medical Society, the Kentucky State Medical Society, the Mississippi Valley Medical Association (of which he is president, 1888), the American Medical Association, the British Medical Association, and of the Fourth, Sixth, Seventh and Ninth International Medical Congresses. He served for a number of years as Ophthalmic Surgeon to the Louisville City Hospital, and has represented the State Medical Society of Kentucky at the annual meetings of the American Medical Association continuously from 1872 to the present time. From 1871 to 1888, inclusive, Dr. Reynolds missed but one meeting of the State Medical Association, and has contributed to the published transactions every year. His clinical lectures on the eye and ear have been published by the *Philadelphia Medical Times*, the *Philadelphia Medical and Surgical Reporter*, *New York Medical Record*, *Virginia Medical Monthly*, *Gaillard's Medical Journal*, the *Louisville Medical Herald*, *St. Louis Weekly Review*, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, and in his own journal, *Progress*. At the Ninth International Medical Congress at Washington, D. C., September, 1887, he proposed to change the plan of grading lenses, and to designate them by the angle of refraction, instead of the angle of the radius, or by focal lengths, as is commonly done. He was invited to Philadelphia to deliver the annual address to the Alumni Association of the Medico-Chirurgical College on the occasion of his receiving the degree of Fellowship in the college, in April, 1887. He received the degree of A. M. at Ogden College, Bowling Green, Ky. He has been twice married, and has four children living. His first wife was Mary F. Keagan, to whom he was married May 7, 1865. Their eldest child, a daughter, is now the wife of Dr. P. R. Taylor, of Decatur, Ala. Another, a son, Dudley S., Jr., is preparing for the study of medicine. Dr. Reynold's second marriage was celebrated at Covington, Ky., July 13, 1881, to Matilda L. Bruce, only daughter of the late Hon. E. M. Bruce. The issues of this marriage are a son and daughter, E. M. Bruce, and Sarah Elizabeth. Dr. Reynolds

is a man of great energy, a robust form, and fine constitution.

BENJAMIN H. RIDGELY is a native of Baltimore, Md.; was born July 13, 1859, and is a son of Frederick W. and Harriet (Isett) Ridgely. The Ridgely family was a very old one in Maryland, and came over with Lord Baltimore. Frederick R. Ridgely, great-grandfather of Benjamin H., was a surgeon in the Continental army during the Revolutionary war. The subject of this sketch came to Louisville in 1879, but had lived in Woodford County for some years before coming to this city. He was a reporter on the *Courier-Journal* for four years, and won an excellent reputation as a newspaper writer. He is a young man with a fine vein of humor and almost exhaustless wit, which gives to his articles a characteristic flavor. After leaving the *Courier-Journal* he was for a time connected with the *Argus*, a paper recently deceased; afterward he was city editor of the *Commercial*, which position he resigned to take editorial charge of *Truth*. He was married, in November, 1885, to Miss Sophronia Braunin.

REV. STUART ROBINSON, D. D., was a native of the North of Ireland, and was born at Strauane, County Tyrone, about 1812. His parents, James and Martha (Porter) Robinson, were poor. They emigrated to America while their son was yet small, and located at Martinsburg, Virginia. Here the strong will, quick wit, and rugged clear headedness of the boy attracted the attention of Rev. James M. Brown, a Presbyterian clergyman, who gave him a good private school education, and started him to teaching at one of the neighboring salt works. His education was completed at Amherst, Mass., where he graduated in 1834. Among his college mates were several who afterward achieved distinction, and who like him have passed to their reward in the hereafter; notable of these were Rev. Benjamin M. Palmer, D. D., of New Orleans; Rev. Henry P. Humphrey, D. D., of Louisville, and Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. Having studied for the Presbyterian ministry (Old School) he

preached for some years at Malden, near Charleston. In 1846, when his old college mate, Dr. Humphrey, was compelled by ill health to relinquish his pulpit, the Second Presbyterian Church in Louisville, it was filled by Mr. Robinson, and so acceptably that the same congregation, years after, when there was a vacancy, unanimously chose him as their pastor. From 1846 to 1854 he was pastor at Frankfort, Ky., and during that period found time to act as president of a female seminary, president of a cotton factory, president of a turnpike road company, and director of the Farmer's Bank of Kentucky, with its seven branches and \$2,200,000 capital. In 1854 he was called to the pastoral care of the Central Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, Md. With a large and growing congregation he yet found time to originate and edit, for two years, 1855-56, the *Presbyterian Critic*, a very able monthly, strongly controversial in character. In May, 1856, the Presbyterian General Assembly elected him professor of church government and pastoral theology in the Theological Seminary, at Danville, Ky., which he filled for two years with distinguished ability. His next call was to the pulpit of the Second Presbyterian Church of Louisville, which he held to the time of his death, October 5, 1881. In 1858 he wrote "The Church of God as an Essential Element of the Gospel, and the Idea, Structure and Function thereof," a 12-mo. volume of great power and labor, which in a few months called for a second edition, much enlarged. He afterwards wrote several other smaller works, but his last and greatest work was "Discourses of Redemption." In 1861 he began, at Louisville, the publication of a weekly newspaper, *The True Presbyterian*, which was twice suppressed by the military in July, 1862, and in November, 1864, not because of any political utterances, but because of its pronounced opinions on religious and church topics which were distasteful to some who sank their views of independent church government and personal action in the maelstrom of subserviency to the military spirit of the hour. In 1863 he went to Toronto, Canada, where he remained until 1866.

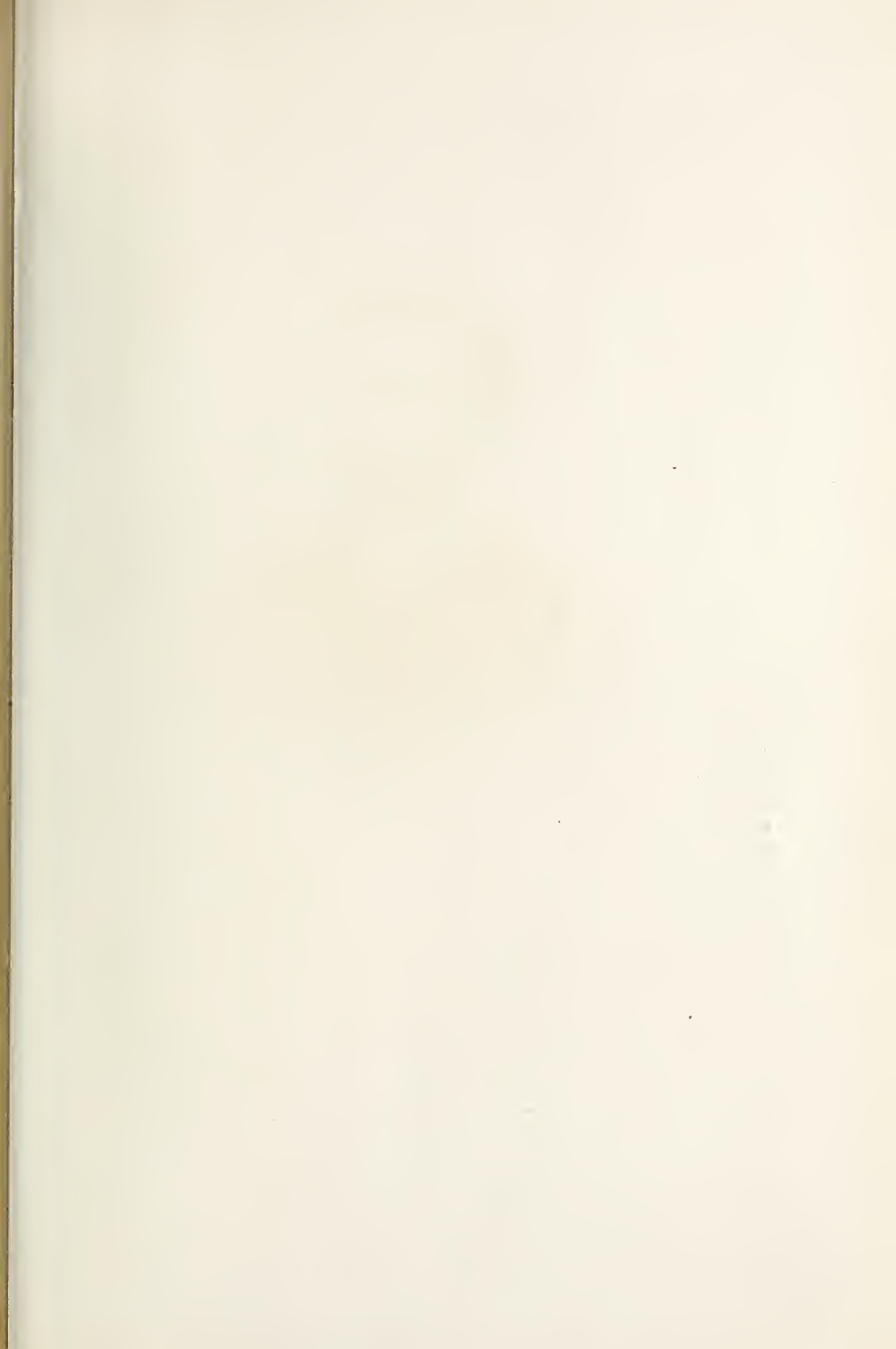
The publication of his newspaper was resumed in 1865, by his co-editor, as the *Free Christians Commonwealth*," which he aided in editing from a "far country." In May, 1869, at the session of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (South), at Mobile, Ala., he was elected moderator, unanimously, a compliment as distinguished as it is rare. In 1873, in a series of lectures to his congregation, he delivered a commentary on the book of Genesis, both striking and exhaustive. They were published weekly in the *Courier-Journal*. In the summer of 1873 Doctor Robinson visited Europe, Egypt and Palestine; and in the winter following lectured upon his travels to crowded houses, always for the benefit of some worthy object—never for private reward. In 1877 he attended the Pau-Presbyterian Convention, in Edinburgh, Scotland, and was one of the most observed of that assembly of great and Christian minds, and one of the strongest of the American representatives to that body. The secret of Dr. Robinson's power was his directness, simplicity, scripturalness and intense conviction of truth. Of course these traits were united with genius, learning and great industry. He married, in September, 1841, Miss Mary E. Brigham, a daughter of Col. Wm. Brigham, a native of Massachusetts, who survived him. Eight children were born of this marriage, only two of whom, daughters, are living.

RICHARD ALEXANDER ROBINSON, eldest son of Lyles Robert and Catherine (Worthington) Robinson, was born on his father's farm, called "Spring Hill," near Winchester, Frederick County, Va., October 23, 1817. His father was a native of the same county, and was born in 1790, and was the eldest child of Alexander and Priscilla Robinson, of Baltimore, Md. Alexander Robinson was a successful merchant of Baltimore, and lived to the advanced age of ninety-five years. His wife died soon after the birth of her son Lyles, leaving him to the care of her mother's sister, Mrs. Archibald Magill, of Winchester, where he remained during his boyhood, and then resided in Baltimore with his father, where he acquired a



mercantile education. In November, 1813, he married Catherine W., the daughter of Dr. Richard and Aehsah W. Goldsborough, of Cambridge, Md., and soon after settled on his father an Winchester, where he continued to reside until his death, September 21, 1834. His wife died December 10, 1828. She was a devoted Christian, an active member of the Episcopal Church, and exerted a marked influence on her family and friends. Her children, who were old enough, were early impressed with the importance of their religious duties, and were regular attendants of the Sunday-school and the church. The subject of this sketch received the advantage of an English education, mainly at the Winchester Academy, a school of some note in that region. But having expressed a desire to become a merchant at the early age of fourteen (in March, 1832,) his father obtained for him a situation with Baker Tapscott, a leading merchant of Shepherdstown, Va., in an adjoining county. In this establishment he formed the basis of a business education which proved of great value to him in his subsequent career. The death of his father (in 1834) had caused the dispersion of his brothers and sisters among their relations in Maryland and Virginia. The eldest brother especially felt the responsibility of his position, which resulted in the determination to seek some favorable point in the West as a rallying point for the family, in the hope that they all might again be reunited. With this object in view he began, soon after his father's death, by more diligent application to business, to prepare himself for a larger field of labor. After careful observation he selected Louisville as the most eligible point. He had several friends in Louisville, from Virginia. Among them was Mr. Arthur Lee, with whom he had been on intimate terms of friendship in Virginia. In March, 1837, he arrived in Louisville, and succeeded through the aid of Mr. Lee in securing a position as bookkeeper in a wholesale grocery house, which he retained for about twelve months, the house in which he was employed being forced into liquidation by the severe panic of 1837. He then obtained a position as

bookkeeper with Casseday & Ranney, which he retained for a period of three years, until January, 1841, then resigned to embark in business on his own account. In the meantime he had succeeded in obtaining situations for his brothers, Goldsborough and Archibald Magill, and formed a partnership with them and his friend Arthur Lee under the firm name of Robinson, Lee & Co., and engaged in a small retail dry goods business on Market street. In August, 1841, Mr. Lee died, which was felt to be as great an affliction as the loss of a brother. He left a bright example of Christian character, and had endeared himself to a large circle of friends. He was the grandson of Richard Henry Lee, and a grand-nephew of Francis Lightfoot and Arthur Lee of Revolutionary fame. After the death of Mr. Lee the firm was Robinson & Brothers. Of the five brothers who moved to this city, Goldsborough died in August, 1844, from the effects of a railroad accident near Baltimore, Md., and William Meade died in November, 1858. Archibald M. is now at the head of a large cotton and flour-mill at Grahamton, Ky., and John M. at the head of the large dry goods house of J. M. Robinson & Co. In June, 1842, Mr. Robinson married Miss Eliza D., daughter of William F. and Mary S. Pettet, of this city. Mr. Pettet was a prominent citizen and successful merchant. Soon after his marriage Mr. Robinson had the satisfaction to see all the living members of the family reunited in the same city, with the single exception of his eldest sister, who had married and settled in Maryland. The hopes of his youth and the efforts of his early manhood were thus happily realized. In 1842 he retired from the dry goods firm, transferring his interests to his brothers, and engaged in the retail drug business on Market street with James, George and Arthur Peter. In 1846 he removed to Main street and engaged in the wholesale drug business which was successful, and resulted in the establishment, in 1855, of the present house of R. A. Robinson & Co., one of the largest in that branch of business in the Southwest. With the view of giving his sons ample scope for their talents and energies,







*J. M. Reelutun*

in 1878, he established the wholesale hardware house of Robinson Brothers & Co., which has been remarkably successful. More recently he established a joint stock company, capital \$200,000, for the manufacture of woolen goods, styled the Louisville, Kentucky Woolen Mills. With characteristic prudence Mr. Robinson has thus provided for his sons, all of whom have won the entire confidence of the community, and are treading closely in the footsteps of their honored father. By precept and example he has made them what they are. During the various monetary panics which have occurred within the last fifty years he has never failed to meet every obligation promptly, and during the disasters of the late civil war, when his losses in the South were very heavy, every obligation was paid in full. It is needless to say that Mr. Robinson's success has been the result of his indefatigable industry, prudent economy, sound judgment and strict business principles. He has always declined political office, as being incompatible with his other duties. He has, however, held various public trusts, the duties of which have always been faithfully discharged. He was one of the directors of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company for six years; of the Elizabethtown & Paducah Railroad for five years, and of the Louisville Bridge Company from its incipency until its completion. He was for some years a director and vice-president of the Falls City Bank, but was compelled to retire from these trusts by the pressure of his other duties. He has been a member of St. Paul's Episcopal Church since its establishment in 1839, filling the various positions of Sunday-school teacher, vestry man, and warden the greater part of the time. He has frequently represented that parish in the diocesan councils, and for three sessions represented in part the diocese of Kentucky in the general conventions of the church. It is strictly true to say of him that no man has been more liberal in the support of the church and all its charities, or has responded more promptly or liberally to the calls upon him for the promotion of the general interests of the community. He is modest and unassum-

ing in his intercourse with his fellow-men, charitable in his judgment of others, and true to his own convictions of right and duty. In his life and conduct he exemplifies the highest type of the Christian gentleman. It is not strange that his character should have been fully appreciated by an intelligent community. That character was fully understood by the representative business men of Louisville. The Board of Trade, in which every business is represented and the high qualities of the merchant are understood and recognized, by a unanimous vote, bestowed upon him the high distinction of honorary life member of that organization. This was the first time that this honor was conferred on any citizen of Louisville. It was unsought, and was voluntarily bestowed by those who knew how to appreciate his exalted worth.

JOHN W. ROBINSON. The Robinson family are of pure Scotch origin. Richard J. Robinson, the father of the gentleman whose name heads this sketch, was born in Virginia, in 1812, where he grew to manhood and married Miss Nancy Hook, born also in Virginia, and of English extraction. He learned the trade of millwright, and was also skilled in wagon-making. In 1854 he removed to Noble County, Ohio, settling in Sarahsville, where he died in 1886, aged seventy-three years. John W. Robinson was born near Winchester, Virginia, January 28, 1843. Early in life he evidenced a decided aptitude for mechanics and when but a child was able, with the few rude tools at his command, to construct almost anything from a toy wagon to a miniature steam engine. At the age of sixteen his mind was directed toward educational matters. His facilities were of course quite limited, but by the aid of private tutors he studied history and the classics. He entered Marietta College at the age of eighteen, but ill health prevented him from pursuing a collegiate course. In 1862 he began life as a teacher at East Union, Noble County, Ohio, where he taught one term. The war was in progress, and he was so thoroughly impressed with his duty to his country, that, after teaching a second term at his home in Sarahsville, he joined Company



E, Eighty-eighth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, as a private soldier. At the expiration of one year's service he was detailed as clerk in the Commissary Department, where he remained until honorably discharged by special order of Gen. Hooker, when he returned to his home and resumed his former vocation. His profession, however, then as now was poorly remunerated and not wholly congenial, and he next turned his attention to the introduction of improved text books for schools, and for four years he traveled the State of Ohio as a representative of Ingham & Bragg, Cleveland, O. At the end of this time traveling agents in this capacity were discontinued by the publishers' compact. He next engaged in the drug and book business at Sarahsville, but the business was too slow for one so energetic, and he removed to Indianapolis, where in 1872 he became associated with Messrs. Martin & Hopkins, State Agents for the North Western Mutual Life Insurance Company of Milwaukee, as a solicitor; this was in 1872. In this as in other enterprises he was successful, and in two years was occupying the responsible position of special agent for the same company, operating in Indiana, Kentucky and Michigan. In this department he soon evinced his marked ability as an insurance man, and as an evidence of their appreciation of his services the company offered him the State of Kentucky, which he accepted. For one year he took the sole charge of the business. Being ambitious to control the largest agency the company had, he associated himself with Gen. B. R. Cowen (Assistant Secretary of the Interior during Grant's administration) taking, under the firm name of Cowen & Robinson, the States of Ohio and Kentucky. This connection was highly successful and continued for nearly four years, Gen. Cowen retiring in 1882, and leaving the whole State of Kentucky to Mr. Robinson. Under the able management of Mr. Robinson the company's business has not only been built up from \$1,500,000 to \$5,000,000, but has commanded the confidence and patronage of the best men in the State; and it can truly be said that no agency is in a more healthy condition than this. The career of Mr. Rob-

inson is one worthy of emulation. Starting in life with only his natural resources, he has fought his way to the front and stands to-day as one of the leading and substantial men of Louisville. December 24, 1867, Mr. Robinson was married to Miss Olive B. Dilley, of Sarahsville, O., and came to Louisville in 1878. To this union have been born four children: Charles L., John Dilley, Mabel and Madge.

WILLIAM L. RODMAN, M. D., was born in Frankfort, Ky., September 7, 1858, and is a son of Gen. John and Harriet Virginia (Russell) Rodman, the former a native of Henry County, and the latter of Franklin County. Gen. Rodman was born August 6, 1820. He was attorney-general of the State from 1867 to 1875, under Governors John W. Stevenson and Preston H. Leslie. Previous to this he had served two terms in the State Legislature. From 1875 to his death he was official reporter of the Court of Appeals. The subject of this sketch was educated at the Kentucky Military Institute, near Frankfort, and graduated with the degree of A. M. in 1874. He read medicine with Dr. W. B. Rodman, of Frankfort, and graduated from Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia in March, 1879. After leaving Philadelphia he served two years as surgeon in the United States army. In 1885 he came to Louisville, and has since been connected with the Medical University. He was married in 1882 to Miss Belle Stewart, a daughter of Dr. Stewart, superintendent of the Feeble Minded Institute. Dr. Rodman is a zealous member of the State Medical Association.

JOHN E. ROGERS is a native of Tennessee, and was born September 2, 1841; he settled in Bullitt County, Ky., in 1864. His first wife was Sarah A. Johnson, a native of Bullitt County. She died in 1871. His second wife was Mrs. Caroline Shank — she having two children by her first husband: Clandian, born September 23, 1866, and Ambrose, born December 4, 1868. By his present wife he has two children: Edwin L., born May 29, 1876, and Charles Emmet, born May 29, 1878. John E. Rogers served all through the war as a Confederate soldier

having enlisted in Company D, Fifth Tennessee Volunteers, and participated in the battles of Stone River, Lookout Mountain, Murphysborough and other important engagements.

A. B. RUE, formerly a photographic artist of high repute in Louisville, is a native of Mercer County, Ky.; was born in 1842, and is a son of Nelson and Margaret (Adams) Rue, both natives of Kentucky, but whose parents came from New Jersey at an early day and passed their lives in this State on a farm. A. B. Rue is the fourth in a family of nine children born to his parents. He remained on the home farm until 1861, when he enlisted in Company F, Nineteenth Kentucky Volunteers, and was in active service the three years following, being promoted to second-lieutenant in the meanwhile, and mustered out as first-lieutenant at Louisville in 1865. He took part in the following engagements: Mill Springs, Cumberland Gap (and the campaign from the latter to the Ohio River), Arkansas Post, and in all the engagements by Grant in the siege of Vicksburg. At the latter place he was taken ill and was unfit for duty about four months, after which he returned to his regiment in New Orleans and remained with it until mustered out as stated above, when he entered college at Cincinnati. In 1866 he learned photography at Harrodsburg, Ky., and for seven years followed his vocation in various towns through the State. In 1881 he located in Louisville at No. 341 Fourth avenue, where his merits as an artist were soon recognized and where he was actively employed until 1888, when he moved to Harrodsburg, Ky. He was married, September 5, 1865, to Jessie Anderson, a daughter of Henry T. Anderson, so well known as a Reformed minister. Mrs. Rue is celebrated as a portrait painter, and has studied under the best masters in America. She has followed the art for many years, and is an artist of superior talents. Mr. and Mrs. Rue are the parents of six children: Lelia, Insko, Zoe, Letcher, Margie, and one dead. Mrs. Rue is now a member of the Presbyterian Church, while Mr. Rue is a member of the Warren Memorial Presbyterian Church; he is a mem-

ber of the G. A. R., I. O. O. F., K. of P., and K. of H.

HON. SAMUEL RUSSELL, banker, lawyer, etc., is a native of Spencer County, Ky.; was born November 12, 1838, and is a son of Nathaniel and Margaret (Cain) Russell, natives of Nelson County. His grandfather, Samuel Russell, and his maternal grandfather, Mathew Cain, were of Irish origin, and came to the United States many years ago. The subject of this sketch was reared on a farm and educated in Shelby County, under Professor M. Neal, an accomplished teacher and educator. He came to Louisville in 1859 and commenced the study of law; was admitted to the bar in 1860, and practiced continuously until 1884, when he abandoned the law and devoted his attention to other pursuits. In 1884 he was elected president of the Bank of Louisville, one of the oldest banking institutions of the city. It was organized in 1833, and the first president was Mr. Snead. Mr. J. B. Bowles succeeded him and was president for forty years. Mr. Russell succeeded Charles Tilden, who died in 1884, as president, and still holds the position. The bank is one of the wealthy corporations of the city, having a capital of \$650,000, and its quaint old banking house is one of the landmarks on Main street. Mr. E. A. Hewett is the present cashier. Mr. Russell was married in 1866 to Miss Hattie Shouse, of Shelby County. He was elected in 1875 to the legislature, but since then has taken no active part in politics.

JOSEPH J. SCHLOSSER, a native of Germany, was born June 10, 1849, and came to the United States in December, 1867, locating in New Albany, Ind. Remaining there about three years he then came to Louisville, and after clerking for Wm. G. Schmidt he, in 1874, opened a drug store on the corner of Fulton and Adams streets, which he conducted very successfully until the overflow of 1883, when he bought his present location, Second and Chestnut streets, and, after the subsidence of the water, operated both stores until the summer of 1886, when he sold the place at Fulton and Adams streets to his brother, P. Schlosser. He was



married in 1874 to Miss Emma C. Gehlbach, of New Albany, Ind.

OTTO SCHNEIDER, grocer, is a native of Bavaria, Germany, was born in 1840, and was brought to America in 1843 by his parents, who settled in Louisville. There Otto was educated, and at the age of seventeen began to learn the painter's trade. In 1861 he enlisted in Company G, Fourth Kentucky Cavalry; served three years and four months, when he was transferred to the Fourteenth United States Infantry, and was connected with the army of the Cumberland until the fall of Atlanta, and was then with Sherman until the close of the war. He was wounded in the leg at Missionary Ridge, and in the side at the taking of Fort McAllister. He was with the Fourteenth until the close of the war as second-lieutenant, and afterward joined the V. R. corps as first-lieutenant and served until March, 1866, when he was mustered out at Annapolis. Upon the return of Mr. Schneider to his home he worked at his trade, then went West, where he followed the same four years, and then returned to Louisville, where he has been engaged in his present business for fifteen years. He is a member of the G. A. R.

FRANK M. SCRIMSHER was born in Oldham County, Ky., and is a son of Thomas J. and Cassandra (Booker) Scrimsher, and a grandson of John Scrimsher, who emigrated from Wales when but twelve years of age and came to Virginia. About 1797 he settled in Owen County, Ky. Thomas J. is a millwright and is still living in Oldham County. He worked at his trade in Louisville as early as 1821, and helped to build the first saw-mill in the city. He also followed flat-boating and keel-boating a good deal on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. He has two sons and one daughter living: Jasper W., of Indianapolis; Frank M. and Mrs. Julia Doane in Iowa. The subject of this sketch was brought up in the country and received but a common school education. In 1861 he entered the First Kentucky (Confederate) Cavalry, commanded by Col. Ben Hardin Helm, in which he served two and a half years. In 1865 he married Miss Julia

Eddins, of Oldham County. After the close of the war he followed railroading on the L. F. and L. railroad, when he accepted the position he now holds, that of "superintendent of pipe laying," for the Louisville Water Company, which position he has held since 1868.

PAUL F. SEMONIN, a native of "Sunny France," was born September 17, 1829, and is a son of John and Jane (Bourey) Semonin, of Arcy, France, who came to America in 1834, and from New York to New Albany, Ind., in 1836. The elder Semonin served eight years under the first Napoleon in his numerous wars, mostly in Spain; he died in Henderson, Ky., in 1856; his widow is now ninety years old. Paul F., the subject of this sketch, was but five years old when the family immigrated to the United States. He received a common school education, and at the age of thirteen commenced clerking in New Albany, Ind. In 1845 he went to Henderson, Ky., and was for eight years connected with the mercantile business in that city. He then sold out and engaged in steamboating, and built the "Gov. Powell" in 1856, which ran in the trade from New Orleans to St. Martinsville, La. He finally, about 1861, engaged in the exporting of tobacco at Uniontown, remaining there and at Henderson until 1867, when he came to Louisville, Ky. He was then employed as a buyer for a number of years, and then formed a partnership in the tobacco drayage business with R. E. Gilbert, his brother-in-law, and in which they are engaged under the firm name of Semonin & Gilbert, with a bright prospect for a young firm. In 1883 he became business manager of the Todd Tobacco Warehouse Company, which makes a specialty of the sale of leaf tobacco, and is one of the largest houses of the kind in the city. Mr. Semonin was married in 1854 to Miss Sarah G. Rouse, daughter of James Rouse, of Henderson, Ky. They have six children, viz: William J., manager of the Kentucky Teaming Company for the last nine years until three months ago, when he resigned; Mattie, wife of R. E. Gilbert, of Louisville; Celeste, Mary J. and Jean,

teachers, and Ray, the baby. Mr. Semonin is also a stockholder and manager of the Old Deposit Natural Gas and Mining Company, and has a considerable interest in some of the territory in the gas-bearing districts of Meade County, near Pilchers Landing, twenty-four miles from Louisville; as also near Muldraugh, Ky., where there are some of the largest wells in the State, some comparing favorably with some of the best wells in Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh.

WILLIAM H. SHEPHERD was born in Bullitt County, Ky., January 5, 1841, and his father, James Shepherd, also a native of Bullitt County, was born July 16, 1817, and married Miss Malinda Welch, whose parents came from Virginia. William H. Shepherd enlisted at Louisville, September 22, 1861, in the Fifteenth Kentucky Volunteers, Federal service, and served three years and six months. He was wounded at the battle of Chickamauga, was taken prisoner and sent to Andersonville, later to Charleston, S. C., and still later to Savannah, Ga., where he was paroled and sent to Annapolis, Md., thence to Louisville, where he was discharged, having been held as a prisoner of war fourteen months. He was married to Miss Melissa Croan, who bore him three children—Daisy D., born January 24, 1867; William, August 5, 1870; and Musette, June 15, 1873. Mrs. Shepherd departed this life December 18, 1873, and in 1875 Mr. Shepherd was united in marriage with Miss Elizabeth V. Smith, who has borne him seven children—Nannie, Clara, Julia, Isaac, Charles, Owen and Lydia. Mr. Shepherd owns, cultivates and resides upon a fine farm near Shepherdsville P. O., Bullitt County.

GEORGE F. SIMPSON, M. D., was born in Bowling Green, Ky., October 11, 1859, and is a son of Wm. Chesterfield and Bettie (Scruggs) Simpson, both natives of Warren County. George F. received a liberal education, read medicine and graduated from the medical department of the University of Louisville, and began practice in 1879, the same year that he graduated. He at present holds the position of health officer of the Local Board of Health of Jefferson County. He

was married in 1885, to Miss Amanda S. Park, of Elizabethtown, Ky.

THE SIMRALL FAMILY, in Louisville, Ky. In the early history of this State, James Simrall came from Virginia to Kentucky, and settled in Shelby County. He was then a young man—of Scotch-Irish descent—full of determination and energy. Soon afterwards the war of 1812 broke out. He cast in his lot with the Kentucky soldiers, and served throughout the war with distinction, attaining the rank of Colonel, when he returned to his home; his health had been impaired by hard service and exposure; and his estate was much wasted by inattention. In a few years he died, leaving a widow and six small children. His wife was Rebecca Graham, of the same blood with the celebrated John Graham of Scotland. Her chief characteristics were brains, resolution and integrity, together with an undying love for the Presbyterian Church. She betook herself to the difficult task of properly rearing these six children, with her limited means. Her chief aim was to give them a thorough education, and instill into them sound principles, which would serve as a lasting foundation upon which they could successfully build in after life. How nobly she performed this work is attested by the fact that her eldest son, John Graham Simrall, became one of the most prominent ministers in the Presbyterian Church in Central Kentucky; and her youngest son, Horatio F. Simrall, became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Mississippi. Her sons, James and William, successfully followed agricultural pursuits, one in Kentucky and the other in Mississippi. The only other son, Joseph, died before reaching manhood. Her only daughter, Cornelia, was a very remarkable woman. She had all the mental, moral and physical traits which so distinguished her mother, together with rare accomplishments, which made her the center of attraction in every circle in which she moved. She married Thomas P. Smith, who for more than thirty years has performed the arduous duties of Master in Chancery of the Louisville Chancery Court; and by common consent he is admitted to be the ablest com-



missioner the State of Kentucky ever had. To them were born six children, five of whom are now living in Louisville. Sarah, the youngest daughter of Rev. John G. Simrall, is also living in Louisville. She married Dr. Turner Anderson, who has rapidly gone to the front in his profession, having a large practice as well as being Professor in the Medical Department of the University of Louisville. There is another branch of the Simrall family living in Covington, Ky., represented by Charles Simrall, a prominent lawyer, now the attorney for Kentucky of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad. The descendants of James and Rebecca Graham Simrall are now scattered through five States, in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi; and amongst them, lawyers, doctors, merchants and farmers. Wherever you find them, they are, for the most part, robust, strong-minded, self-willed and honest people. The following sketch of Judge John Graham Simrall, one of the younger generation—who is taken as a representative of the family—was prepared by a distinguished member of the Louisville bar, just after Judge Simrall had been elected Judge of the Louisville Law and Equity Court:

"Hon. John G. Simrall, Judge of the Louisville Law and Equity Court, who, after less than three years' service on the bench, occupies a distinguished position among the judges of the State, standing in the front rank of the judiciary of the courts of original jurisdiction, was born in Fayette County, Ky., March 18, 1840. His father was Rev. John G. Simrall, a Presbyterian minister, greatly venerated for his purity of character, gentle disposition and earnest zeal for the church. He was noted for good judgment and great common sense, and was a useful, successful leader of religion. His mother is a daughter of Waller Bullock, who was an influential citizen and prosperous farmer of Fayette County. Past seventy years of age, she is full of vigor of mind and body, and admired and respected for a rare combination of gentleness with force and strength of character. After receiving the preparation afforded by a country school, John G. Simrall entered Cen-

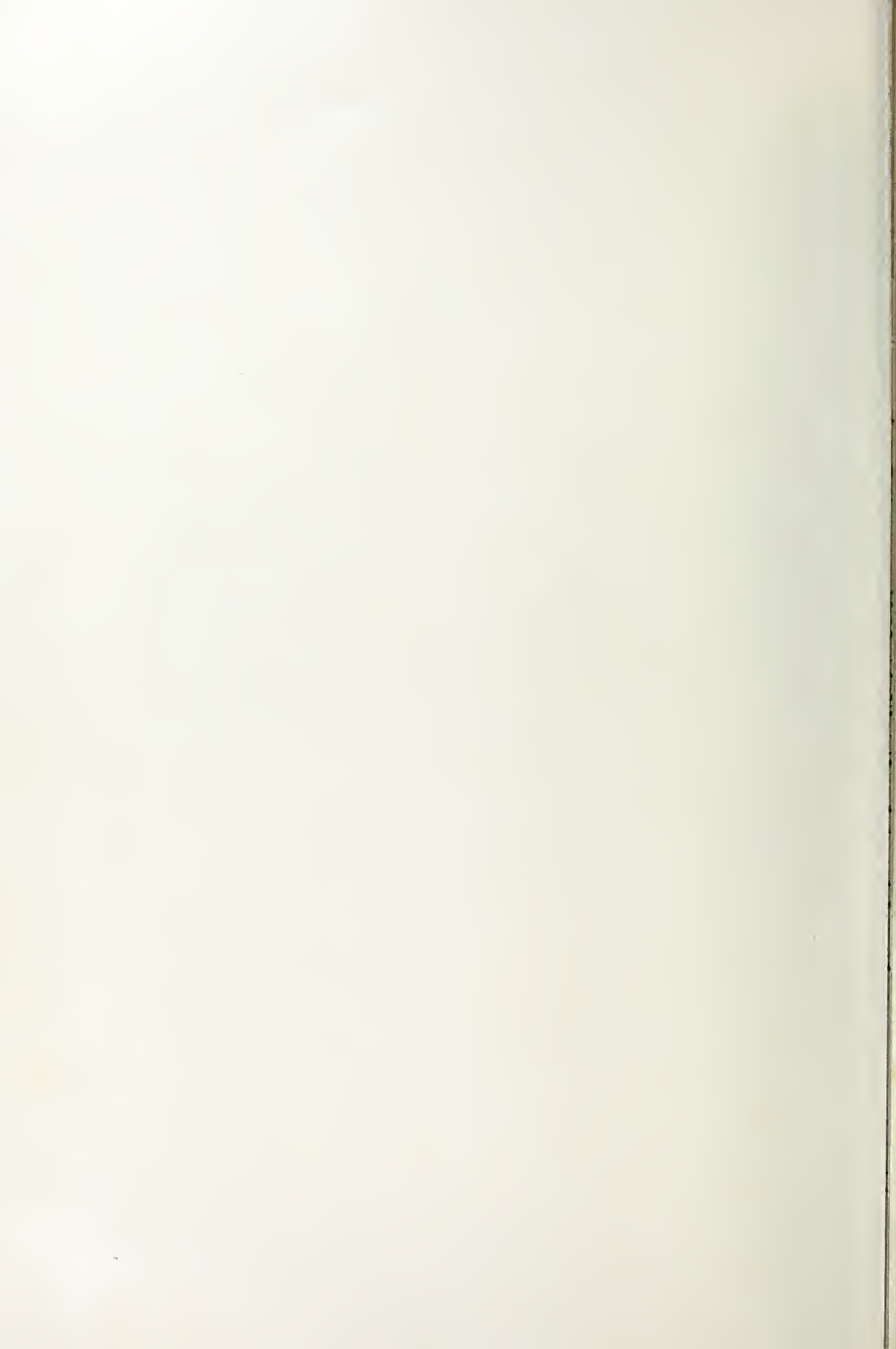
tre College at the age of fourteen, and at seventeen graduated with the second honor in a class of forty-seven. This class contained a number of men who have become famous, and was perhaps as marked for talent as any that has been sent out from the old college. Senator Blackburn, Governor McCreary, Judge Delaney, Judge Joseph Hunt and Enoch E. McKay were all members of it. The president of Centre College at that time was Rev. John C. Young, whose energy, splendid scholarship, eloquence and noble character gave it life and fame. The influence of this great and good man over the minds and characters of the young men was strong and lasting. He gave them a love of learning, an admiration of the sublime and beautiful, a devotion of duty and truth, combined with a reverence for things sacred, which remained with them always.

"After leaving Centre College Mr. Simrall for a year or more taught school in the family of Junius Ward, in Washington County, Miss., and soon after commenced the study of law at Lexington under the direction of Judge Robertson. In 1859 and 1860 he attended the law lectures of Judge George Robertson, and in 1860-61 was in the senior class of the Louisville Law School, graduating in March, 1861. The professors in the Louisville Law School at that time were Judge Henry Pirtle, Judge W. F. Bullock and Judge Horatio F. Simrall. Judge Simrall has always esteemed himself peculiarly fortunate in having been a student under the eminent lawyers named. The foundation of the knowledge of law that he laid under their guidance, and the example which their careers and symmetrical characters afforded him, he has always regarded as most beneficial to him throughout his professional life. A short time after receiving his diploma the young lawyer formed a partnership with Judge William S. Bodley, and commenced practice at the Louisville bar. This business connection continued until the death of Judge Bodley, in 1878. Mr. Temple Bodley and Judge Simrall then formed a partnership, and the firm of Simrall & Bodley continued until the fall of 1882, when Gov. Blackburn



*Dr. G. Simons*





appointed John G. Simrall Vice-Chancellor to fill out the term of Hon. Alfred T. Pope, who had resigned. In August, 1884, Judge Simrall was elected, for a term of six years, Judge of the Louisville Law and Equity Court, a court which was established by the legislature in March, 1884, to take the place of the Vice-Chancellor's Court. He was elected without opposition, so universal was the wish of the bar and the people that he should remain on the bench.

"During his twenty years at the bar Judge Simrall was successful in building up a large and valuable practice, and had many of the best business houses of the city for his clients. His firm had been concerned in very large suits, and had the reputation of being among the best business lawyers of the bar, as well as able and learned in the common law and in equity. Much of the laborious office work and the equity practice of the business was done by Judge Simrall, and the skillful and accurate manner in which he dispatched business won for him the confidence of his clients and the respect and admiration of his brethren of the bar. His reputation as a lawyer of talent and learning was thus well established, but he had been little before the public, and was not widely known to the people at the time he became Vice-Chancellor. When he was spoken of as a probable successor of Judge Pope, a member of the bar was asked by a leading merchant what he thought of Mr. Simrall for the position, and was answered that it was not often that such men as Simrall could be induced to go upon the bench, and the State would be fortunate if he were appointed and would accept. This estimate of his capacity and fitness has been proven a just one by the practical test of a three years' trial of his qualities as judge. To say that he commands the unqualified confidence of the people and the lawyers would not be more than just; and this confidence extends as much to his character as a man as to his learning, ability and discrimination as a judge. In his brief service on the bench he has shown much knowledge of the law and capacity for work, such industry, patience and urbanity as to make him deserv-

edly popular. But the qualities which have made his reputation and given him a strong hold upon the people are his independence and integrity. There is a universal belief that this judge sits as the representative of justice, indeed, knowing only the law and right, with courage to order and adjudge that which the law and the facts demand. Justice is rendered in the manner of the pure days of the State, without fear and without favor. Having the greatest amount of firmness, he has that honesty of mind which can see its own errors, and that sense of duty which compells him to repair the error. No man more readily recedes from a misdirection given a jury in the hurried pressure of a trial, or is more amenable to argument. Having formed his opinion after full deliberation he is steadfast, unwavering. The amount of labor which Judge Simrall does in ten months of each year is something wonderful. The combination in his Court of Common Law and Equity jurisdiction, not existing in either the Common Pleas or Chancery Court, renders his office the more difficult to fill. He has little leisure except in vacation, for he goes from a jury trial to an equity case, and from the latter to the former. Certainly it has been the fortune of the Law and Equity Court to get, in the distribution of cases under the law, more than a full share of difficult and heavy cases. The judge has kept up his work and borne himself nobly under the pressure, and well earned a summer's rest. Judge Simrall was married in 1863 to Miss Cornelia, daughter of Thomas P. Smith of this city, and has one child, a daughter, now approaching young ladyhood. Judge Simrall, in private life, is one of the most agreeable of men. Always dignified, he is easy in manners, very fond of conversation, in which he bears a full share, and as natural in his enjoyment of wit and humor as a boy. His reading and culture are broad, and his scholarship and attainments show the continued application of his mind to those studies for which his taste was formed in youth. He is a member of the Second Presbyterian Church, and one of the great admirers of the late Dr. Stuart Robinson. In a very eloquent speech which



Judge Simrall delivered before the Centre College alumni a year ago, he said that he was conscious that his mind had been developed and his character formed by the fortunate facts that he had gone to college to Dr. Young, studied law under Judge Robertson, and for twenty years listened to the preaching of Stuart Robinson—all good influences to bring out the good which nature had planted in the boy and man, born of such a father and mother and tenderly guided and instructed through the years of childhood.” On the 1st of January, 1886, Judge Simrall resigned his position and resumed the practice of law. At a large meeting presided over by General James Speed the bar adopted the following resolutions: “Upon the retirement of Hon. John G. Simrall from the bench, his brethren of the bar desire to express their appreciation of the judicial fairness, integrity, industry, firmness, and ability, that he has shown, and of the patient courtesy he has extended during the exercise of the important and difficult duties of his official life; and the chairman is instructed to transmit a copy of this tribute to Judge Simrall and to request of the Louisville Law and Equity Court that it may be entered upon its records.” [January 4, 1886.] The universal regret caused by his resignation was thus expressed by a leading contemporary: “Judge Simrall’s resignation.—The city and State have lost a most valuable servant by the resignation of Judge Simrall as Judge of the Louisville Law and Equity Court. In the four years of his service he has, by his marked ability, his ceaseless energy, his courage, urbanity and scrupulous fairness, commended himself to the people of Louisville and Kentucky as few men have ever done. His resignation is a loss which all will feel, and the reported cause for it—the disproportion of his salary as a judge to his income as a lawyer—may well give cause for thought to those who have occasion to consider public economy in judicial salaries. Judge Simrall has fast been making a wide reputation as a jurist, both in and out of this State. His decisions have been so well considered and fair, and his opinions have been stated with such clearness, learn-

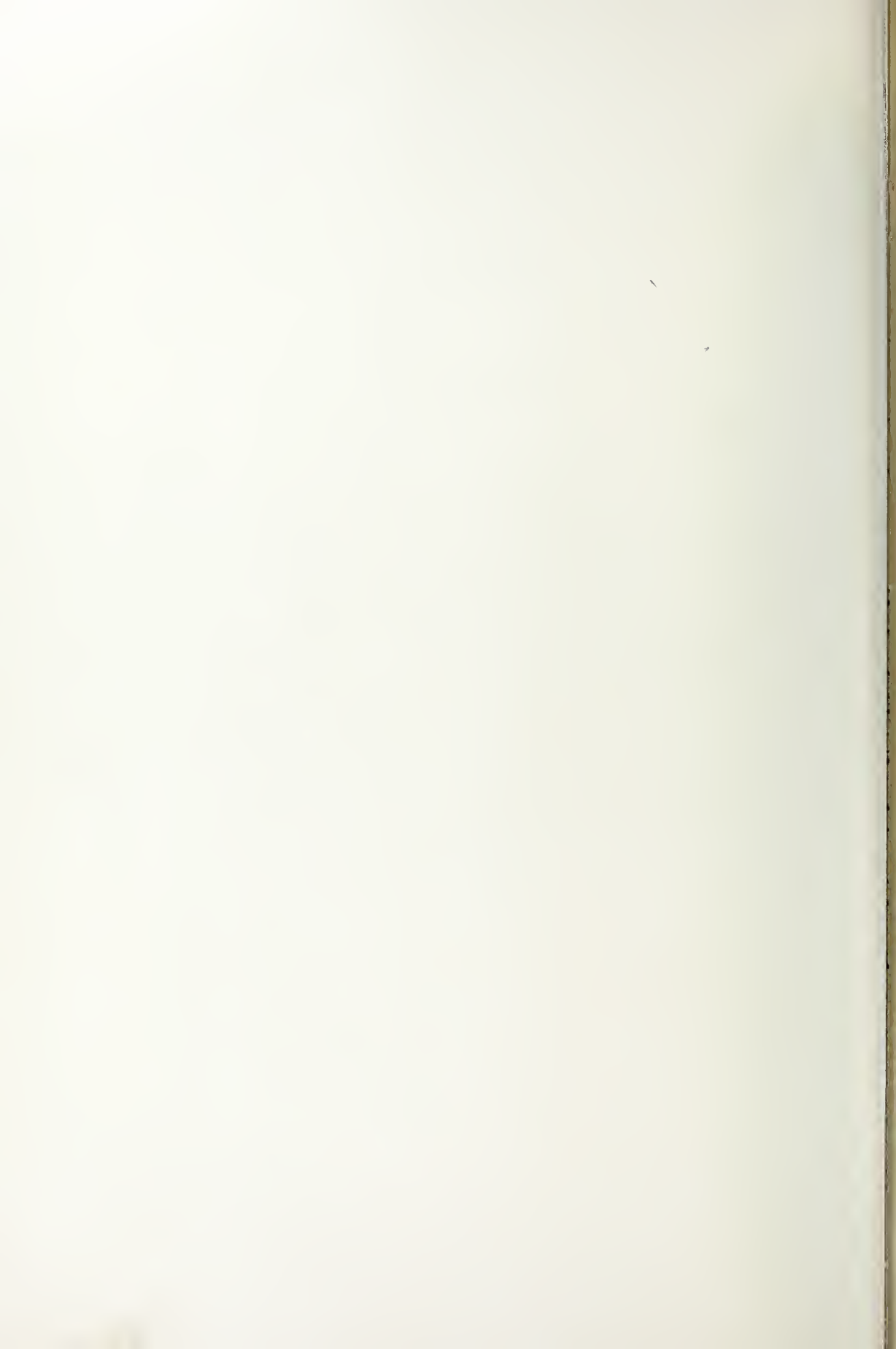
ing and force, as to attract the attention and commendation of the highest courts throughout the country.”

KILBOURN W. SMITH, one of the progressive young business men of Louisville, Ky., was born in Cincinnati, O., April 28, 1841, and is a son of C. J. W. and Elizabeth (L’horton) Smith, natives of Pennsylvania and of English and French extraction. His grandfather, on his mother’s side, was born in Nantes, France, and was an officer in the French army under Napoleon Bonaparte. Mr. Smith’s father settled in Cincinnati, O., in 1830; soon after removed to Louisville, Ky., and engaged in business with R. & J. Atkinson, until 1834, when he removed to Cincinnati and engaged on his own account in the mercantile business. In 1850 he was elected by the Democrats Sheriff of Hamilton County, Ohio, and about this period occurred one of the most characteristic incidents of his career, for although not legally responsible to the creditors with whom he had settled by passing through bankruptcy in the panic of 1849 that swept through the country, he, with that delicate sense of honor so rarely found, took upon himself the payment of dollar for dollar of all the deficiencies, and that from the earnings of years of frugality and unremitting labor. He was a prominent Odd Fellow and Mason from 1835, being the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows in 1838, and made out the Seventh Charter of the Grand Lodge of Ohio. In 1874 he was elected President of the Farmers and Mechanics Fire Insurance Company, also appointed Fire Commissioner. He died in May, 1883, leaving a comfortable estate and honorable record to his family. His son, K. W. Smith, was educated in the public schools of Cincinnati, O., and graduated with high honors at the Hughes High School, June 24, 1859, after which he engaged as clerk with the commission house of Perin, Gould & Co., with whom he remained two years, leaving them to enter the wholesale grocery business with Robert Hosea & Co. and Charles L. Moore & Co., as salesman and manager. After a successful career with them, he was induced, in the winter of 1866, to take the State agency for Ken-



*Kilbourn W Smith*





lucky of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company, of Newark, then as now, one of the oldest and best managed Life Insurance Companies in the United States. February, 1867, he removed to Louisville, Ky., and assumed the State Agency, and by his industry has built up the largest and most lucrative life insurance business in the State. He has always taken an active and personal interest in the prosperity and advancement of Louisville, having responded liberally with his means to all public enterprises for the advancement of the city's interest. He has been a member of the Board of Trade since its organization; a director in the Third National Bank of Louisville, Ky., for many years. He is also a prominent Odd Fellow and Mason, having attained to the thirty-third degree in the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States, a degree which is conferred upon very few, and then for meritorious service only; has twice been elected Master of the Louisville Lodge, No. 400, F. & A. M. He has been twice married, first to Miss Delia Wakefield, of Hamilton County, O., in 1861. Her death occurred in 1862, and he was next married to Mrs. Heasley Maxon, in February, 1873. He has shown his continued interest in the prosperity of Louisville, the city of his adoption, by erecting one of the most elegant houses on Third avenue, which is greatly admired not only for its exterior attractions, but its interior costly decoration and arrangement.

CHARLES R. SMITH was born in Bullitt County, March 16, 1855, and is a son of John and Cynthia (Shopton) Smith, the former born in Hardin County, the latter a daughter of Rosen Shoptaw, of Bullitt County. Charles R. was the fourth in a family of seven children. He was brought up on the farm and educated in the public schools of his county. In 1878 he married Miss Sallie Quick, daughter of William Quick, of Bullitt County. They have four children, viz: Charles W., born December 18, 1879; Lillie M., born March 24, 1881; Sarah L., born November 14, 1883, and Maud, born March 29, 1887. Mr. Smith farmed for a while, and then com-

menced traveling for a New Albany, Ind., firm, but soon tiring of this kind of business returned to farming, which he continued to follow.

EDWARD R. SPURRIER is a native of Nashville, Tenn., and was born July 28, 1832. He is a son of Edward Spurrier, a native of Maryland, who emigrated to Tennessee at an early day. Subject received a common school education in the schools of Nashville, and in 1861 joined the First Regiment of Tennessee Volunteers, as a private; was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1863, and served until the close of the war. In 1865 he came to Louisville, and engaged in hotel business on Sixth street, between Main and Market, for about five years. He then formed a partnership with J. Sues, for the manufacture of baby carriages, which continued from 1871 until 1882, when he went into the real estate business, which he still follows. In 1867 he was married to Miss Eliza J. McCauley, of Clarksville, Tenn. They have one child—George.

JOHN L. STAIB was born in Louisville July 10, 1845, and is a son of John L. and Christine Staib, natives of Germany, who came to America, and to Louisville about fifty years ago. The subject of this sketch was the elder of two sons, and was educated in the schools of Louisville. He was engaged on the river, first as receiving and delivery clerk, and finally worked his way up to superintendent and manager of the Louisville and Evansville packets, a position he held many years. He resigned the place, and in 1886, engaged in the wholesale produce and feed and grain commission business. He was married in April, 1885, to Miss Nettie N. Ainslie, a daughter of George Ainslie, Esq., of Louisville.

HON. H. J. STITES, son of Abram and Ann Stites, was born in Georgetown, Scott County, Ky., in 1816. In infancy his parents removed to Hopkinsville, Christian County, where he grew up to manhood and continued to make his home until 1862. At an early age he was sent to school to Dr. James Buchanan, an excellent teacher, the father of Dr. Joseph R. Buchanan, afterward distin-



guished as a philosopher and essayist. His next and only teacher was James D. Rumsey, who was noted as an instructor throughout the Green River country. At the age of fourteen young Stites besought his father to permit him to learn some calling whereby he could support himself and relieve his father, who was encumbered with a large family. In compliance with his request his father bound him to service for a period of four years for his victuals and clothes as a merchant's clerk to George Ward, Esq., then doing a large business in Hopkinsville. During this service, which was most faithfully performed, he gave every moment that he could properly spare from his duty as clerk to reading and the culture of his mind. At the end of his term he was offered a partnership by his master, but preferred to enter partnership with a fellow-clerk, Leander D. Holman, who had a small capital and for whom he entertained a strong attachment that continued until Holman's death, which occurred in 1840. For over four years he with Holman pursued successfully the mercantile business, until the great financial crash of 1837. This firm of young men, having but limited capital, was necessarily compelled to rely upon their credit, and was always largely indebted to eastern merchants. They, however, maintained their credit and were never sued. But young Stites, always averse to debt, then resolved to adopt another calling which would enable him to live without debt. He selected the law and began at once to study Blackstone, Kent and other elementary writers, giving all his time he could spare from his business to his law books. In 1839 he formed a partnership as merchant with one of the best men that ever lived, John Bryan, of Hopkinsville, and continued successfully with him until 1841—all the time, however, pursuing his studies when his business would allow. In 1840, and while a merchant, he obtained license as a lawyer from Judge John Marshall, of Louisville, and Judge Benjamin Shackelford, of Christian County. In 1841, after winding up his mercantile business, he began as a lawyer with Hiram A. Phelps, then also a young practitioner, but,

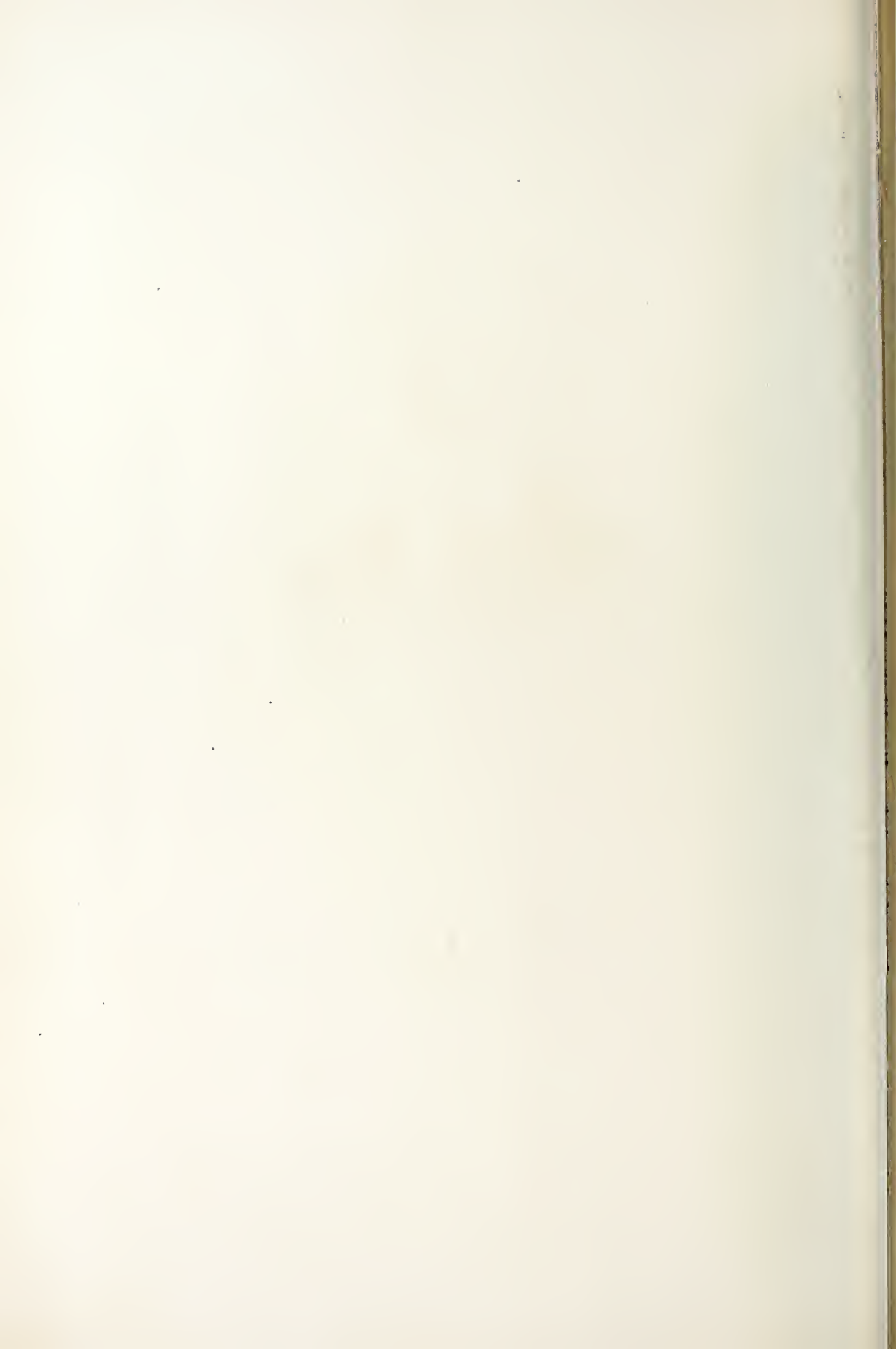
since, a lawyer of fine repute and high standing. They soon had a fine practice, and derived great benefit, in a business way, from the favorable acquaintance which young Stites had with the eastern merchants with whom he had formerly had dealings.

After his dissolution with Mr. Phelps, Stites continued to pursue his profession until 1851. He was induced then to become a candidate for the office of Commonwealth's Attorney, but before the election was compelled by the overwhelming voice of his friends to run for the office of Circuit Judge. He was elected and before the expiration of his term of office was reluctantly induced to become a candidate for the office of Appellate Judge as successor of Judge Elijah Hise, who had declined a re-election. In August, 1854, he was elected Judge of the Court of Appeals by a majority of nearly 6,000 votes in a district which then had a majority of more than 5,000 politically opposed to him, and having as an opponent a distinguished lawyer and politician, once a member of congress, and also of the convention which formed the present constitution. He continued on the Appellate bench until he became Chief Justice of the State, and until the summer of 1862, when, because of his sentiments as a State's Right Democrat, and his opposition to the war, he was compelled to leave his home to avoid the oppression of the military on either side, which were then at one time or another alternately in control of southern Kentucky. Arrest and imprisonment, or an unconstitutional oath, or a departure from his section of the State were the alternatives presented, and he chose the latter and went to Canada. There he remained over three years. After the termination of the war he returned to Kentucky. In 1867 he was appointed Judge of the Jefferson Court of Common Pleas, an important civil tribunal in the city of Louisville. To this office he has been three times elected without opposition, making, when his present term expires, over thirty years of judicial service among those who have known him during his life, his fellow-citizens of Kentucky. From 1868 to 1873 he held the position of professor of law



*Henry J. Stites.*





in the University of Louisville as an associate of Judge Pirtle and Bullock, but was compelled to resign this place because of his judicial labors.

In 1841, soon after Judge Stites began the practice of law, he married Miss Mary Jane Sharp, a daughter of Dr. Maxwell Sharp, of Christian County, with whom he lived most happily until her death in 1875. Afterward he married Mrs. Caroline M. Barker, a sister of his first wife and the widow of Richard H. Barker, a lawyer of New Orleans, with whom he is now living at his home near Louisville. No better testimonial to Judge Stites' worth could be given than the following editorial from the *Courier-Journal* of August 1, 1880. Speaking of Judge Stites' judicial service, it says: "The admirers of this eminent judicial officer rejoice that he enters upon the race for the Judgeship of the Court of Common Pleas without a competitor. It would have been a very foolish thing for any one to attempt opposition to him. He is so perfectly endeared to the hearts and minds of the people; he is so devoted to the responsible duties confided to his care; he is so thoroughly equipped in all the matters that pertain to his high office; he is so upright in every principle of action, courteous and urbane to all with whom he comes in contact, without respect to party or condition, that running against him would be about as bootless a thing as one could have undertaken. We are gratified in knowing that for the high position of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Louisville is able to command the services of this eminent jurist. We have often thought, when watching the exercises of his high vocation, the quick, sudden, clear rules by which he governs cases before him, of T. Arnold's appropriate limning of the high attributes belonging to such a position as that filled by Judge Stites. Arnold says: 'To accustom a number of persons to the intelligent exercise of attending to and comparing and weighing evidence, and to the moral exercise of being placed in a high and responsible situation invested with one of God's own attributes, that of judgment, and having to determine, with authority, between truth and falsehood,

right and wrong, is to furnish them with very high means of moral and intellectual culture; in other words it is providing them with the highest kind of education.' The people of Louisville are very familiar with the perfect exhibition, on the part of Judge Stites, of those high and ennobling qualities. They rejoice to know that in him they have an upright, learned and incorruptible judicial officer, in whose hands all the interests committed to him are secure and sound and honest legal action. The all, one and all, join in saying to him: 'Well done, good and faithful servant' of the people. The ermine could not more appropriately fit the person of any one."

When Judge Stites served out the judicial term, alluded to in the above extract, he retired from judicial labor. Upon retirement the bar held a meeting, June 19, 1886, of which Hon. Hamilton Pope was president, and Hon. A. G. Caruth was secretary, and presented Judge Stites an address showing the estimation in which he was held among them. The following is the address as published in the *Courier-Journal* at the time: "The committee appointed by the bar recommended the adoption of the following address which shall be signed by the officers of the meeting after being engrossed, and presented to his Honor, Henry J. Stites, and a copy spread upon the record of the Jefferson Court of Common Pleas: 'Hon. Henry J. Stites: Your brethren of the bar of Louisville cannot let the occasion of your last regular sitting as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas pass without taking notice of the interesting event. Your relations with us have been of such intimate, almost affectionate, nature that we cannot contemplate the fact that you will, after to-day, cease to preside over this court without feeling a pang of parting. You have become in our minds so associated with this court, and your benevolent and venerable presence will be so missed, that with your retirement we shall almost feel as though the court itself had gone with you. You will not deem us indelicate if we state in this public place our regard for your personally and our opinion of the manner in



which you have discharged your duties as Judge. The qualities which have most endeared you to us and to the people of Jefferson County are those which most become a Judge, your impartiality and love of justice. While we have admired your large attainments in jurisprudence and your accuracy and complete knowledge of our civil code and statute law, we have practiced before you with the confidence that the scales have been held firmly and steadily, and the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, have received equal justice at your hands. The indomitable industry with which you have in summer's heat and winter's cold, sometimes when your health required you to desist, come to your place on that bench and borne the fatigue of tedious trials with patience, have excited our admiration and commanded our profound respect. In your retirement you will carry with you the approval of your fellow-citizens and the verdict that for thirty-four years, first as Circuit Judge, then as Judge of the Court of Appeals and Chief Justice, and lastly as Judge of this court, you have, in a manner that reflects honor upon yourself and upon the judiciary of Kentucky, discharged all your duties and are now entitled to a peaceful life, free from public care, attended by the respect and affection of your fellow-men.'" Since Judge Stites laid aside the ermine he has been passing his time in his pleasant home, with his family, just outside of the limits of the city, enjoying the rest he has won by a long life of faithful public service.

HON. ALBERT A. STOLL, a member of the Louisville bar, was born in this city, August 29, 1851, and is a son of Louis Ernst and Elizabeth (Baab) Stoll, the former a native of Pennsylvania, and the latter of Bavaria. His father started life as a newsboy, and educated himself. He came to Louisville from Pittsburgh, on a keel-boat, in 1830, and remained a citizen of this city until his death, July 5, 1879, at the age of fifty-nine years. He was of a retiring disposition, and never sought official position. He was elected to the Senate of Kentucky about 1847-48, but with a modesty, now rarely met with, declined

the honor on the ground that others were better qualified for the place than himself. Mr. and Mrs. Louis E. Stoll also established the German Protestant Orphan Asylum about 1850, which is still standing on Jefferson street, below Twentieth. Albert A., the subject of this sketch, is the youngest of three children that grew to manhood. He was educated in the public schools of Louisville, studied law under Hon. Isaac Caldwell, took a course in the Louisville Law School, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in the courts of Louisville in 1872. He was elected to the Legislature in 1876, and was the youngest member of either house; was member of a committee that revised the present Codes of Practice of Kentucky. He was again elected in 1884, and was made Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the important duties of which he discharged with honor and credit. In 1885 he was elected to the Board of Alderman, and re-elected in 1887, which position he now holds. When a boy at school he was appointed to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md., but declined, preferring the profession of the law. Mr. Stoll was married, in 1876, to Miss Lucy J. Garrard, a great-granddaughter of Governor Garrard. They have four children: Letitia E., Louis A., Ruth and Albert A., Jr.

JOHN A. STRATTON, one of the substantial and enterprising young business men of Louisville, and whose portrait appears in this volume, is a Kentuckian, and was born in Henry County, February 24, 1854. He is a son of Elisha B. and Mary (Antle) Stratton, also natives of this State, and who removed to Louisville in 1863, the former as a speculator. He afterward engaged in the brokerage business, and later as a trunk manufacturer. The family were originally from the province of Stratton, England, and immigrated to Virginia prior to the Revolutionary war. The elder Stratton died in 1878. John A., the subject, was educated in the Louisville city schools. At the age of sixteen he commenced traveling for Smith & Rammers, manufacturers of hemp brushes, and continued it for two years, when he bought the business, carried it on for one year, then sold



*Albert A. Stoll*











*J. A. Stratton*

out and returned to school, and graduated from the junior class. He was then compelled to quit school on account of ill health. He engaged in the trunk manufacturing business with R. V. Snodgrass, but shortly after sold out to Chilton, Guthrie & Co., who are now among the largest trunk manufacturers in the city. Ill health, as it had done at school, compelled him to relinquish business and to recuperate his energies. He made a trip to the far West, where he spent a year, and then returned to Louisville. He now opened a collecting agency, making the collection of rents a specialty. This latter branch so increased that, in 1879, he determined to devote his entire attention to real estate. Since that time he has made land values a special study, and is known as an expert in this delicate but important business. He has been employed to divide some of the largest estates in Louisville, and in almost every important suit at law, involving the value of realty, he is called as an expert, and eminently fair witness. No man scented Louisville's real estate boom as far off as did Mr. Stratton, and the success of his clients was remarkable. He is also something of a real estate lawyer, and generally looks up the law in his own cases. Mr. Stratton estimates that from 1881 to 1883, his business increased 600 per cent. and that it has increased 100 per cent. every year since, up to January, 1887. For the first seven months of 1887 his sales were between \$600,000 and \$700,000; 300 per cent. more than for the total of 1886. He takes an active interest in all enterprises that tend to advance the growth and prosperity of Louisville, and he exerts all his energies to that end. He is a stockholder in several banks, among which are the Bank of Louisville, Louisville Banking Company, German Bank, etc. He is Secretary of the Louisville Realty Association, and Vice-president of the Daisy Realty Company. He is one of the five constituting the executive committee of the Commercial and Industrial Committee looking towards the improvement of Louisville and State, presenting her advantages and resources. Mr. Stratton was married, in 1874, to Miss Mamie Varble, a

daughter of Capt. Pink Varble, one of the oldest steamboat men living in Louisville.

ALBERT STRUBY, druggist, was born in Louisville, Ky., June 10, 1862. His parents, Henry and Barbara Struby, emigrated from Switzerland in 1843, locating in Louisville. Albert was educated in the public schools of that city, and after leaving school entered a grocery, remaining there but a short time. He next entered the drug store of H. A. Pfingst, where he remained until 1886. In 1881 he graduated from the Louisville College of Pharmacy. In 1886 he embarked in business for himself in Portland (now a part of Louisville). Here he met with reverses; just six months after opening, he was taken down with typhoid fever, and remained ill for about two months; this almost destroyed the newly started business; with close attention and good management, he finally succeeded in establishing one of the best and most lucrative drug store businesses in Portland. In 1887 he was married to Miss Lulie, daughter of Frederick Forcht, of this city.

HARRY STUCKY was born in Jefferson County, Kentucky, September 19, 1827, and is a son of Frederick and Louisa (Myers) Stucky; the former was also born in Jefferson County (in 1801) and is still living. The subject was brought up on the farm near Jeffersontown, and educated in the common schools. He came to Louisville in 1847, and became deputy county clerk, serving for eight years. In April, 1861, he was elected Auditor of the city of Louisville, served sixteen months, when he resigned. In 1862 he was elected clerk of the Louisville Chancery Court, and served until 1868, when he organized the Louisville Sinking Fund, and became secretary and treasurer, which position he held for eight years, when he was elected alderman from the Sixth Ward, and has held the place ever since. He was married in December, 1856, to Miss Sallie Kemp Sweeney, of Jefferson County, and daughter of Rev. Jos. A. Sweeney, of Virginia.

DR. THOMAS HUNT STUCKY was born in Louisville, Ky., March 21, 1860; educated in the public schools of that city, completed the course at Bethany College, West Virginia;



entered the University of Medicine and graduated at Hospital College with one of the class honors; received the appointment of House Surgeon at Bellevue Hospital, New York, remaining, however, only six months, and resigning on account of ill health, caused by too close application to study. He then went to Europe and entered Strasburg University, remaining one term, a second and third at Leipsic and Vienna, and completing his course and receiving his degree at Strasburg. Returning to Louisville, he was elected Visiting Surgeon to the Louisville Hospital, and the following year to the chair of *Materia Medica* in the Louisville School of Pharmacy for Women, and in 1884, the chair of Surgical Pathology and Operative Surgery in the Hospital Medical College; also Physician for the City Board of Charity and Correction. Dr. Stucky is regarded as the most expert Microscopist in Louisville, having a rare tact for catching minute differences and great mechanical skill in preparing specimens. As a lecturer he is clear, distinct and terse, wasting little time on oratorical flourishes, but going at once to the gist of the matter and giving the student a distinct and clear idea of the subject without unnecessary verbiage. As a physician he enjoys a large and lucrative practice, which he justly deserves by his faithfulness to the best interests of his patients, being especially skilled in general surgery and diseases of the throat. Dr. Stucky is thoroughly devoted to the cause of professional education of women, and has repeatedly declined positions in other institutions which would have paid him handsomely in a pecuniary way, in order to give his time and efforts to this movement. Dr. T. H. Stucky was married, in 1883, to Miss Lanin Prewitt, of Clark County, Ky.

SOLOMON SUMMERS (deceased) was born in Jefferson County, Ky., in 1813, and was a son of Willamena Summers, a native of Holland. September 15, 1828, Mr. Summers married Miss Ellen Whitaker, who was born July 7, 1812, and is a daughter of Abraham and Nancy (Whitaker), natives of Kentucky. Mr. Summers died in 1852, leaving eight children to be cared for by Mrs.

Summers. Of these children, four of the boys, William, Simpson, Harrison and Robert, were volunteers in the Union army. The first three were members of the Louisville Legion, and the last named enlisted at Louisiana, Mo. William and Simpson were killed at the battle of Stone River and Robert was killed near St. Louis. William (on account of whose death Mrs. Summers draws a pension) was born in Jefferson County, Ky., February 12, 1834. Harrison is also dead. Two of the daughters born to Mrs. Summers died of cholera many years ago, and the third, Martha A. Summers, born January 17, 1846 or '47, died in 1854. In her old age all of her children are dead. She has, however, five grand-children, four in Missouri and one in Kentucky.

WILLIAM H. TERRELL, M. D., was born in Woodford County, this State, September 11, 1840, and is a son of William H. and Lucinda (Wilcox) Terrell, natives of Virginia. The former was a physician, and graduated from Ohio Medical College in 1821. He served in the Black Hawk war, and was chief Surgeon of an Illinois brigade. After the war he returned to Versailles, Woodford County, Ky., where he had located in 1815, and where he practiced medicine until his death in 1864. His wife died in 1851. Four children survive their parents, two sons and two daughters. The sons are Luke W. and the subject of this sketch. The latter was reared in Woodford County, and educated in the private schools of the county. He volunteered, in 1862, in the Fifth Kentucky Cavalry, Col. D. Howard Smith, C. S. A., Morgan's command, and served three years. In 1866 he came to Louisville, and read medicine under the guidance of Dr. Adam Given. He graduated from the medical department of the University of Louisville in March, 1875, and at once entered upon practice. He was married in 1867 to Mrs. Virginia Bonney Cotton, a native of Yazoo County, Miss. They have no children.

GRIFFIN P. THEOBALD was born in Owentown, Owen County, Ky., December 6, 1830, and is a son of Henry B. and Lucy (Bacon) Theobald, native Kentuckians. His

mother was a daughter of John Christian Bacon, first clerk of Owen County. His paternal grandfather was of English origin, and came from Maryland to Kentucky before the latter was formed into a State, settling near where Georgetown now stands. The subject of this sketch was brought up in Owentown, and received a common-school education. In 1846, when but sixteen years old, he volunteered in an independent company for the Mexican war and remained out one year. He returned home and enlisted in the Third Regiment Kentucky Infantry, of which Manlius V. Thomson was colonel; Thomas L. Crittenden, lieutenant-colonel; John C. Breckinridge, major, and Ben. F. Bradley, adjutant. He remained with this regiment until the close of the war. He then went to St. Louis, where he resided until the breaking out of the civil war, when he enlisted as a private in the Third Kentucky (Confederate) Infantry. He was soon commissioned first lieutenant of Company D, then was adjutant for a short time, then quartermaster, then captain, and when he retired from the service at the close of the war was major, having worked up to that position by regular gradation. In 1868 he went to Vicksburg, Miss., as agent of insurance. In 1872 he returned, and has been engaged in a general insurance business ever since. He at present is a member of the city council. He was married, July 17, 1854, to Miss Harriet L. Love, of Columbus, Miss.

WARREN LA RUE THOMAS was born in Hardin County, Ky., January 25, 1845, and is a son of Joseph H. and Amanda (La Rue) Thomas. His father removed to Danville when our subject was but fifteen years old, was a mail contractor for forty years, and is still living. W. La Rue Thomas received a liberal education, entering Centre College at Danville at the age of fifteen, from which he graduated in 1865. He engaged for a few years in merchandising, but in 1873 went into the life insurance business. In 1886 he came to Louisville, and is now connected with the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, of Milwaukee, Wis., and works exclusively in Kentucky. Mr. Thomas is a

prominent Mason, and has been Grand Master of the order for Kentucky, and also Grand Commander of Knights Templar for Kentucky. He was married in 1866 to Miss Mary Wardroper, of Woodford County.

JUDGE R. H. THOMPSON, of the city court of Louisville, was born in Kanawha County, W. Va., October 31, 1836, and is a son of R. A. and Mary (Slaughter) Thompson, natives of Culpeper County, Va. His maternal grandfather, Philip Slaughter, commanded a company of minute men during the Revolutionary war; his father, R. A. Thompson, was a prominent lawyer and jurist; he was United States Land Commissioner in California under President Pierce, and engaged in the settlement of Mexican land grants. He died in 1876. The subject of this sketch was reared in Virginia and received a liberal education. When the civil war opened, in 1861, he joined the Thirteenth Arkansas Regiment; he afterward, as lieutenant-colonel, commanded Carlton's Arkansas Cavalry—served all through the war and saw much hard service. He had studied law, been admitted to the bar, and commenced practice at Santa Rosa, Cal., when the war commenced, and when the war closed he went to Napoleon, Ark., where he remained a year; for another year—1866–67, he was on the editorial staff of the *Detroit Free Press*. In 1868 he came to Louisville, and commenced the practice of his profession. He was appointed by Governor Blackburn, on the 24th of December, 1882, judge of the Louisville City Court, and in the following August was elected to the position; was re-elected again in 1886, and is the present incumbent. He was married in 1867 to Miss Lilly Thompson, a daughter of William L. Thompson, of Jefferson County.

EDWARD T. TIERNEY, city auditor, was born November 16, 1857, in Louisville, and is a son of James and Mary (Tracy) Tierney, natives of Ireland. He was brought up in this city and educated in the public schools; he learned the harness maker's trade, which he followed for some time. In 1883 he was elected city auditor over several competitors. He has also served three years as deputy in



the tax receiver's office. He was married in 1884, to Miss Anna M. Kirwau, of Louisville. They have two children: Mary and William.

JUDGE STERLING B. TONEY was born in Russell County, Ala., May 24, 1849, and is the son of Washington and Sarah (Bass) Toney, the former a finished gentleman of the old school, a man of education and refinement, and a native of Edgefield, S. C., and the latter a native of Columbus, Ga. The Toney's were a prominent family in the South, and in the late civil war staked their all for the Confederacy; life, fortune, time, personal service, self-sacrifice, all were devoted to the cause they so truly loved. Judge Toney, the subject of this sketch, was educated in his earlier studies at the University of Alabama, but later entered the University of Virginia, from which institution he graduated in 1872. He studied law at Eufaula, Ala., and was admitted to the bar in that town, but shortly after removed to New York city. In 1876 he located in Louisville, and at once entered upon the practice of his profession. On motion of Hon. Samuel F. Philips, solicitor general, he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, in March, 1886. He has been engaged in many important lawsuits in and out of the State, always acquitting himself with honor and credit. He took an active part in the Greeley, Tilden and Hancock campaigns. In the campaign of 1884 he made fifteen speeches in Indiana at the earnest solicitation of the Democratic Committee of that State. In 1887 he was elected judge of the Law and Equity Court, over Judge Harris, the incumbent, and at present occupies that important position. In 1876 Judge Toney was married to Miss Mattie Burge, a daughter of R. Burge, Esq., of Louisville. They have two children, viz: R. Burge and Emma Louise.

JOHN L. TREANOR was born in the County Tyrone, Ireland, on December 11, 1826, and is a son of James D. and Catherine (Slevin) Treanor, natives of the above mentioned county; they immigrated to Philadelphia, Penn., when the subject of this sketch was three months old. His father was

an officer in the Hibernia Greens, a company attached to the militia of the State; the militia was called upon to suppress an insurrection at the capital of the State—Harrisburg—by Governor Porter, sometime in the '30's; the Hibernia Greens, with other companies from Philadelphia, responded to the call, two boys went with the company dressed in full uniform as color guides; our subject was one of these boys; there was no blood shed, but he commenced his military training quite young, and in after years in two wars, the war with Mexico and the rebellion of 1861, he made his mark as a brave soldier in action and generous to a fallen foe. His father came to Louisville, Ky., in the fall of 1840, remained there a short time, and moved to Washington, Daviess County, Ind., purchased a farm, and went into the general store business. The subject of this sketch worked on the farm until the winter of 1845-6, when he left home and went back to Philadelphia, working his way on steamboats from Evansville, Ind., to Pittsburgh, Penn., from thence to Little York, Penn.; assisted in driving sheep and hogs, at 12½ cents per diem and board; he managed to make the trip to Philadelphia in one month; he procured a position in the queensware house of Peter Wright & Sons, remained there until December, 1846; went to New York City on a visit to some relatives, joined the First Regiment of New York Volunteers, commanded by Col. Ward B. Burnett, as a private, was with his regiment at the siege of Vera Cruz. Gen. Shields, the commander of the brigade—consisting of the New York Volunteers and the South Carolina Volunteers—found him useful as a scout, and he and a young man named Barnes, the son of an eminent divine, in Philadelphia, had several hair breadth escapes together. Barnes was killed by the Mexicans in one of their scouting trips, about six miles from Vera Cruz—our subject managed to escape by hiding in a prickly pear thicket until night, and made his escape through the chaparral, and got back safely to his regiment. He was in the battles of Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, the storming of the Castle of Chapultepec, and the fight

at the Garita de Belen; was promoted color sergeant of the regiment after the battle of Cerro Gordo for meritorious conduct. He was one of the ninety soldiers who followed up the Mexican army under command of Gen. D. Twiggs, after Gen. Shields was shot down at Cerro Gordo; this small band of soldiers were at least two miles in the advance of the U. S. army, and the road was strewn for that distance with wounded and dead horses and their Mexican riders; they were called to a halt, when a couple of companies of U. S. dragoons took up the chase. After the Mexican war, in 1848 he returned to Louisville, Ky., engaged in business with Col. Joseph Metcalfe, the brewer. Married Miss Delia Morgan, October 2, 1849. They have four children—James L., Katie, Mary Agnes, and Julia. He belonged to the old volunteer fire department, being a member of the Relief, No. 3; was made captain of the No. 3 steam fire engine in 1859; appointed day policeman in 1860. He was firm in his duty as an officer of the peace. In 1861, when Ft. Sumter was fired upon, he and six other stanch Unionists organized the Union clubs in Louisville; from this small beginning they soon numbered in the thousands. After they knew their strength they procured arms and organized home guard companies. Our subject was elected captain of the First Ward Home Guard, numbering 160 members. He resigned his position in the home guards and raised a company for the war for Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau's regiment, the Louisville Legion. They went into camp at Camp Joe Holt, Indiana, on the 1st day of July, 1861. The regiment was mustered into service 1050 strong, September 9, 1861; mustered out of the service September 14, 1864, with 297 men. His regiment participated in all of the following battles: Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Liberty Gap, Chickamauga, Brown's Ferry, Orchard Knob, Missionary Ridge, at which place they claim their colors were first on the ridge near Gen. Bragg's headquarters. They also participated at the battles of Dallas, Ga., Kenesaw Mountain, Peach Tree Creek and the siege of Atlanta. After the war he was appointed to a position in the Internal Rev-

enue service as Assistant Assessor and U. S. Gauger. He was dismissed the service May 15, 1886, for being an offensive partisan. He is a stanch Republican. He was mustered out as lieutenant-colonel of the Louisville Legion. His superior officers speak of him as a brave and valuable officer during the war. Below find a few extracts from testimonials in his possession, which we were permitted to use in this sketch.

Extract from Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau:

"Col. Treanor joined my command in 1861, and served with me during the war. No braver, truer, or more honest man lives.

"LOVELL H. ROUSSEAU,

"Maj.-Gen. U. S. A."

Extract from Gen. R. W. Johnson:

"For a long time Col. Treanor was under my command, and I found him a brave and gallant soldier, a man of excellent habits, intelligent in the exercise of his duties, careful in his attention to his men and their wants, and in fact a thorough soldier without a fault. The loyal people of Kentucky owe him a debt of gratitude which it will be difficult for them to repay.

R. W. JOHNSON,

"Bvt. Maj.-Gen. U. S. A."

Extract from Maj.-Gen. John A. McClermand:

"SPRINGFIELD, Ill., June 17, 1868.

"*To whom it may concern:*

"Learning that an official position in the revenue service would be agreeable to John L. Treanor, Esq., late Lieut.-Col. of the 5th Kentucky Vol. Inf., I eagerly embrace the opportunity to bear my testimony to his high merit as a gentleman and a soldier. His conduct on the great day at Shiloh marked him not only a brave and faithful officer but a hero in the loftiest sense of the term. There is nothing within my power I would not do for him. A kindness rendered to him would be viewed by me as something more than a favor extended to myself; it is such men who deserve to be honored and encouraged for the good of their example. He is one of the men upon whom I would have no fear to stake my life and my honor. I trust the ultimate recipient of this letter, whomsoever he may be, will respond in the same spirit in-



spiring it. By so doing he will lastingly oblige its author. JOHN A. McCLERNAND."

Extract from Maj.-Gen. A. Mc. D. McCook:

"December 28, '86.

"I am always glad to hear from any of the old Second Division of the army of the Ohio and Cumberland, and especially from one of the Louisville Legion, for a more gallant set of officers and men were never mustered into any service. It is still the more gratifying to hear from one of those officers who has such a gallant record as that possessed by you, and gained too upon many of the bloodiest battles fought during the rebellion. \* \* \* May God bless you in your old age, your children and children's children. No better heritage could be left them than your glorious record of the war.

"Sincerely your old comrade and commander,

"A. Mc D. McCook.

"Bvt. Maj.-Gen'l U. S. Army."

HARRY C. TRUMAN, cashier of the Kentucky National Bank, was born in this city, August 4, 1850, and is a son of Orville and Esther (Marriner) Truman, the former for many years a leading wholesale merchant, and the latter a daughter of R. W. Marriner, who was one of the leading hardware merchants of Louisville. The subject of the sketch was educated in the public schools of Louisville, and for a term was a student in Murray Hill Institute, New York city, and completed his educational studies in a private class of Prof. B. B. Huntoon of this city. He engaged in the banking business in 1868, first taking a position in the Bank of America of this city, which in a few years went into voluntary liquidation. He was then offered a position in the Kentucky National Bank, and has been with that bank ever since, holding different positions, and by strict business integrity has arisen to the important one of cashier. He was married in September, 1881, to Miss Hattie Semple, a daughter of A. C. Semple, of Louisville, a prominent citizen and business man. Mr. Truman lives at Pewee Valley, sixteen miles from Louisville, on the Short-line Railroad, one of the most delightful suburban retreats adjacent to Louisville.

JOSEPH L. TROUTMAN, a native of Bullitt County, Ky., was born July 1, 1848, and is the fourth son born to Levi J. and Mary Ann Troutman, also natives of Bullitt County. Jacob Troutman, grandfather of Joseph L., was a native of Pennsylvania, and was prominent among the first pioneers of Bullitt County. Joseph L. Troutman was reared on the farm, but learned the trade of blacksmithing, through which, in connection with his farming interests, he has accumulated considerable property. He married Miss Ann Alsop. His farm is near Shepherdsville, Bullitt County, Ky.

ENOS S. TULEY, assistant postmaster of Louisville, is a native of Indiana, born in New Albany, March 21, 1836. He is a son of John W. and Phebe H. (Woodruff) Tuley, the former born in Jefferson County, Ky., and the latter a native of Newark, New Jersey. The Tuleys were Huguenots, and came to this country from Scotland with that exiled sect, first settling in South Carolina. They subsequently moved to Virginia, where the great grandparents of the subject of this sketch originated. This branch of the Tuley family were among the early settlers of Kentucky, locating in Jefferson County when the country was in reality the "dark and bloody ground." The subject's great-grandmother was Elizabeth Floyd Tuley, the sister of Col. John Floyd, the pioneer friend and companion of Daniel Boone. Floyd was celebrated as an Indian fighter, having met his death in a battle with the redskins while defending a fort in Jefferson County. It will be seen from above that Mr. Tuley has some of Kentucky's best pioneer blood in his veins. The subject's father settled in New Albany, Indiana, and carried on the business of merchandising in grain and produce between Louisville and New Orleans in the days when river freights were mostly transported in flat-boats. He died in California in 1851. The subject's mother was a daughter of Judge Seth Woodruff, a native of Newark, New Jersey, and an early settler in New Albany, Indiana, where he lived and died an honored and respected citizen. Enos

S. Tuley was born and reared in New Albany, where he resided until he was seventeen, when, in the year 1854, he was appointed to a clerkship in the Louisville postoffice, and came to this city to reside. No other evidence of Mr. Tuley's high business integrity and unimpeachable honor is needed than the fact that he has been in the postoffice ever since, with the exception of a few months during the late war of the Rebellion, when he served as Paymaster's clerk, a position he resigned in May, 1864, to return to the postoffice. By his strict honor and integrity and close application to business he has risen from an insignificant clerkship to assistant postmaster, which latter position he has held continuously since 1864, a period of twenty-four years. He is president of the Rogers & Tuley Publishing House. In September, 1864, Mr. Tuley was married to Miss Mary E. Speed, daughter of Major Philip and Emma (Keats) Speed, of Louisville. Major Speed was a highly respected citizen of Louisville, and was a member of the well known Speed family of Jefferson County, Ky. Hon. James Speed, Attorney-General in President Lincoln's cabinet, was a brother of Major Philip Speed. Mrs. Speed, the mother of Mrs. Tuley, was the daughter of Mr. George Keats, a much respected citizen of Louisville, and brother of John Keats, the young English poet. Mr. Tuley is the father of four children living—three boys, Philip S., Henry E. and Thomas S., and one girl, Emma Keats. He is a member of St. Andrew's Protestant Episcopal Church, and a vestryman in said church.

GEORGE W. TURNBOW was born in Missouri, March 10, 1845, and is a son of Alexander and Margaret (Kelley) Turnbow, also of Missouri. He is the ninth in a family of ten children, and his father dying while the subject was still very young, his mother removed to Louisville, where George W. was brought up and educated. In 1861, when the civil war broke out, he enlisted in Company D, Fifteenth Kentucky (Federal) Infantry, and served until the close of the war. He participated in the battles of Stone River, Chickamauga, Mission Ridge, and in the

fighting around Atlanta. After the war was over he returned to Louisville, and afterward located in Bullitt County, where he still resides, engaged in farming.

S. M. HOOPER TYLER, M. D., was born in Jeffersontown, Ky., April 10, 1856, and is a son of William D. and Laura D. (Hooper) Tyler, natives of Kentucky and Virginia. His grandfather Tyler emigrated from Virginia, and was a relative of President John Tyler. The doctor was reared in the city, and was educated in the city schools. He read medicine with Drs. Corrigan and Kelly, and graduated from the Louisville Medical College in 1880, having taken one course, and subsequently from the Kentucky School of Medicine. He was married, in November, 1879, to Miss Sarah A. Wilson, of Louisville.

CAPTAIN PINK VARBLE is one of the best known river men in Louisville, and one of the safest and best Falls pilot ever on the Falls, having piloted more boats over the Falls than any one man in the business. He was born near Salisbury, North Carolina, September 5, 1828. He is the son of Henry and Alia (Catha) Varble, both of North Carolina. His parents moved to Kentucky in 1831 in wagons, and located in Oldham County, near Westport, Ky. Subject remained on the farm until 1842, then moved to Louisville and engaged in driving a wood wagon for J. M. Collins; remained with him for three months, after which he engaged himself to the old Falls pilot, Eli Vansickle, which was the foundation of his present occupation. He worked for Mr. Vansickle for six months, then made a contract with him to work four years for his board, clothing and three months' schooling each winter and the learning of the Falls. The second year he was with him he took charge of the business, which was buying and selling flat-boats and lumber. Before his time was out Captain Vansickle established a ferry line between Portland, Ky., and New Albany, Ind., young Varble taking charge and running the boats for two years, then selling out and retaining one boat. His time being out with Mr. Vansickle he was re-engaged, at \$400 per year, to run his boat up



Salt River to bring out pig iron. Having found a purchaser for the boat he sold out and went to Vicksburg, Miss., in the fall of 1851, and opened a coal yard for J. H. Mulford, of New Orleans, La., and stayed there until April, 1852, but came back to Kentucky. On April 28, of same year, he was married to Frances Littrell, of Ghent, Ky.; eight children were the result, four of whom are now living: the eldest, Mary, the wife of John A. Stratton; second, Nelson L. Varble, the junior member of real estate firm of John A. Stratton & Co.; third, Pink Varble, Jr., the junior member of real estate firm of S. J. Hobbs & Co.; the youngest, Melvin Varble, is engaged with a collecting agency. Captain Varble was elected by the city council of Louisville to the office of Falls pilot in September, 1853, and has held that office ever since. In 1859 he built the tow-boat Pink Varble, and in 1860 bought the tow-boat Chas. Miller; since that time he has built and owned fifty-seven steamboats. In 1861 he transported fifty street cars to New Orleans (first used in that city) on barges, having to get permit from the Secretary of War to go through the lines, also to get proper papers to come back from the Confederate authority. The papers read in this way: "By authority of President of Confederate States of America, the steamer Chas. Miller is permitted to pass into United States without molestation. [Signed] Governor Moore, State of Louisiana."

On his return from this trip he began to buy and build the number of steamboats as mentioned before, a great number of which were sold to the government. He also built the pontoon bridge across the river at Paducah, Ky., also one across the Ohio, at Louisville, at which time Bragg was threatening to burn the city. He was appointed captain of flag ship "Diana," which moved Nelson's division of army from Louisville to Nashville, Tenn. After the fall of Fort Donelson he was appointed in command of the Jacob Strader, the largest boat on the river, to go to Vicksburg to bring back the sick and wounded soldiers. Capt. Varble owned one-eighth interest in Louisville and Jeffersonville Ferry Company,

and had also \$90,000 interest in the Champion Saw Mill in Louisville. He has had command and piloted all sizes of boats, from the smallest to the largest, constructed barges for the government service during the war, and is at this time Falls pilot at Louisville. He is fifty-nine years old, and quite active yet.

ROBERT VAUGHAN was born near Frankfort, Ky., April 6, 1828, and is a son of Walker and Fannie (Blackwell) Vaughan, natives of Franklin and Anderson Counties; their ancestors were from Virginia, and of English origin. Robert was reared and educated in Franklin County, and in 1847 went to Cincinnati and studied medicine, graduating from the Eclectic College in 1849. He commenced practice in New Castle, Ky., remaining there a short time, and in 1851 came to Louisville, and engaged in the drug business, which he continued three or four years. He entered the army, in 1862, as captain of Company I, Seventeenth Kentucky (Federal) Infantry, and in January, 1863, was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. Among the battles in which he took part were Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Siege of Corinth, Chickamauga, and many minor engagements. At Shiloh he was severely wounded in the head, and at Chickamauga was wounded in the leg, leaving him a cripple for life, and the effects of which finally forced him to resign. After the close of the war he engaged in the practice of medicine at Versailles, Ky., for fifteen years, and since 1883 has been in the general fire insurance business in Louisville. He was married in 1853 to Miss Pauline Culver, a daughter of W. E. Culver, of Louisville.

P. VIGLINI, President of the German Bank, is a native of Richmond, Va., and was born November 26, 1841. He is a son of J. B. and Catherine (Park) Viglini, natives of Virginia and Ireland. His grandfather Viglini was born in Italy. Subject's father came to Louisville about 1855, and was a hatter by trade. The subject was reared in Richmond, Va., and at the age of seventeen went in the office of A. Bland, a broker, as clerk; then with the Louisville Banking Company, as teller. In 1869 he was principal originator of the German Bank, and was its cashier;

Henry Deppen, president. Mr. Deppen died in 1879, when he succeeded him as president. The bank is the largest deposit banking institution in the city, compared with the amount of its capital (\$200,000), and has a surplus of \$62,000. Its deposits average over \$1,500,000 per annum. He was married, in 1868, to Miss Lillie T. Deppen, daughter of Mr. Henry Deppen.

JACOB C. H. VOELCKER was born in Louisville, February 13, 1868, and is the son of Jacob and Louisa (Baab) Voelcker, natives of Germany. The former came to the United States in 1853, and to Louisville, where he became an industrious and energetic citizen. The subject received a good practical education in the public schools of Louisville. After graduating he studied pharmacy; clerked for various druggists until the fall of 1887, when he and L. F. Klooz went into the drug business for themselves. Under the firm name of Voelcker & Co., they still carry on the business at No. 800, East Broadway.

LAWRENCE B. WATERS, county treasurer and back tax collector, is a native of Jefferson County, Ky., and was born in Middletown on the 11th day of April, 1851. He is a son of Minor and Margaret (Daniels) Waters, both natives of Jefferson County, Ky. His paternal grandfather, Maj. Waters, came from Maryland and settled in Jefferson County in a very early day. His wife, Rachel (Sullivan) Waters, is still living, and is ninety-four years of age. The subject was elected constable in 1875; after serving four years was appointed deputy sheriff in 1879, under S. S. Hamilton, and served four years. He was appointed county back tax collector in 1883, by Hon. W. B. Hoke, county judge of Jefferson County. He was elected county treasurer in March, 1886, for a term of four years. He was married in Middletown, Jefferson County, Ky., on the 3d day of May, 1875, to Miss Ella Winn, of Middletown, Jefferson County. They have one child living, a son, Lawrence Winfield Waters, who was born in Louisville, Ky., on the 18th day of September, 1887.

HON. HENRY WATTERSON, the brilliant editor of the *Courier-Journal*, was born

February 16, 1840, in Washington, D. C., and is a son of Hon. Harvey Watterson, then a member of Congress from Tennessee, and who distinguished himself in Congress, in the diplomatic service, and in journalism, being a Democratic writer of considerable force, and for a time editor of the *Washington Union* in its palmiest days. He is still living, and spends his time in Washington and in Louisville, frequently regaling the readers of the *Courier-Journal*, under the *nom de plume* of "Old Foggy," with reminiscences of early days and scenes in Washington, and of the great men "who there frequented" many years ago. Henry Watterson, the subject of this sketch, received a good education, mainly under private tutors, and was well trained in the polite accomplishments. Much of his early political culture was received under the direction of his father, and, being reared for the most part in Washington City, derived great advantages from public men and public affairs during the ten years preceding the civil war, and developing a talent for literary work, began his career in New York as a writer of drama, criticisms, stories, verse and essays for periodicals. In 1859 he was engaged as a writer on the *States*, an organ of the Young Democracy at Washington. In the following year he became editor of the *Democratic Review*. The war coming on, the *States* was suppressed, and after returning to Tennessee, he soon became leading editor of the *Nashville Republican Banner*, the oldest and most influential paper in that part of the country. When the Government took possession of Nashville, he became editor of the *Chattanooga Rebel*, which under his management became the most popular and widely circulated paper in the South. At the close of the war he again resumed editorial charge of the *Banner*. In 1866 he visited Europe, and returning home the next year, he was offered, in 1868, the editorship of the *Louisville Journal*, a position he accepted, becoming part owner. A few months later, in connection with Mr. W. N. Halde- man, of the *Louisville Courier*, he effected a union of the two papers, and on the 18th of November, 1868, the community was startled



by the appearance of the first number of the *Courier-Journal*, of which he became editorial manager, and Mr. Haldeman the business manager. The *Courier-Journal* was a success from the first issue, and to-day is one of the most influential newspapers on the American continent. Mr. Watterson is a writer of great versatility and force, grasping every subject that agitates the public, and allowing little to escape that would give him advantage as an editor, or be of value to the people; indeed, as an editorial manager he is perhaps without an equal. He is a man of nervous, active nature, genial disposition, as brilliant a conversationalist as an editor. Always a Democrat in politics, he has become one of the most powerful leaders of his party in the United States. He was mainly instrumental in the nomination of Mr. Tilden at St. Louis in 1876, and was that year elected to Congress from the Louisville district, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. E. Z. Parsons, and made a national reputation in that body during the great contest resulting from the close Presidential election. Since then he has steadily declined election to office, preferring the more congenial occupation of editor. He is one of the great tariff reform leaders, and through his paper has fought for the reduction of war taxes until victory is just ready to crown his efforts.

GEORGE H. WEBB, clerk of the County Court of Jefferson County, is one of the wide-awake young business men of Louisville, self-made, thorough-going, and of such men as make a solid community. He was born July 16, 1853, and has just reached the average of human life. He is a son of Simeon B. and Millie Ann (Harper) Webb, the former a native of Shelby County, and the latter of Washington County, this State. The father came to Louisville when but a boy, and although he filled his place in the world as a brick-mason, he was pronounced by his friends that noblest work—an honest man. John Harper (subject's maternal grandfather) came to Louisville in an early day. George H. Webb, the subject of this sketch, was born and reared in Louisville, and received such education as time and circumstances per-

mitted him in the city schools. He began life as a newsboy, selling newspapers on the streets of Louisville. Before reaching the years of maturity, he spent four or five years as a telegraph messenger, and in 1870 became a deputy in the county clerk's office under Charles M. Thruston, the clerk. By close application to business and a uniform courtesy to those with whom he has had business intercourse, he now occupies the position of his former chief, after serving a deputyship of eleven years—eight under Mr. Thruston, and three years under William E. Loran. The latter died one year before his term expired, when Mr. Webb was elected to fill out the unexpired term. In 1882 he was elected to a full term, and re-elected in 1886. Mr. Webb is a prominent 32d degree Mason, and is a member of all the different grades of the order. He was married in 1883 to Miss Bella W. Ramsay, a daughter of Alexander Ramsay, a well known citizen of Louisville.

ALBERT WELKER, a farmer of Bullitt County, Ky., is a son of Charles Welker, who was a native of Loudoun County, Va., was born in 1802, and in 1828 married Miss Eliza Jane Bragdon, by which marriage eight children were born. Albert Welker, the subject of this sketch, was the fifth child, and was born April 29, 1854, in Bullitt County, and was married to Miss Rebecca J., daughter of David and Nancy Brown, natives of Hardin and Bullitt Counties, respectively. To this marriage have been born six children—Omer, born August 25, 1874; Harry, September 18, 1876; Thomas, May 26, 1878; Lillian, November 27, 1881; Theodore (deceased), September 13, 1883, and Mason, November 2, 1887. Mr. Welker's farm is located near Belmont in Bullitt County.

GEORGE M. WEYLER was born in Louisville, March 24, 1848, and is a son of George Weyler, who was a native of Germany, immigrated to America in 1830, came to Louisville from New Orleans in 1832, and in the following year was married to Miss Catherine Kritzer, and for many years thereafter resided in Louisville. Our subject, at the breaking out of the civil war, being yet a mere boy, joined the Union army; he en-

listed in March, 1863, in the Twenty-second Indiana Battery, Light Artillery, and served bravely till the close of the struggle, when he returned to Louisville and was married to Miss Eliza Phelps, February 26, 1874, a daughter of William and Susan Phelps. They have five children—Katherine, born April 27, 1875; Wm. Henry, December 2, 1876; Susan Belle, October 30, 1880; John Robert, May 17, 1885, and Joseph Frederick, January 4, 1888. Mr. Weyler afterward removed to a farm in Bullitt County, where he at present resides.

WILLIAM P. WHITE, M. D., was born in Greensburg, Ky., April 21, 1844, and is a son of Dr. Daniel P. and Nancy F. (Clark) White. Dr. Daniel P. White was born in Greensburg, Green County, Ky., in 1813, and was a graduate from the medical department of Transylvania University. In 1857 he was speaker in the lowerhouse of the State Legislature, and in 1860 was a Douglas elector. Subsequently he was elected to represent his district in the Confederate Congress. At present he is proprietor of the Green River Tobacco Warehouse. William P. White entered Georgetown College in 1859, where he remained until the breaking out of the late civil war. He then went to Arkansas and enlisted in the Second Arkansas Confederate Cavalry, under General Sterling Price, and served during the war, participating in the battles of Cain Hill, Prairie Grove, two engagements at Fayetteville, Prairie De Ann, Poison Springs, Marks Mill, Jenkins Ferry, Pine Bluff, Arkansas Lake Village, Louisiana, Pilot Knob, Franklin, Booneville, Lexington, Independence, Big Blue and Little Blue, Mo. Near Fort Scott, Kansas, Gen. Price lost all his artillery and wagons, and the subject of this sketch was wounded and captured, but, making his escape, was in the battle of Newtonia, Mo., a few days afterward. Besides these he took part in various other engagements in Louisiana, Arkansas, Indian Territory, Missouri and Kansas. After the war closed, he completed his literary education at Georgetown College; studied medicine in the office of Dr. David W. Yaudell, and graduated from the medical department

of the University of Louisville in 1869, and at once commenced practice in Louisville. He was for several years a member of the Board of Health of the city, and was appointed surgeon-general of the State by Gov. P. H. Leslie. He is a member of the Louisville Academy of Medicine; of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Louisville, and of the State Medical Society, and takes an active interest in these organizations.

WILLIAM WHITE, grand secretary of I. O. O. F., is a native of Frederick, Va., and was born July 5, 1816. He is a son of Daniel B. and Elizabeth (Foster) White, natives of Virginia, and of Scotch and Irish ancestry. His father came to Louisville about 1829, and was a carpenter by trade. The subject, William White, was brought up and educated principally in Louisville. His education was liberal and obtained through his own exertions. When the war broke out between the United States and Mexico, he joined the Louisville Legion (First Kentucky Regiment), Col. Stephen Ormsby. He was made second lieutenant, and promoted to first lieutenant before his term expired. After his return to Louisville, he engaged in mercantile business for a short time. He was elected grand secretary of the Grand Lodge of I. O. O. F. in 1853, and has held the position ever since. He also holds several other important positions in the Odd Fellows' fraternity. He was married in 1841 to Miss Phoebe Downing. She died in 1852, and he afterward married Miss Sarah E. Robinson, a native of Nicholasville, Ky., February, 1855; she died in February, 1882.

HON. JOHN CREPPS WICKLIFFE, United States attorney for the District of Kentucky, was born in Nelson County, Ky., about one mile from Bardstown, July 11, 1830, and is a son of Charles A. and Margaret (Crepps) Wickliffe. The latter was the only daughter of Christian Crepps, who was killed in the terrible boat fight with the Indians, on Salt River, in 1788. Of the Wickliffe family it is unnecessary to speak here, as they are so frequently mentioned in the body of this work. Judge Wickliffe, the subject of this sketch, was educated in the schools of Bardstown, and at Centre



College. After completing his education he studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1853, and has held many important public positions. In 1857 he was elected to the Legislature, and in 1859 was secretary of the Senate. He left Bardstown in 1861 with a company of the State Guard, and finally joined the Ninth Kentucky (Confederate) Infantry, as captain of Company B. He was promoted to major, and afterward to lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and was in the campaigns through Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia and South Carolina, laying down his sword in the final surrender. He fought gallantly at Vicksburg, Baton Rouge, Chickamauga, Mission Ridge, and at other places, frequently in full command of the regiment. Twice elected, he served as judge of the Bardstown Circuit from 1871 to 1880. In 1885 he was appointed United States District Attorney for Kentucky by President Cleveland, which position he now fills. Judge Wickliffe inherits the talents and force of character of one of the most noted and intellectual families of Kentucky. He was married, in 1853, to Miss Eleanor Curd, of Lexington, Ky.

JOHN B. WILLIAMSON, city court clerk, is a native of Louisville, and was born on the 7th of August, 1840. He is a son of H. and Susan (Prescott) Williamson, natives of Franklin County, N. Y. The former was among the old citizens of Louisville, having come hither in 1835, when the city was a rather small place as compared to its present dimensions. He was connected with the quartermaster's depot at Nashville, Tenn., during the late war, to the time of his death, which occurred in 1863. The subject was educated in the schools of Louisville, and in 1856-57, issued the second city directory. He served in the quartermaster's depot all through the war. In 1876 he was elected clerk of the city court, and has been re-elected to the position ever since. He was married in February, 1861, to Miss Caroline McCorkhill, of Louisville. They have had two children, both of whom are dead. Mr. Williamson is a popular citizen, a most accommodating official and an honorable gentleman.

CHARLES YANCEY WILSON was born in Barren County, Ky., November 24, 1833, and is a son of — and Mary (Yancey) Wilson, the latter a daughter of Joel Yancey, who represented the third district in Congress for twelve years, and died about 1837. Subject was brought up on the farm, until he was sixteen years of age, and educated in the country schools. He then became a clerk in a store, and from 1856 was engaged in business for himself until 1862, when he entered the army, joining Company C, Second Kentucky Cavalry, Morgan's command. He was paroled at Columbus, Miss., in 1865, and returned home. In 1869 he went to New Orleans, and after other moves came to Louisville in 1878, took a partnership in the Boone Tobacco Warehouse, and was subsequently elected tobacco inspector for six years. He quit the tobacco business in 1887, and engaged in insurance. He was married, in 1866, to Miss Lizzie Burch.

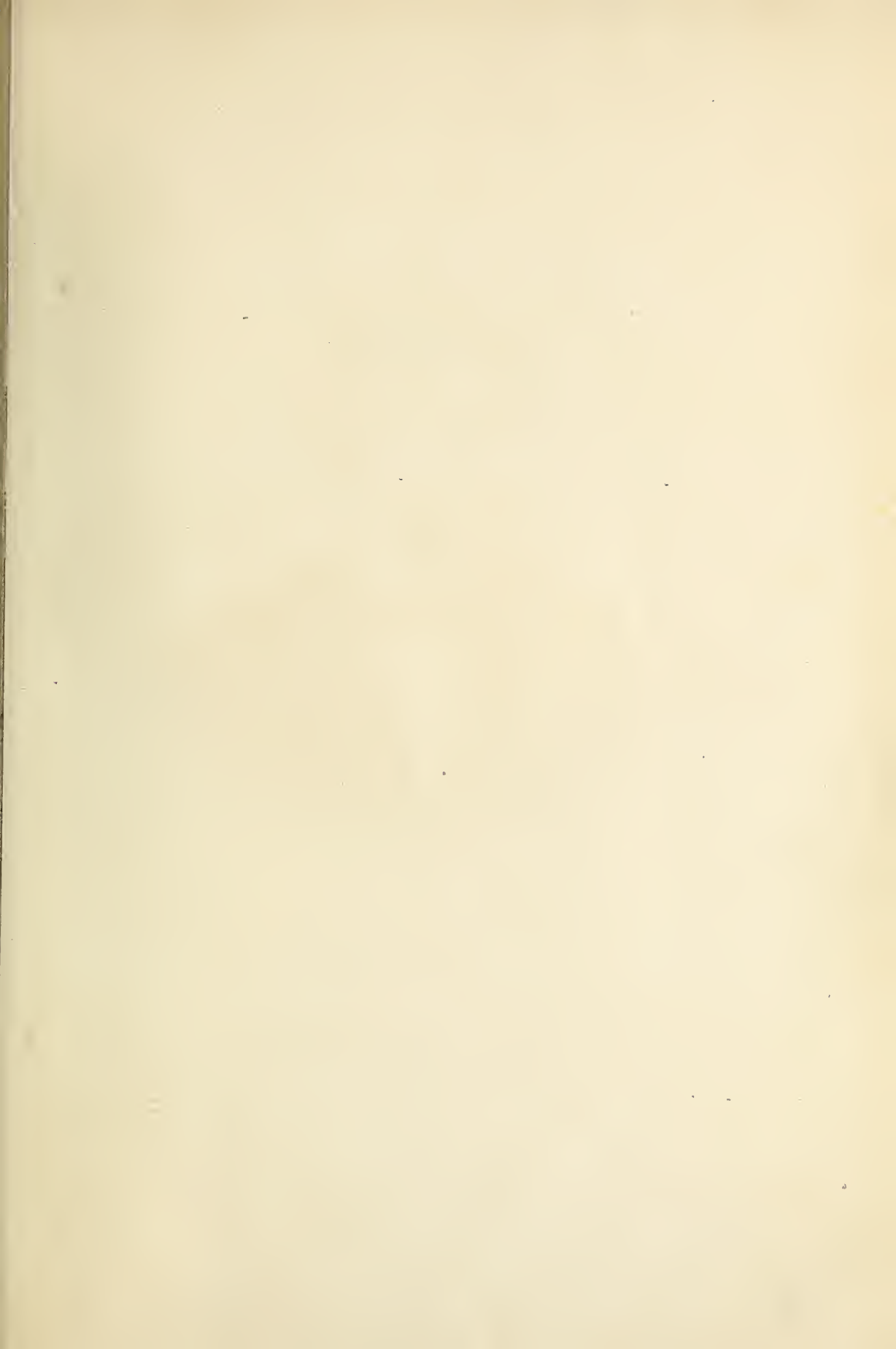
BENNETT H. YOUNG, one of the enterprising young business men of Louisville, is a native Kentuckian, and was born May 25, 1843, in Jessamine County. He is a son of Robert and Josephine (Henderson) Young, also Kentuckians, and devout Presbyterians. His early education was obtained in Bethel Academy, in his native county, but in 1861 he entered Centre College at Danville. His college life, however, was interrupted by the civil war, and affected by the spirit of the times and the ardor of youth, he enlisted in Company B, Capt. William Lewis (of Fayette County), Eighth Regiment, Col. Leroy S. Clark, Morgan's famous cavalry. He served with Gen. Morgan, and was captured with him at Buffington Island, Ohio, and imprisoned at Columbus. Afterward he was transferred to Camp Douglas, Chicago, from which he escaped in January, 1864, and finally made his way into Canada. It was too late in the season to pass down the St. Lawrence River, navigation having closed, and so the young soldier matriculated in the University of Toronto, where he remained until April, passing a highly creditable examination. He was placed in command of a number of escaped Confederate prisoners, and took passage on



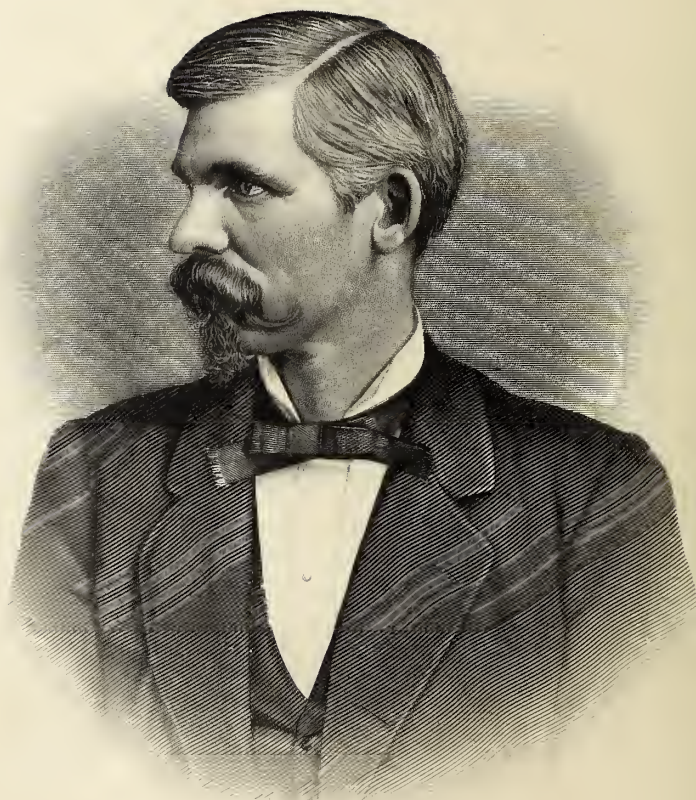
*Prof. B. Williamson*











Yours truly  
Bennett H. Young

the first boat going down the St. Lawrence after resumption of navigation, and sailed for the West Indies, where they caught a blockade runner for the Confederacy. This was a hazardous undertaking, as the blockader went in under fire, and several of the crew were killed, while the remainder, panic-stricken, became so demoralized that they no longer obeyed orders. In this trying ordeal the young Confederate soldier, with reckless exposure, gave his assistance to the officers of the vessel, and taking the post of a seaman who had been killed, he bore a very prominent part in saving it from capture or destruction. He was appointed first lieutenant in the Confederate service and sent to Canada, where he subsequently engaged in many daring and hazardous enterprises, the last of which was the St. Albans raid. When the Confederacy went down at Appomattox, Lieut. Young went to Europe, where he remained until his political disabilities were removed under the general amnesty proclamation of President Johnson in 1868. While in Europe he studied several years at the Irish and Scotch universities, taking the first honor in the law course, and third distinction in the literary department of Queen's University. He returned to the United States, and in 1868 commenced practicing law in Louisville, where he soon won a large and lucrative practice. He became interested in railways, and in connection with St. John Boyle constructed the Louisville & St. Louis Air-Line road. This was followed by the more difficult but important work of reconstructing an almost dead line. In connection with R. S. Vecch and others he secured control of the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago Railroad, rebuilt it, and made it one of the most valuable lines centering in Louisville. In 1855 he undertook the construction of the magnificent cantalver bridge across the Ohio between Louisville and New Albany, followed by the Daisy Belt Railroad, connecting Louisville and New Albany over this bridge, and also extending to the beautiful suburb of Parkland. Since the completion of these enterprises he has constructed (having recently completed it) the Louisville Southern

Railroad, destined to be one of the most important roads from Louisville to the South. It involves the development of Eastern Kentucky, a region as rich in mineral resources as Pennsylvania, and hitherto not penetrated by railroads. No public enterprise fails to receive his hearty support. He is president of Bellewood Seminary at Anchorage, Ky., which stands as a monument of his liberality toward education. He is president and has always been the moving spirit of the Polytechnic Society. To him and his indomitable enterprise, more than to any other man, it owes its present prosperous and dignified position. Mr. Young is unselfish, charitable, modest, quick to think and act, full of resource and tact, with a bull-dog courage that knows no defeat. He has never sought political preferment, but could have almost any public office he would ask for. He has been prominently mentioned as a candidate for Governor, but has always declined to allow his name to go before a convention. He was married in 1866 to Miss Mattie R., eldest daughter of the late Rev. Stuart Robinson, D. D., the distinguished Presbyterian divine. They have quite a family of children, and their home is noted for its culture, refinement and hospitality.

PHILIPP ZIEGLER is one of the self-made German citizens of Louisville. He came here a poor boy, and by dint of his own energy, honesty and industry has secured an independent fortune. He was born in the province of Baden, in 1854, and at the age of eighteen years came to the United States, and to Louisville. He soon obtained a position as clerk, first for John Hehl, contractor and builder, and afterward with H. Wedenkind & Co., wholesale grocers. In the fall of 1878 he went into the grocery business for himself, at his present stand, corner of First and Gray Streets—at first with Charles Klein as partner; but he soon after bought him out, and has since carried on the business alone. In 1881 he was married to Miss Sarah Mehohoff, a daughter of Henry C. and Mary Mehohoff, of Louisville. Henry Mehohoff is the largest dairyman in the State, keeping always on hand from 250 to 300 cows. His



dairy is located on the Preston Street road, and comprises 173 acres of choice land just back of the House of Refuge. Mr. and Mrs. Ziegler have but one child—a girl, three years of age—named Alice. Mr. Ziegler visited the “Faderland” last summer with his family, and spent several months traveling over the southern and northern parts of Europe.

[The following sketch of Mr. John W. Green was received at the office of the Publishers too late for insertion in its proper place.]

JOHN W. GREEN, son of Hector Green and Louisa (Ruggles) Green, was born October 8, 1841, in Henderson County, Ky. He came to Louisville with his parents in 1852, and here he was educated, chiefly in the city schools. At the age of sixteen he reluctantly gave up his studies at the High School to accept a situation with the banking house of A. D. Hunt & Co., in order that he might aid his parents in the support of the family. In 1858 his beloved mother died and his father and brothers left Louisville. He, however, continued at his desk in the

banking house and took upon himself the support of an invalid uncle. After a few years this uncle went to live with Mr. Peter Green, who was his brother, and A. D. Hunt & Co. having closed their business because of the approach of the war, John Green went to Florence, Ala., where he clerked for McClester, Simpson & Co., until Abraham Lincoln's coercion proclamation, when he was quick to respond to what he considered the call of duty, and in September, 1861, he enlisted under Col. Thomas H. Hunt, in Gen. John C. Breckinridge's command, in what was afterwards the Ninth Kentucky Infantry, Confederate States Volunteers. Here he served through the war with cheerfulness and devotion, endearing both officers and men to himself. The war being over, he returned penniless to Louisville, obtained a situation in a banking house in which Mr. A. D. Hunt was senior partner, and subsequently succeeded to the business of Hunt, Morton & Quigley. He then continued the business with his brother David S. Green, under the firm name of John W. & D. S. Green, at Louisville, Ky.







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